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THE

WORKS

OF

SIR WALTER RALEGH, Kt.

NOW FIRST COLLECTED:

TO WHICH ARE PREFIXED

THE LIVES OF THE AUTHOR,

BY OLDYS AND BIRCH.

IN EIGHT VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

THE LIVES.

OXFORD,
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.
MDCCCXXIX.

THE

LIFE

OF

SIR WALTER RALEGH.

EXPERIENCE and her records have sometimes manifested to us, that as men, renowned for glorious exploits, abound more in some ages than others, according to the genius of the times, or general taste and pursuit of their contemporaries; so if a martial spirit spring up in the reign of an active and adventurous sovereign, he shall rise into high repute, be much honoured and emulated: as, on the other side, if it is his fortune to live under a prince of a contrary character, his unfashionable virtue, unless it be of a supple nature, and can mould itself to occasions, will become criminal; and his courage, of less security than cowardice.

The worthy, of whose life and fortunes I have been persuaded to attempt a rehearsal, will appear in the following narrative a convincing evidence of this observation. And what renders his story more remarkable is, that though he gave such repeated proofs of a superior conduct, in so many important stations and characters of life; though he was not only master of all the accomplishments requisite to defend a state in war, but to adorn it in peace; and did render himself illustrious, as well by letters in the latter, as he had done by arms in the former condition; yet that a warlike reign was of greater safety to him, and a peaceful one proved his destruction. I shall not anticipate the causes, but only premise thus much; that whoever can attend to the representation of a brave man wrestling with adversities, and rising higher in the notice and admiration of the world,

the more violently he was opposed; whoever is any way concerned to know the effects of those prepossessions which diffident princes may entertain, and the prostitutions to which their sordid instruments may be won; or would be informed, what a pernicious foe in his country an insinuating foreigner may be to those natives who are its real friends; I may recommend him here; and venture to promise a prospect instructive, entertaining, and full of variety.

For though abundance of solid particulars are naturally sunk in the rapid current of time, while many less substantial are floating upon the surface, to the hand of every ordinary memorialist; and though some shining circumstances, in the prosperous part of sir Walter Ralegh's life, have been darkened through envy; as others, in the unfortunate period, through interest, by the age in which he lived; nevertheless, his single life may perhaps be found more fruitful of memorable incidents, than many histories of entire ages: insomuch as I may be apprehensive, with a late collector of his memoirs, "that the describing a person of "so diffusive a praise, so equally great in so many different "parts of life, will be like attempting a landscape from a "high hill, where the multiplicity and extent of the pros-"pects may rather distract the mind than direct it; and "call for judgment to restrain the fancy, which is apt to "run riot, when employed upon too many objects." Many guides may indeed appear to lead us through this wilderness; but, numerous as the authors are who mention him, they contain but fragments of his story; divers whereof, hitherto widely dispersed, have escaped, not only our general historians, but the many compilers of distinct pieces on his actions. Even the moderns, who have treated of him with impartiality, have yet been deficient in point of industry, so as to prove no less injurious to his merits, than some who in his own age conspired to depreciate them. Hence the generality, having been too superficial and undigested; having neither regarded due choice and order of matter, proportion in the parts, or connection of the whole; nor yet

discharged themselves by such references to proper vouchers, as might satisfy those readers it is my ambition to please; I have esteemed the number of such writers no discouragement to the revival of his story.

And first for the name of Ralegh, otherwise written Rale and Ralega in some old deeds I have formerly seen[a]; it is certainly of great antiquity in this kingdom; since there are some villages and towns in the west, as well as other parts, so called[b], which might at first receive their denomination from some, as well as afterwards give it to others, who were natives or possessors thereof. And since we are credibly informed, that one of those districts belonged anciently to noble lords of the same name[c], as also that several of them were so called from the very family we are to speak of[d], and as the Raleghs of Devonshire will appear to have flourished there before the Conquest; they might be the progenitors of those in other counties; as it is expressly intimated out of the records they were of those in Warwickshire[e]. But as we are also told of no less than five knights of this name, at one time differently situated in that western county before mentioned[f]; and that there were three great families so named also there, contemporary with sir Walter Ralegh's, who bore arms different from those of his paternal coat[g]; we may conclude they were not all of one lineage; and at the same time, that it is owing to the eminency of this great man, that a distinction of the several houses, and his in particular, when all but his were in a manner extinct, has been so elaborately endeavoured by the antiquaries and genealogists of his own time.

As to the family of sir Walter Ralegh therefore in parti-

[a] Among the numerous collections of Richard Gascoigne, esq. a skilful and famous antiquary in the middle of the last century.

[b] Ralegh in the parish of Pilton, near Barnstaple; Street-Ralegh, in the parish of Ailesbeer, eight miles east of Exeter; Comb-Ralegh near Honiton; also Widdycomb-Ralegh, and Coliton-Ralegh, all in Devonshire: besides Nettlecomb-Ralegh in Somersetshire; Ralegh in Essex, a market-town, thought to be the same called Raganeia in Doomsday-Book, &c.

[c] Camden's Britannia in Devon.

[d] John Prince's Worthies of Devon, fol. 1701. p. 531.

[e] Dugdale's Antiquities of Warwickshire, fol. 1656. p. 412.

[f] Prince's Worthies, fol. 517.

[g] Ibid. fol. 516.

cular, it is generally agreed on, that Smalridge in the parish of Axminster, in the county of Devon, was one of their most ancient seats. But sir William Pole, who is said to have been one of the greatest searchers into the antiquities of that country, has been singularly short in the time of their first settling there. However, if we should agree with him upon that person for sir Walter Ralegh's direct ancestor, who first removed thither out of Nettlecomb-Ralegh in Somersetshire, in the reign of king Henry III. from whom there is a successive descent of those six knights, sir Wimond[h], sir Hugh, sir John, sir Peter, and two sir Johns more; besides others, who were either of the same degree themselves, or married into families distinguished with it, even down to Wimond the grandfather of sir Walter Ralegh[i]: I know not but it may be also allowed, that the honours of this pedigree were sufficient to have been boasted of by some of his traducers. For though, in the eye of heraldry, many titles are accounted more noble than knighthood; though native and patrimonial dignities, or such as descend necessarily from father to son, may in the eye of the common lineal claimant appear most legitimate; and such as are venal be esteemed in that of the wealthy most valuable; yet those which are personal, the individual acquisition or recompense of every man's proper merit, will, in the eye of reason, be held most honourable.

But however grateful it may seem in that author, who has characterised the aforesaid sir William Pole as the first and best antiquary of his county[k]; though none of his

[h] In a visitation-book, made anno 1623, of the counties of Wilts, Dorset, and Somerset, among the MS. collections of Browne Willis, esq. of Whaddon-hall, in Bucks, there is a pedigree of sir Walter Ralegh's family from the reign of king John; with a copy whereof that worthy antiquary having obliged me, I find this Wymond, in the time of king Henry III. is therein called lord of Coliton and Nettlecomb: so it may seem, the estate in Somersetshire was of later accession to the family, and that in Devonshire the more ancient seat; or that the removal was made rather to the former, than the latter country.

[i] Prince, fol. 530.

[k] The same John Prince, fol. 506. who was honoured by the descendants of sir W. Pole with the perusal of what remained in his time of that knight's collections; as his ancestor had been by sir William himself, with an office which he held under him. Ib. fol. 505.

works were ever printed, or perhaps now remain sufficient to prove him so to the public[l]; yet we are at liberty to observe, that John Hooker, another famous antiquary and historian of the same county, appears to have been his senior[m]; whose actual publications, several years before sir William Pole is said to have privately applied himself to these studies, had established his character, through the applauses of the best judges in his own time[n]; and who, with respect to sir Walter Ralegh in particular, being related to and acquainted with him, had not only the greatest opportunities to be expert in his genealogy, but withal publicly addressing an account thereof to sir Walter himself, when this knight was in the very meridian of envy and detraction, had the greatest obligations upon him to be strictly accurate in displaying it. Now this author, in one of his performances, gives us to understand, that Smalridge was in the possession of the Raleghs before the Norman conquest; and that one of the family, being taken prisoner by the Gauls, did, for his deliverance upon St. Leonard's day,

[l] Many of sir William's MSS. miscarried in the civil wars so effectually, that the very titles and arguments of them are likewise perished, as Prince tells us in the same page; and those four or five volumes this author appears to have had some view of, having been since lent about, are thought, and have been reported by some of the family, to be now also irretrievably lost. See the English Baronets, 12mo. 1728. vol. i. p. 323. Yet I have been told by a person of great honour and knowledge in curiosities of this kind, that he had heard one volume of those collections, if not more, is somewhere in being.

[m] Sir William Pole, who was high sheriff of Devonshire, and honoured by king James with knighthood in 1606, when Ralegh was in discredit with him, seems to have been a writer chiefly in his reign; for though he might apply himself twenty years to these studies, according to Prince, fol. 506. we yet find one of his largest volumes written ann. 1616, in the same page. But Mr. Hooker, who was the first chamberlain of Exeter about 1554, and twice member of parliament for that city, as we find in the Notitia Parliamentaria, by Brown Willis, esq. vol. ii. 1716. p. 272; as also for Athenry in Ireland about 1570, as I find by his own words; did actually set forth in print his tracts about the government of Exeter, and bishops of that see; besides his augmentations of the English and Irish Chronicles, with other pieces, before, or by the year 1587; and, having lived to near eighty years, died in 1601, according to Anthony Wood, and my said author Prince, in his life; though the former of them quotes from Hooker's own words, that he was living in 1605, (if it is not a mistake of the press,) and the latter has made no boggle at the blunder.

[n] As bishop Godwin, Richard Carew, esq. the Cornish antiquary, and Mr. Camden, whose words in one place are, *vir eruditus, et de antiquitatis studio optime meritus D. Joannes Hookerus.* Britan. 8vo. Franc. 1616. p. 138.

build, at his return home, a chapel there, consecrated to that saint; and therein, as a grateful monument, hung up his target[o]: the records of which foundation are said to have been given by a priest of Axminster to sir Walter Ralegh[p], as their most rightful owner. So much for the antiquity of the family in Devonshire: and as for its derivation, the said Hooker, even in a printed dedication to sir Walter Ralegh, as I hinted, (which he repeatedly confirms in the aforesaid performance,) not only avouches his alliance to the Courtenays, earls of Devon, and other illustrious houses; but traces the stream of consanguinity up to the kings of England: where he says, "that one of his ancestors in the "directest line, sir John de Ralegh, of Fardel, (another seat "of their ancient inheritance in the parish of Cornwood, "eight miles east of Plymouth,) espoused the daughter of "sir Roger d'Amerei, who married Elizabeth, daughter of "Gilbert earl of Gloucester, by Joan d'Acres, daughter "of king Edward I. which Gilbert was descended of Ro-"bert earl of Gloucester, son of king Henry I." So goes up to the conqueror: and farther adds, "That in like man-"ner he may be derived by his mother also out of the same "house[q]." But since these two authors, the likeliest we have in print to have confirmed us in the truth of this matter, vary thus from each other; since sir William Pole thought it rather another family of the Raleghs, which was thus royally descended; since also five or six ancient pedigrees of this family, which I have seen in manuscript, by the heraldical visitors, and antiquaries of those western parts, also differ, not only from Hooker, but in several points both from sir William Pole and from one another; and lastly, since it will be considered, that I have not undertaken to

[o] Hooker's Synopsis Chronographical: or historical record of Devonshire, a MS. as quoted by Prince, fol. 530. A copy whereof, in this author's time, was in the custody of Mr. John Eastchurch of Wood in that county; still extant, as I have heard, in those parts: and pity it is, that it has not yet seen the public light; since above a hundred years ago it was revised by so able a judge of its worth as sir John Doddridge, and had his recommendation to the press.

[p] Tristram Risdon's Description of Devon, in Axminster.

[q] Hooker's Epistle Dedicatory to sir Walter Ralegh, before his translation and continuation of the Chronicles of Ireland, printed in Holinshed, vol. ii. 1587.

account for the whole race of the Raleghs, but only one select person of the name, here let the truth, as to these remote ancestors or alliances, hover for me: for I am not moved, on the wings of conjecture, to make myself a party with any of those antiquaries, nor shall endeavour to compromise the difference between them, unless such prevailing authorities had occurred as would enable me to do it with certainty. Besides, as those whose virtues have adorned them with a sufficiency of personal honours are ever least anxious about such as are relative; so it might well argue but little weight in the judgment of a historian, to shew himself contentious about these feathers for his worthy, especially such a one as shall be found to have thought so justly light of them himself.

However, as all accounts allow him a very honourable extract, let us prefer which we please, the freedom some great courtiers took in calling him Jack and Upstart, upon his advancement to queen Elizabeth's favour, is thought to have somewhat reflected rather on themselves, in suffering their sprightly parts to take such advantage of their noble principles. One of these sarcasms I find recorded by lord Bacon, in his little book of Apophthegms[r], where he says, "That when queen Elizabeth had advanced Ralegh, she "was one day playing on the virginals, and my lord of Ox-"ford with another nobleman stood by; when it happened "that the ledge before the jacks was taken away, so that "they were seen; whereupon that lord and the other "nobleman smiled, and whispered a little: the queen marked "it, and would needs know, What was the matter? His "lordship answered, They laughed to see, that when jacks "went up, heads went down." Though the application of this reflection particularly to Ralegh, if such was made, is disputable, notwithstanding lord Bacon's allusion, yet it is plain that sir Robert Naunton, who was secretary of state at the time of Ralegh's death, and whose Observations on

[r] I mean the only genuine and uncorrupted edition of them, published by the author himself, in small 8vo. 1625. It is the first apophthegm in the book.

that queen's favourites were written, though not printed, before those Apophthegms, thought also that it was made upon Ralegh: for he has said, with relation to this jest by that witty earl, "We all know it savours more of emulation "and his humour, than of truth; it being a certain note of "the times, that the queen in her choice never took into "her favour a mere new man, or a mechanic[s]." But it is believed sir Walter Ralegh himself was afterwards pretty even with his quality-critics; where he so solidly exposes the emptiness of merit, nay, the real detriment to it, in posterity's being entitled to the rewards of their ancestors' virtues, by hereditary honours, succession of blood, and nobility in parchment: *those only being truly noble, who by worthy acts have rendered themselves most notable*[t].

His parentage.

All therefore that needs be added on this head, as a matter more immediately requisite, and indeed sufficient for my present purpose, is, that sir Walter Ralegh was the son of Walter Ralegh, esq. of Fardel aforesaid; who being thrice married, had by his first wife Joan, daughter of John Drake of Exmouth in Devon, esq. two sons, one named George and the other John; which last married Anne, the daughter of sir Bartholomew Fortescue, of Filley in Devon, and relict of —— Gaicrick, of Ford, and they had issue. His second wife was daughter of one Darell, of London, by whom he had a daughter named Mary[u], who was married to Hugh Snedale, of Hilling in Cornwall, esq. and had issue[x]. His third wife was Catharine, daughter of sir Philip Champernon, of Modbury, and relict of Otho Gilbert, of Compton in Devon, esq. He had by this last venter his third son, Carew, afterwards knighted, and of Wiltshire, who married Dorothy, daughter of sir William Wroughton, and relict of

[s] Sir Robert Naunton's Fragments Regalia, 4to. 1642. in his character of sir W. Ralegh, p. 28.

[t] *Hinc dictus nobilis, quasi virtute præ aliis notabilis.* See sir W. Ralegh's History of the World, lib. i. c. 9. sect. 4.

[u] The Visitation of Devonshire, ann. 1564, by William Hervy, esq. Clarencieux, a MS. in the Heralds'-Office.

[x] Among the errors of the clerk or transcriber of this Visitation, in the paragraph concerning sir Walter Ralegh's father, (too obvious and minute to be here taken notice of,) that assertion of this daughter's having no issue should not be deemed one; that book being written probably before she was married.

sir John Thynn, by whom he had issue; and lastly, his fourth son, named Walter, the subject of our ensuing discourse, who was thereby the uterine brother of those three eminent knights, sir John, sir Humphrey, and sir Adrian Gilbert. By this last wife Mr. Ralegh had also one daughter, named Margaret, who was married first to —— Radford, of Mount Radford in Devon, clerk of the peace; and afterwards to —— Hull, of Larkebere, esq. in St. Leonard's parish, Exeter[y].

The family was indeed at this time much declined from its former splendour of fame and affluence of fortune; for the estate of Smalridge, which remained in the name of Ralegh to the time of king Henry VIII. was then sold, by sir Walter's grandfather Wimond, to John the father of sir John Gilbert, of Compton; but I cannot find it reduced to that low ebb, in the latter respect, which some have intimated: for Fardel remained still in their possession; which, after the death of sir Walter's father, fell to the eldest son George; and there were besides, Widdycomb-Ralegh and Coliton-Ralegh in their possession, the former of which was sold by sir Walter's elder brother, sir Carew Ralegh, to George the natural son of George aforesaid; and the latter was sold, by sir Walter himself, to Richard Martin, or his father, of Exeter[z]. But neither of these places claim the honour of his birth.

[y] Though sir W. Pole, in Prince's Worthies, fol. 530. mentions sir W. Ralegh's father to have been but twice married, omitting his second wife, and also his daughters by her, and his third; yet as one or both of those daughters will hereafter occur, proving him manifestly defective in that omission, I have thought it most reasonable to follow some other antiquaries of those parts and times, who concur in his marriages and issue as they are here displayed. And for this intelligence, the public is principally obliged to the incomparable Harleyan library; its noble owner having honoured me with the permission of collecting it from the pedigrees of the Devonshire gentry, an original MS. by Tho. Westcot, recorder of Totness, fol. sign. 99. C. 16. p. 59.; and of collating it with Richard Munday's MS. coll. of pedigrees, fol. sign. 90. A. 10. pag. 53.; and with the Visitation of Devonshire, by Hen. St. George, esq. Richmond-herald, and Sampson Lennard, blue-mantle, deputies for W. Camden, esq. Clarencieux, ann. 1620. fol. sig. 64. B. 14. pag. 366. But some of the pedigrees in these books, and others I have seen of sir Walter Ralegh's family, might perhaps be improved, at least with relation to the more ancient branches; that is to say, from king Henry II. down to king Henry VIII.'s reign, out of the valuable old deeds and evidences which remain in the custody of sir John Trevelyan, of Nettlecomb in Somersetshire, bart.

[z] Prince's Worthies, fol. 531.

Birthplace. For his father having the remainder of a fourscore-years' lease in a pleasant farm called Hayes, situate in the parish of Budley, in that part of Devonshire bordering eastward upon the sea, near where the Ottery, or river of Otters, discharges itself into the British channel, and residing upon the said farm during the time of his last marriage: this was the birthplace of sir Walter Ralegh, and it is accordingly distinguished as for nothing more remarkable by topographical writers to this day. After the expiration of that lease Ralegh applied, but unsuccessfully, to Mr. Duke, of Otterton, to whom the estate devolved, to sell it him; as appears by Ralegh's letter to him, wherein he says, "that "for the natural disposition he had to the place, being "born in that house, he had rather seat himself there than "any where else[a]." From whence it seems, that what some are by another Devonian antiquary said to have reported, and himself appears only to have recorded, as if "sir Walter Ralegh was born in the city of Exeter, and in "the house adjoining to the palace-gate[b]," has no authority, and perhaps had not so much as rumour to countenance it.

Born. As to the time of his birth; I find the computation has been made from Camden's account of his age at his death, that he was born in the year 1552. And herewith corresponds an observation I have found in an astrological author, who, fixing his birth in the sixth year of king Edward VI. which answers to the year of our Lord aforesaid, calls it "a year remarkable in our chronicles; first, for that strange "shoal of the largest sea-fishes, which, quitting their native "waters for fresh and untasted streams, wandered up the "Thames so high, till the river no longer retained any "brackishness; and secondly, for that it is thought to have "been somewhat stained in our annals with the blood of "the noble Seymer, duke of Somerset: events (says he)

[a] Dated from the court 26th of July, 1584, and quoted by Anthony Wood in Athen. Oxon. vol. i. col. 435.

[b] The Antiquities of Exeter, by Richard Izacke, chamberlain of that city, 8vo. 1681. p. 147.

"surprisingly analogous both to the life of this adventurous "voyager, sir Walter Ralegh, whose delight was in the "hazardous discovery of unfrequented coasts, and also to "his unfortunate death [c]."

Educated at Oxford.

That his younger years were seasoned at the university of Oxford we may gather from good authorities, as Hooker aforesaid, lord Bacon, and Anthony Wood; which last says, "He became commoner of Oriel college in or about "the year 1568, when his kinsman C. Champernon studied "there; and that his natural parts being strangely ad-"vanced by academical learning, under the care of an ex-"cellent tutor, he became the ornament of the juniors; and "was worthily esteemed a proficient in oratory and philo-"sophy [d]." But in that he came so late thither as this author mentions, and stayed so long there as three years, which he afterwards mentions, and, as the biographical fry who follow have nibbled out of him, they are all mistaken; for he will presently appear two years before that time amounts to in the wars abroad. What time then can we spare for his residence at Christ Church college also, in that university; whereof Dr. Fuller would needs have him a member, either before or after he was of Oriel [e], unless we could find, as I fear we shall not, that he returned from the school of Mars to that of the Muses? Little more can we expect to have been observed of this more remote part of his life; and yet something more in it has been preserved by lord Bacon aforesaid, who had the judgment to foresee that every little circumstance would be acceptable of a man whose fortunes and misfortunes had rendered him so memorable. And indeed it has been represented to me as a matter of no small honour to sir Walter Ralegh, that a casual expression of his, in his immature and greenest years, should prefer itself to the commemoration of that great philosopher in his sagest and most advanced age. But as he

[c] Supplement to G. Le Neve's Collection of Nativities, MS. *penes me*, fol. 9.

[d] Anthony Wood's Athen. Oxon. as before, in sir Walter Ralegh's Life.

[e] See Dr. Tho. Fuller's Church History, fol. 1656. in his table of the learned writers of Oriel college, lib. iv. fol. 104. and also that of Christ Church, lib. v. sect. 32.

had observed on the nature of things, that great objects may be discerned through a little crevice; so he knew, with respect to the nature of men, that a great discovery of genius may be made through a small and sudden repartee: and hence might he be moved to remember, "that while "Ralegh was a scholar at Oxford, there was a cowardly "fellow who happened to be a very good archer; but "having been grossly abused by another, he bemoaned "himself to Ralegh, and asked his advice, What he should "do to repair the wrong that had been offered him? Ra-"legh answered, Why, challenge him—at a match of "shooting[f]."

How long he continued at the university is at last rightly concluded by Anthony Wood to be uncertain; but as sure as he thinks himself right in settling him a student of the municipal laws in the Middle Temple, upon seeing a copy of verses he might write in that inn of court; I take this assertion to be a greater uncertainty than the other. For though sir Robert Naunton, and possibly from him most other writers of Ralegh's life, have also consigned him to the study of the law on his leaving Oxford, there is a late author who believes it a mistake so obvious, that no merit can reasonably be assumed from correcting it[g]: for sir Walter, at his arraignment, in a reply to the attorney-general, lays a heavy imprecation upon himself, *if ever he read a word of law or statutes, before he was a prisoner in the Tower*[h]. So that if this Ralegh was the author of that poem before-mentioned, and of the Middle Temple in that year it was written, which we shall presently arrive at, we must yet take care to keep the *lawyer* clear from the *templar*.

For we are expressly told by Hooker, "that after Ra-"legh had laid a good ground to build his actions on at the "university, he travelled into France[i];" and this is con-

[f] Lord Bacon's Apophthegms new and old, 8vo. 1625. p. 292.

[g] Mr. Lewis Theobald's Memoirs of Sir W. Ralegh, 8vo. 1719. p. 5.

[h] The Trial of Sir Walter Ralegh, 8vo. 1719. p. 25.; and in the State Trials, vol. i. fol. 180.

[i] Hooker's Epist. Dedic.

firmed by Camden, according to whose account of the time, Ralegh could not be, at his departure, above seventeen years of age; and by the occasion of his first going over, it will appear that a military course of life first fledged his fame. For as it has been rightly observed, Ralegh had the advantage of a stirring age to encourage and exercise his active genius throughout the whole series of his first engagements. France was now embroiled in civil wars; England soon after, to divert a menaced danger from the encroaching power of Spain, lent assistance to the then distressed and humble states of Holland; Spain, by a political reprisal, raised stubborn insurrections in Ireland; and the pope, to make the rebellion more permanent and more plausible, religiously pretended that kingdom was a perquisite of St. Peter[k].

But first of France: and here we need not recur to the original of those commotions there; need not trace the Hugonots to their fountain-head[l]; apologize for their oppositions against the Guisards[m]; labour to reconcile queen Elizabeth's defence of another prince's oppressed subjects to the laws of nations, when imminent danger by such oppressions threatened her own[n]; nor, lastly, aggravate her motives against France in particular, from their late violation of covenants, relating to the rendition of Calais[o]: these topics being to be sought where they have already been, and it is more proper they should be directly discussed. Sufficient therefore it will be to observe in this place, out of Camden's Annals, that though the queen had her hands full of disorders at home, yet she was not wanting either in commiseration or relief to the persecuted protestants of France;

[k] Theobald's Memoirs of Sir W. Ralegh, p. 5.

[l] The original or derivation of the Hugonots is differently given by French authors. See the sieur Castelnau's Memoirs of Francis II. and Charles IX. of France, lib. ii. cap. 7. And in Estienne Pasquier's Recherches de la France, among his works. Amsterd. 1723. tom. i. fol. 858. a whole chapter on the word *Huguenot*.

[m] See sir Jerom Bowes's translat. of an Apology for the Christians in France of the evangelical or reformed religion, 8vo. Lond. 1579.

[n] Hereof, besides Albericus Gentilis, De Jure Belli, Grotius and Puffendorf, see the bishop of St. Asaph's discourse of God's Disposing of Kingdoms, 4to. 1691.

[o] Of these covenants, see at large in Speed's Chron. 2d edit. fol. 1163.

and not only exhorted other princes of the same persuasion to lend their hands to the common cause, but supplied the queen of Navarre with money and men to support it; permitting Henry Champernon, a relation by marriage of the earl of Montgomery, to march with a select troop of a hundred gentlemen volunteers, well mounted and accoutred, into France, who bore in their standard this motto: *Finem det mihi virtus:* "Let valour decide the cause." In the list of these volunteers was Philip Butshed, with Francis Barcley, men afterwards of note in their time; and this Walter Ralegh, the most noted of all, then a very young man, and first beginning to push his fortune in the world; *admodum adolescens, jam primum satis monstratus*, says our above-cited annalist [p].

Goes to the wars in France.

The greatest historian in France of those times tells us, this select troop of horse arrived in the French camp on the 5th of October 1569, and that they were very honourably received by the queen of Navarre and the princes [q]. But what services distinctly they performed in France, or how long they continued there, neither the writers of that country nor of our own have, I think, given full satisfaction. This consequence we draw from some circumstances in the latter part of Ralegh's life, that he established himself a considerable reputation while he was in that kingdom; and from our author Hooker aforesaid, "that he spent good "part of his youth in wars and martial services there [r]:" agreeable to which is that passage in another author, who also seems to have known him; where, speaking of his education, he adds, "It was not part, but wholly gentleman, "wholly soldier [s]." And hence may we not only account for the greatest chasm in all the memoirs which have hitherto appeared of sir Walter Ralegh's life; but also presume, that he was here initiated in those accomplishments both civil and military, through the language and politeness of

[p] Annal. Reg. Eliz. ann. 1569.

[q] Jac. Aug. Thuani Historiarum sui temporis tom. ii. fol. 1626. lib. 46. p. 601.

[r] Hooker's Epist. Dedic. &c.

[s] See Sir Walter Ralegh's Ghost, or England's Forewarner, &c. Utrecht, printed by John Schellem, 4to. 1626. p. 15.

the people, as well as their warlike and ministerial affairs, whereof he afterwards gave such manifold proofs; and of which, in a period clustered with such extraordinary events, he must have here had such an extensive and instructive prospect.

Some French historians tell us, that what with the supplies of queen Elizabeth, who sent the French protestants a hundred thousand angels, besides some pieces of cannon and ammunition, and what with the aids of their other allies, the protestant army, which took the field under admiral Coligny and the prince of Condé, and encamped about Limosin, this year of Ralegh's going over, being in the beginning of their third civil war, amounted to no less than twenty-five thousand fighting men; when the king's army, under his brother the duke of Anjou, being encamped at Rochlabeille, amounted to above thirty thousand[t]. But others reckon the protestant army of equal number; and observe, though their men and horse died at Limosin in great numbers for want of food and forage; and though a great reward was offered for the admiral, dead or alive, that it only added fuel to the fire: for what terror could it strike, says my author, into persons, who headed an army of thirty thousand men, and ventured their lives with the utmost bravery on all occasions[u]? As for the insincere league or union of France and England, by the pretended marriage, which appears to have been negotiated two years after between the two crowns[w], it seems not to have withdrawn these English auxiliaries, at least not him along with them, because Ralegh's continuance in France would then fall short of Hooker's implication aforesaid. But as we shall discover him to have been in that kingdom beyond the

[t] J. de Serres, anno 1569.

[u] Mich. de Castelnau's Memoirs, lib. 7. cap. 7, 8.

[w] Certain articles, considerations, demands, and answers, about the league between us and France, under the year 1571, are referred to in sir Francis Walsingham's Table-book, or repertory of all his state-papers, a MS. in my possession, written in 8vo. about the year 1588, p. 147. And these articles, &c. are mentioned there to be entered in his Diarium of foreign matters, lib. A. pag. 25. As for the letters of the English ambassadors upon this occasion, they were collected by sir Dudley Digges, and printed under the title of The Complete Ambassador, fol. 1655.

death of king Charles IX. which from Ralegh's entrance thither is about five years, and that in this compass of time near thirty battles, sieges, overthrows, treaties, and capitulations on one side or other may be enumerated; it is manifest that our young volunteer was hazardously engaged in some, if not several of them. He had afterwards occasion to mention, upon his observing here the ill consequence of having commanders in equal power, whom it is almost impossible to choose of equal courage and discretion, "How "well he remembered, that when the prince of Condé was "slain after the battle of Jarnac, the protestants did greatly "bewail his loss, in respect to his religion, person, and "birth; yet that comforting themselves, they thought it "rather an advancement than hinderance to their affairs: "for," as he judiciously proceeds to distinguish between the military virtues of this prince and the admiral aforesaid, "so much did the valour of the one outreach the advised-"ness of the other, that whatsoever the admiral intended to "win by waiting the advantage, the prince adventured to "lose by being over-confident in his own courage [x]." In another place Ralegh speaks of a stratagem which he and his company used with success at Languedoc, where the enemy had fortified themselves in certain caves which had but one narrow entrance cut in the midway of the high rocks, and "which," says he, "we knew not how to enter "by any ladder or engine; till at last, by certain bundles "of lighted straw let down by an iron chain with a weighty "stone in the midst, those that defended it were so smothered, "that they surrendered themselves, with their plate, money, "and other goods, therein hidden; or they must have died "like bees that are smoked out of their hives [y]." And in another place he gratefully takes notice of a deliverance he had in these wars. It is where, reasoning upon the manner and opportunities of retreats in battle, (with that sagacity and experience which are no strangers in his writings,) he first gives an example of its being less dishonour to retire

His character of the French generals.

Stratagem at Languedoc.

[x] See sir Walter Ralegh's History of the World, lib. 5. cap. 2. sect. 3.

[y] Ib. lib. 4. cap. 2. sect. 16.

in the dark, than to be ruined in the light, in the sentiment of M. de la Noue, upon the retreat made just before the battle of Moncountour. "For," says that Frenchman, "staying upon our reputation in show, not to dislodge "by night, we lost our reputation indeed, in dislodging "by day; whereby we were forced to fight upon our dis-"advantage and to our ruin: yet (says Ralegh) did that "worthy gentleman count Lodowick of Nassau, brother "to the late famous prince of Orange, make the retreat at "Moncountour with so great resolution, as he saved one "half of the protestant army, then broken and disbanded, "of which myself was an eyewitness, and was one of them "who had cause to thank him for it[z]." But by what means Ralegh escaped that comprehensive destruction which broke out in the third year of this turbulent period, unless with young Sidney (afterwards a knight of great renown for his own accomplishments, and the patronage of other men's, then upon his travels in France) he took sanctuary in the ambassador Walsingham's house[a], we despair at this distance of learning: for then the cruel and insidious young king aforesaid, inflamed by the queen-mother, and her firebrands of religion, perpetrated that horrible massacre of all the protestants in the capital city, and other parts of his realm; the invitation to which was the nuptials of his sister; the signal to which was the bell they rung to their pious matins; and in the execution whereof, among many thousands, fell the great admiral aforesaid, by the procurement of his implacable enemy the duke of Guise[b]. And though

Deliverance at the battle of Moncountour.

[z] Ib. lib. 5. cap. 2. sect. 8.

[a] See Digges's Complete Ambassador, fol. 250.

[b] The massacre of Paris was begun on St. Bartholomew's day, 1572. And if between Mezeray's estimate of the numbers that were butchered over France, which is one of the least, and Perefixe's, which is one of the largest, we incline to the medium, we shall prefer the computation of Natalis Comes, who wrote earlier, and about the very time. He reckons them at threescore thousand. And so insatiable was the fury of these parricides, that they spared neither age, sex, nor quality; *vel puberes, vel impuberes*, says he, *trucidati sunt; neque ullius sexus, vel ætatis, vel dignitatis, habita est ratio*. Vid. Hist. Nat. Com. lib. 23. p. 508. But yet sir W. Ralegh, in one of his MS. discourses on the marriage between England and Savoy, hereafter more particularly spoken of, numbers them (not yet so high as some of their own historians) at no less than a hundred thousand. And

the comet, which soon after glared out of the face of heaven upon these bloody actors for many months together [c], seems to have wrought little remorse or contrition in them during life; yet is their untimely and violent end, with the extirpation of the very line of Valois, somewhat remarkable; especially that of this king himself, whose early delight in hunting of wild beasts, thus improved to the slaughter of his fellow-creatures, till, in less than two years after that inhuman massacre, his insatiable thirst of his people's blood was quenched by an irresistible extravasation of his own [d].

Margaret, queen of Navarre, confesses in her Memoirs, liv. 1. "that "several of her brother's friends fell "as well as his enemies," in the blind rage of this diffusive and undistinguishing desolation. Insomuch that in contempt of all princely promises and protestations of amity, their historians were suffered to boast, "more heretics had been destroyed "in that one day, than in all the "twelve years of the war." Well therefore did that deputy of the reformed religion, in his treaty for a peace with the king and queen-mother, which they agreed to, insist upon security for the preservation of it: and when the queen-mother said, "Why, is not the word of a king "sufficient security?" well did he answer; "No, by St. Bartholomew, "madam." How much this flagrant exploit was gloried in over France and Rome, their processions, thanksgivings, medals, and jubilee, will sufficiently declare.

[c] This blazing star, on which thirty different books were written, which had been read by Tycho Brahe, the noble Dane, before he composed his larger work thereon, first appeared on the 9th of November 1572, in the form of a lozenge of four points, and continued immoveable nine months, says De Serres. Sir Thomas Smith, in a letter dated December 11 that year to sir F. Walsingham, describes it a fair comet without beard or tail, on the back-side of Cassiopeia's chair, and on the edge of *lactea via;* that it was between the size of Jupiter and Venus, and had then appeared three weeks in England. In another letter to Walsingham, he notes how much the French and English astronomers varied as to the placing this star in the signs of the zodiac. See sir Dudley Digges's Complete Ambassador, fol. 299 and 316. But Camden, in his Annals of Queen Elizabeth, more particularly observes it to have shone brighter than the planet of Jupiter in the perigee of his eccentric and epicycle; that it continued in the same place full sixteen months, though after eight months it visibly diminished. Mr. Thomas Digges, and Dr. John Dee, two famous mathematicians of those times, have learnedly proved by the doctrine of parallaxes, that it was fixed in the celestial, not the elementary region; and that it disappeared by ascension. Theodore Beza very ingeniously applied it to the star which appeared at the slaughter of the innocents under Herod. And queen Elizabeth's gallant comportment at the sight of it, from her window at Richmond, which ought not to have escaped her annalist aforesaid, is preserved by the earl of Northampton, in his learned Defensative against the Poison of supposed Prophecies, 2d edit. fol. 1620. p. 77.

[d] That extraordinary eruption of blood carried off king Charles IX. on the 30th of May 1574, in the twenty-fourth year of his age. His successor, Henry III. was stabbed to death by a Jacobin friar, named James Clement, anno 1589, in that very chamber where the council had been held for the fatal Bartholomew's day; so made way for the house of Bourbon: and the duke of Guise was murdered

Now that Ralegh was till the death of that king, and even longer, in France, we may be fully convinced, from the further light I have fortunately met with, in an eminent author of his own time. For Mr. Richard Hakluyt, in his most excellent collection of Voyages, dedicating his translation of a French adventure therein to sir Walter Ralegh, tells him, that "calling to mind you had spent more years in "France than I, and understand the French better than "myself; I perceived you approve my endeavour, not "for any private ease, but for the special care you had of "those to be employed in your own like enterprise[e]." And how long Hakluyt had been in France appears in his dedication to sir Francis Walsingham of his first edition of those Voyages[f]; where he takes the occasion to tell his patron, that himself had been five years in that kingdom: so that Ralegh must have been at least six years there.

And this will lead us near the time we are to look for him in London, if we take for our guide in the chronology of Ralegh's life that copy of verses before mentioned, which Anthony Wood took for his, in relation to Ralegh's profession. These verses I have found to be a commendatory poem of three stanzas, by Walter Rawely, of the Middle Temple, as he is there written; and printed among others, before a satire, called the Steele Glass, published in 1576, by a learned and ingenious poet of repute in those days, named George Gascoigne, esq.[g] an Essexian born, and therefore nearly related, as I take it, to that excellent genealogical antiquary of the same surname, who afterwards lived, and died I think, in Yorkshire; and of whom I have elsewhere more particularly spoken. Now though I have had the opportunity of seeing some original manuscripts of

in the said king's cabinet at Blois about a year before. See the historians of France.

[e] Hakluyt's Voyages, &c. second edit. tom. 2. fol. 301.

[f] Printed in one vol. fol. 1589.

[g] This satire is printed in one of the said Gascoigne's collections of poems, called a "Hundred several "Flowers bound up in one small "Poesy," 4to. without date; but set forth, I take it, the same year with that satire.

sir Walter Ralegh's writing, and his name written several times by his own hand, I shall not cavil at the pseudography thereof before the said printed copy of verses; because I could instance greater errors of the like nature, which yet have not excluded authors from the reputation of their compositions; but more especially, because there are some glimmering circumstances which render the writing of that piece by this our author probable to me; as namely, a kind of familiar dependency which that Gascoigne had upon the lord Grey of Wilton, as in the dedication of this and some other of his works is evident; under which nobleman Ralegh will soon after appear to have served in the wars of Ireland. Again, Gascoigne had led a life somewhat like Ralegh, in foreign travel and military services: then it is to be noted Gascoigne used the very motto, under his picture prefixed to that satire before mentioned; which, after his death, is so well known to have been assumed by, or appropriated to, Ralegh himself; *Tam Marti, quam Mercurio.* All which seem to shadow out the links, if not the perfect chain, of some acquaintance between them. But the poem itself, to me, discovers, in the very first line of it, a great air of that solid axiomatical vein which is observable in other productions of Ralegh's muse:

Sweet were the sauce would please each kind of taste.

And the whole middle hexastic is such an indication of his own fortune or fate, such a caution against that envy of superior merit which he himself ever struggled with, that it could proceed from no hand more properly than his own.

Though sundry minds in sundry sort do deem,
Yet worthiest wights yield praise to every pain;
But envious brains do nought or light esteem
Such stately steps as they cannot attain:
For whoso reaps renown above the rest,
With heaps of hate shall surely be oppress'd.

In what sense he might be of the Middle Temple.

Lastly, As to the particular of his being at this time of the Middle Temple, all we can conclude of it is, since he

has so publicly and solemnly protested he never studied the law there; that it might be as customary in the inns of court then, as it is now, for a young gentleman to be with a friend, or have the use of his chambers while he is out of town, or even have chambers of his own, rather than be confined to the singularities of a family in lodgings, and never read a word of the law, much less have any purpose to practise it. And this is strengthened by what I have met with both in some old writings and some historians of those times, which observe, that the inmates not only in private houses, but those who dwelt among the lawyers, and did not follow their profession, grew so numerous and inconvenient, that there was an order or proclamation for their removal out of the inns of court about the latter end of queen Elizabeth's, or the beginning of her successor's reign [h].

Goes to the Netherlands.

His next stage of action was in the Netherlands, according to one of the writers of his life; who tells us he served under the prince of Orange, as a volunteer against the Spaniards, making himself, in the Low Countries, master of the art military; and confirming, through the success of his first campaigns, his resolution to advance himself by arms, as the nobler and readier way to glory [i]. Sir Robert Naunton also intimates, that before he was in Ireland under the lord Grey, he was engaged in the Low Countries, and also in a voyage at sea [k]. Another author likewise agrees in this Low Countries' service, and voyage at sea, before Ralegh was known at court [l]. But whereas the first of these two writers mentions an earlier expedition of Ralegh's in Ireland, before this of the Low Countries, as his first exposure to a military life, being ignorant of all the time he passed in the

[h] Further; to confirm this conjecture of Ralegh's being only an inmate there, I have been led to inquire after the registers of the Middle Temple, which are still extant, of those times; and upon a diligent search, have satisfied myself that there was no such person entered as a student of the law in that inn, by the name of Walter Ralegh, or any name like it, either in this year that he wrote the abovesaid poem from thence, or any other year before, up to the beginning of queen Elizabeth's reign: though some of his countrymen, and I think relations, occur there in that space of time.

[i] In Lives English and Foreign. 8vo. 1704. vol. 1. p. 76.

[k] Fragmenta Regalia, p. 28.

[l] Aulicus Coquinariæ, 8vo. 1650. p. 74.

French wars, and whereas the last fixes him in that first Irish expedition under general Norris, I apprehend them to be herein both mistaken; the former, in that Ralegh appears not to have been twice against the rebels in Ireland, nor once as his first engagement in war; and the latter, in that this Norris appears not to be in Ireland, when the course of Ralegh's employments will allow him to have been in that kingdom: but now that there is room for Ralegh's being in the Netherlands, we find general Norris to be there.

For the emperor Charles's natural son, don John of Austria, a brisk, forward young man, flushed with the late victorious battle of Lepanto against the Turks, and high in the pope's favour, being sent by his brother the king of Spain in the year 1577 governor of the Low Countries, to divert his mind from higher reaches at home; and having incurred the general odium of the States for his tyranny over them, no less than the jealousy of the English for his treachery to this nation; queen Elizabeth thought the Dutch now more immediately needful of her notice, and more particularly from a discovery that had been made to her, some say, by the prince of Orange, of a vain project the said don John had formed of rescuing the queen of Scots out of prison; and by marriage with her, or the force of arms, to dethrone the queen of England, and make himself master of her crown: "for don John's haughty conceit of "himself," says Ralegh, "overcame the greatest difficul-"ties, though his judgment was over weak to manage the "least [m]." Wherefore the queen not only receded from that peace with the Spaniards, and neutrality then in agitation; but sent the States both men and money, as they had requested, to carry on the war more powerfully against them. Among the forces, both English and Scotch, which now poured over, under sir John Norris, sir Robert Stewart, colonel John North, Henry Cavendish, and others, not to forget colonel Thomas Morgan, whose veteran troops were the

[m] Sir Walter Ralegh's History of the World, in Pref.

first perfect harquebussiers of our nation, and the first who taught us to like the musket [n]; there is here, and here only, I think, a vacancy in the story of Ralegh, that will admit of him under the first of those commanders: so might he probably share in the danger and honour of that memorable Lammas-day, anno 1578, which buried the reputation of don John; which this governor did not two months survive; and which has raised the emulation of pencils as well as pens to commemorate. For the States having thus gathered a powerful army, and planted themselves near the village of Rimenant, about a league from Mecklin, don John, at the head of, some say thirty thousand men [o], being assisted by the prince of Parma, Mondragon, and other the best commanders of Spain, now resolved to give them battle. He made a furious onset; but in the end, by a notable stratagem, was deluded to a great overthrow [p]. For perceiving, as he thought, the whole confederate army encamped before the said village, in an open and inviting plain, don John, too rash to take advice, and too raw to prevail without it, precipitously detached a stronger force to encounter them; which so succeeded on both sides, that the States' army, after a convenient resistance, feigning a flight, quitted this their counterfeit camp, the Spaniards eagerly pursuing, in a scattered and disorderly manner, to complete their supposed victory; till, amazed, they found themselves in the midst of the fugitives' true camp, environed with nineteen thousand horse and foot; a number considerably greater than the assailants. To extricate themselves was impossible; there was a river on one side; when they attempted the thicket on the other, it was lined with an armed ambuscade of English and Scots; and when they assaulted the trenches, they could not sustain the fury of the artillery. Yet was the battle vigorously maintained from morning till night;

The battle of Rimenant.

[n] See sir Roger Williams's Brief Discourse of the Spanish Discipline in War, 4to. 1590. also his Actions of the Low Countries, 4to. 1618. p. 126.

[o] Grimstone's General History of the Netherlands, fol. 1609. p. 662.

[p] Fam. Strada de Bel. Belg. anno 1578.

though the English and Scots, harassed by a long and wearisome march, came but a day, some say but an hour, to the field, before the encounter began: and yet, partly through bravery, partly through the sultry warmth of the weather, or, as one author has it, more sensible of a little heat of the sun than any cold fears of death [q], they made themselves further remarkable, by stripping off armour and clothes, and fighting in their shirts; till at last, those who had pursued the States' army in a pretended flight, were themselves driven, with great slaughter, to a real one. And had count Bossu, La Noue, with the rest of the States' commanders, been but vigorous in charging the Spaniards upon this retreat, it would have proved an absolute discomfiture, and might have put an end to all succeeding oppressions. But it was sufficient to chastise don John for the faithless treaties of peace wherewith he had abused the States upon his entrance into that government. "The fortune of the day," says my last author, "may be better ascribed to the service "of the English and Scots, by comparing this charge near "Rimenant, where the English and Scots were in great "numbers, with the like charge given by don John, half a "year before at Gemblours, where the success was con-"trary; there being at that time but a handful of English "and Scots, and they put into confusion by their own "horses [r]."

Soon after, a prospect presented itself for Ralegh to try his fortune in another element; for his brother sir Humphrey Gilbert, having now newly obtained a patent of the queen to plant and inhabit some northern parts of America, unpossessed by any prince with whom she was in alliance, soon engaged Ralegh, upon his return into England, who was always ready to grasp at every occasion that might reputably advance his fortune or his knowledge, to embark in this adventure. For though the coasts from the cape of Florida northwards, to the isles now called the Newfound-

[q] Lord Bacon's Discourse of War. [r] Ibid.

lands, had been before discovered by John Cabot the father, with Sebastian and Sancius his sons[s], both Englishmen born, through the authority and expense of king Henry the Seventh; yet there wanted not only more inland researches and the establishment of Christianity, but the very trade and commerce with Newfoundland was very slothfully neglected, even since the reign of king Edward VI.[t]; for our merchants and adventurers in his time enriched this nation considerably from their fishery in those parts, as appears by that act[u], wherein care is taken to prevent the exaction of any doles or taxes from them by the officers of the admiralty, that they might not be discouraged from the merchandise of fish, but transport it more plentifully into the realm, and at more reasonable rates. Now Gilbert having, as I said, procured an ample commission to repossess these advantages with improvement, by piercing more effectually into the bowels of those tracts which extend immensely into the north from thirty, or rather twenty-five degrees of septentrional latitude, many gentlemen of good account resorted to him, among whom we shall find his brother Ralegh to be one; so that from these preparations was expected a potent fleet. Nevertheless, among such variety of volunteers, dispositions were various; which in the end bred division, and even confusion of the attempt: for, after the shipping was by degrees prepared, and the

[s] And perhaps before them by Madoc ap Owen Guyneth, a British prince, who is said in the Welsh Chronicles to have transported himself and some colonies to these parts about the year 1170, where he named several of the places and productions after the language of his own country, which remain to this day; as the fruit called Guyneth, from his own name; and the bird called Pengwin, which is Welsh for *white-head*, whereof, from the abundance of the birds so marked, there is an island still so called: and many other Welsh words they have in use. See sir George Peckham's Report of the discovery and possession of Newfoundland, in Hakluyt, vol. 3. p. 173. and Howel's Letters, vol. 2. n°. 54.

[t] And yet within four years before sir Humphrey Gilbert obtained his patent, there resorted to the coasts of Newfoundland for fish about fifty sail of English, above a hundred sail of Spaniards for cod, and thirty more from Biscay for whale to make train-oil; about fifty sail of Portuguese; and about an hundred and fifty sail of the French and Bretaigns. My author observes, that the trade our nation had then to Iceland was the reason the English were not there in such numbers as other nations. See Ant. Parkhurst's letter in Hakluyt, vol. 3. p. 132.

[u] Ann. 2. Edvardi Sexti.

men ready to go aboard; some disagreeing in opinion, some shrinking at obedience, and others failing of their promises and engagements; the greater number were dispersed, leaving the general, with a few only of his assured friends. "However, with these he ventured to sea; where, having "tasted of no less misfortune, he was shortly after driven "to retire home with the loss of a tall ship; and, more to his "grief, of a valiant gentleman named Miles Morgan[w]." Now this misfortune at sea, and loss of a ship with that valiant gentleman, I have not only reason to believe was by a sharp encounter they had with the Spaniards, however tenderly touched at that time, perhaps to avoid their triumph, by my author before referred to; but that Ralegh was in this very engagement, and his life in great danger thereby. For there is another author, who, in his address to him beforementioned, tells him, that after his return from his land services, having gained sufficient knowledge and experience therein, "to the end that you might be every way able to "serve your prince and commonwealth," says he, "you were "desirous to be acquainted with maritimal affairs: then "you, together with your brother sir Humphrey Gilbert, "travelled the seas for the search of such countries, as, if "they had then been discovered, infinite commodities in "sundry respects would have ensued; and whereof there "was no doubt, if the fleet then accompanying you had, "according to appointment, followed you; or yourself had "escaped the dangerous sea-fight, when many of your "company was slain, and your ships therewith also sore "battered and disabled[x]." This unfortunate adventure cannot, I think, be confounded with that second attempt upon Newfoundland, made afterwards by these two brothers, because from this sir Humphrey Gilbert never returned, as we shall hear; besides, the course of this voyage is so particularly recorded, that we may affirm no sea-fight,

In a dangerous sea-fight.

[w] Captain Edward Hays's report of sir Humphrey Gilbert's voyage to Newfoundland, &c. in Richard Hakluyt's Collection of Voyages, &c. of the English Nation, tom. 3. printed Lond. 1600. p. 164.

[x] Hooker's Epistle Dedicatory to sir Walter Ralegh before his translation and continuation of the Chronicles of Ireland, cited.

or any such desertion of adventurers, happened therein; and as we know how to account for a good part of Ralegh's time, till that second attempt was more notoriously made; so we may from thence, and the delays aforesaid, be able to compute that this first happened in 1579; for I have at last found the fleet was preparing, but not set out, in the latter end of the foregoing summer[y].

This ill success kept not these adventurers long abroad; and now new disturbances broke out which called for men of experience in war at home. For the first dart of any consequence which was thrown from Spain or Rome upon Ireland being in 1580, we shall then find Ralegh among that body of his countrymen which effectually broke its force, and shielded off the mischief wherewith it would otherwise have galled that kingdom. For as to the invasion of Thomas Stucley, two years before, it blew over into Africa; where that meteor of ostentation and tool of ambitious princes fell in the plains of Alcazar, and with royal company expired. But now that James Fitz-Morris of the Geraldine family was come over[z], and not long after San Josepho, under the pope's banner, with Spanish and Italian forces, to assist the Desmond, in the Munster rebellion, and had landed in three ships at Smerwick in Kerry; where having built a fort, which they called Fort del Ore, and refortified it with the benedictions of Allen, an Irish, and Sanders, an English Jesuit; the Irish rebels under sir James and sir John, brothers to the earl of Desmond, soon resorted thither to join, as the English forces also did to disperse them. Their ships were soon taken by Thomas Courtenay, a Devonshire gentleman; and Fitz-Morris him-

[y] There is an old dramatic performance, (lately imparted to me by Mr. Theobald,) entitled, The History of Promos and Cassandra, written by George Whetstone, gent. who, in his Dedication thereof to W. Fleetewood, esq. recorder of London, expresses himself "resolved to accompany that excellent captain, "sir Humphrey Gilbert, in this honourable voyage: and concludes "with his prayers that God would "preserve him in it, 29 July 1578."

[z] About the beginning of July 1579, says Hooker, in his Supply of the Irish Chron. fol. 154. and bishop Carleton, in his Thankful Remembrance of God's Mercy: being an historical collection of the deliverances in church and state, from the beginning of queen Elizabeth, 4to. 1624. p. 38.

self, for a prey he had made of some garrons and other cattle, was by sir William Burk and his sons soon slain, and his quarters exposed at Kilmallock. The next, whose fate drew on, was sir James Desmond; who, on the fourth of August in the above-mentioned year, having made an inroad upon Muskerry, and taken a great booty from sir Cormac Mac Teige, sheriff of Cork; the said sheriff making head against him, recovered the booty, wounded sir James mortally, and took him prisoner. In that condition he was kept, till by letters from the lord justice, named sir William Pelham, and the council, he was delivered to sir Warham Sentleger, then provost-marshal of Munster, and to captain Ralegh; and, according to the commission directed to them, he was examined, indicted, arraigned; and then, upon judgment, drawn, hanged, and quartered; and his head and limbs impaled upon the city gates of Cork, for a terror to his associates, and a prey for the fowls of the air. Thus the pestilent hydra of this rebellion lost another of his heads[a]: and this is the first appearance we meet with of Ralegh in Ireland[b]: enough to shake the report of those who say he was a militia there[c], and had his first commission from Arthur lord Grey, baron of Wilton; though indeed under him we shall find the greatest part of Ralegh's services in this kingdom performed: for that lord came over deputy of Ireland on the twelfth of August aforesaid; but the sword was not resigned to him by the lord justice Pelham till a month after[d].

A captain in the wars of Ireland.

This lord Grey was reputed a warm and sanguine man, somewhat wanting among the Irish perhaps in Julius Agricola's qualification, who knew how to temper what was necessary in his government of the Britons with what was agreeable: for the English governor is thought to have been so zealous of a healthy constitution, as scarcely to refrain from scarifying the parts which were sound, that he

[a] The lord justice's letter to the queen, in commendation of this service, dated 12 August, 1580.

[b] Hooker's Supply of the Irish Chronicles, in the 2d vol. of Holinshed, fol. 168.

[c] Fragmenta Regalia.

[d] History of Ireland, by Richard Cox, esq. 1689. fol. 366, &c.

might be sure of clearing away those which were infected; and gave some proofs he agreed in the sentiment of a succeeding deputy, that the Irish were like nettles, sure to make those smart who gently handled them; but must be crushed to prevent stinging. His first expedition against the Obrines, whom he is thought to have attacked rashly to his disadvantage in their woods and fastnesses before he was sworn, lost him some credit, and several brave English officers. But the chief commander in these parts at this time was the earl of Ormond, soon after governor of Munster, a man of such loyalty, as to have reduced his rebellious brothers to allegiance; and of such courage, as constantly partaking in every danger with his own soldiers, made him much beloved by all his adherents; while his apparent contempt thereby of that danger gained him no less fear from all his adversaries. He, on the other side, bending his course against the foreign enemy, encamped his army at Tralegh, within ken of the Spanish fort aforesaid: hereupon many of those invaders dislodged, whom the earl valiantly engaged, slaying some, and taking others prisoners; the rest flew to the coverts of Glaningell. The prisoners he took confessed their force was not above seven hundred strong; but that they had brought arms and ammunition for five thousand natives, besides a mass of money for the Desmonds and Dr. Sanders, and daily expected farther supplies from Rome; for it was absolutely determined by the pope and king Philip to make a complete conquest of Ireland, and England besides; nay, so confident they seemed of success, if we can credit the assertion of an author who was this year in Spain, that his holiness had provided a chalice to drink the queen of England's precious blood[c], says he, as soon as she should be made a sacrifice. Now after the aforesaid defeat, about three hundred of the enemy having made their way back to the fort, the earl followed them close, and encamped at Dingle: but wanting ammunition for a battery, was forced to retire. And, finding

[c] Geo. Whetstone's English Mirror, 4to. 1586. p. 154. &c. dedicated to queen Elizabeth,

himself of unequal force to withstand another sally the Spaniards made, returned to join the deputy at Rakele; who having now about eight hundred horse and foot with him, under the conduct of captain Ralegh, Zouch, Denny, Mackworth, and others, decamped and marched up towards the fort. But Ralegh, who had observed it to be the custom of the Irish kerns, upon any dislodgment of the English camp, to flock in parties thither, and glean away whatever they saw left behind, lingered, and lay in ambush to receive them. They came accordingly with their wonted constancy and greediness; but in the midst of their prowling, Ralegh fell upon them so advantageously, that he enclosed them all with his men, and took every rebel upon the spot, who was not slain in resistance. Among them there was one laden with withies, who being demanded, What he intended to have done with them? boldly answered, "To "have hung up the English churls." "Well," said Ralegh; "but they shall now serve for an Irish kern:" so commanded him to be immediately tucked up in one of his own neckbands; and dealt with the rest of these robbers and murderers according to their deserts[f]. We read of another Irish rebel, but of greater rank, named Brian O Rourk; who being afterwards to suffer at the gallows, shewed great concern that it was to be by the common halter; and earnestly petitioned, not for pardon, or preservation of his life, but that they would change the instrument of his death, and instead of a rope, to let him take his swing in a withy: but being asked, Why he insisted upon such an insignificant distinction? he answered, "It was a distinction had "been paid to his countrymen before him." I remember lord Bacon ingeniously applies this example to illustrate the force or tyranny of custom[g].

Surprises the Irish kerns at Rakele.

While the lord deputy lay before the fort, there arrived in the bay of Smerwick vice-admiral Bingham and soon after sir William Winter, admiral of the fleet, with fresh supplies. Hereupon the lord deputy resolved to besiege the

[f] Hooker's Supply, &c. fol. 107, &c. Cox's History of Ireland, fol. 376.

[g] Lord Bacon's Essays.

fort by land, while the admiral should batter it by sea. But first the Spaniards were summoned to surrender at discretion. They answered, "They were sent, some from the "holy father, who had given that realm to king Philip; "and some from that king, who was to recover this land to "the church of Rome, which by her majesty's means was "become schismatical and excommunicate; therefore, in "short, were obliged to retain what they had, and recover "what they could[h]." Nor did they omit the advantage they thought this parley would produce of finding the English unguarded, to make a sally upon them; but they were so disappointed, through the vigilance and valour of Ralegh's company and that of captain Denny, that such as were not left dead behind were forced to retreat with more haste than good speed. The culverins and other pieces of ordnance being now landed, and a large mountainous bank laboriously cut through, for the carriages to pass to the place convenient for planting them, the deputy is said, by my author Hooker, to have given the enemy another summons by cannon-shot to surrender, and receive mercy[i]. But they answered as before: thereupon the artillery was ordered to attack the fort both by land and water. Ralegh, as the same historian records, commanded the first three days after the opening of the trenches; and assaulted the fort so roughly from his battery, that he forced the Spaniards to several excursions; but they skirmished so warily, and hived again so nimbly, that there was no closing with them effectually. The fourth day was commanded by Zouch, under whom a tall proper gentleman, named John Cheke, the son of a knight well known among the learned for his writings, venturing so near the fort as to look over the parapet, paid his life for his curiosity; being observed by a Spaniard, who levelled his piece, and brought him to the ground. But now the trenches for the full battery were drawn so near the Spaniards, and the English played their cannon so furiously and incessantly upon them from every

Besieges fort Del Ore.

[h] Hooker's Supply, fol. 171. [i] Idem, ibid.

side, that the enemy began to fear, somewhat prophetically, what they had built for a garrison would prove their monument, and they should be buried alive in the ruins of it. Therefore, finding no succours arrive, they beat a parley, and hung out the white flag, crying out, *Misericordia, misericordia.* But the lord deputy would not listen to any treaty with the confederates of traitors and rebels; no, not so much as to their departure with bag and baggage, or free passage to any one particular person; nothing but an absolute surrender. And as for mercy, which Hooker before intimates to have been offered on proviso of their timely submission, we find by Edmund Spenser, who was then secretary to the lord deputy, and upon the very spot, that his lordship never gave the Spaniards any hopes of it. For as this author writes, "When first their secretary seignior "Jeffrey, an Italian, was sent to treat with the lord deputy "for grace, he was flatly refused it; and afterwards, when "their colonel, named don Sebastian, came forth to en- "treat that they might part with their arms like soldiers, "and at least be spared their lives, according to the cus- "tom of war and law of nations; it was strongly denied "him, and told him by the lord deputy himself, that they "could not justly plead either custom of war or law of na- "tions, for that they were not any lawful enemies; and if "they were, he insisted upon their shewing by what com- "mission they came thither, into another prince's dominions, "to war? And when they said they had none to produce, "but were only adventurers, that came to seek fortune "abroad, and to serve in wars among the Irish, who de- "sired to entertain them; it was then answered, that the "Irish themselves, as the earl and John of Desmond, with "the rest, were no lawful enemies, but rebels and traitors; "and therefore they who came to succour them, no better "than rogues and runagates; especially coming with no "licence or commission from their own king: wherefore it "would be dishonourable for him, in the name of his queen, "to condition, or make any terms with such rascals. So "left to their choice, whether they would yield themselves,

"or not[k]." Then the said colonel did absolutely yield himself, the fort, with all therein; and craved only mercy, which it was not thought good (says my said author) to shew them.

For after the lord deputy had by captain Jaques Wingfield, master of the ordnance, discovered they were in earnest; that they had yielded, and surrendered the fort, on the ninth of November[l], Ralegh and Mackworth, who had the ward of that day, first entered the castle, and, with their companies, made a great slaughter; so that except one Irish nobleman, who was reprieved; another Irishman, and an Englishman, who were sent to public execution; except also San Josepho the Spanish commander, and his campmaster, with a few Spanish officers, who were sent prisoners into England, and reserved for ransom; all the invaders, between four and five hundred, were, according to the deputy's positive command, put to the sword; and the country was thus weeded of these noxious foreigners. As for Ralegh, he never was taxed, that I can learn, with any cruelty upon this account, more than Mackworth, or the rest of the officers: but notwithstanding it was afterwards alleged, that the English army there was not enough to keep the enemy all prisoners, and ready to mutiny for want of their provisions out of the fort; or that the English expected hourly assaults from the Irish rebels, more than fifteen hundred at hand[m]; or fresh opposition from Spain, three thousand carbines being in readiness to come over[n]; or that they had not barks enough to transport their prisoners into England; or that an article in the deputy's instructions themselves was to "shorten the war by effectual prosecu-"tions[o];" queen Elizabeth did afterwards express much dissatisfaction at this decisive conduct in the said lord deputy.

Enters the fort.

Puts the Spaniards to the sword.

[k] Spenser's View of the State of Ireland; in the last edition of his works, vol. 6. 12mo. p. 1611.

[l] Stow's Chronicle in that year.

[m] Bishop Carleton's historical Collection of Deliverances, p. 48. And Lord Bacon's Discourse of War.

[n] George Whetstone's English Mirror, p. 157.

[o] Cox's History of Ireland, fol. 366.

Ralegh, as Hooker goes on, was quartered this winter at Cork; where he observed the seditious practices of David lord Barry, Patrick Condon, and other ringleaders of the rebellion in those parts, to distress so intolerably those subjects who were peacefully inclined, and foment the disaffected to an insurrection, that he was forced to take a journey in person to the lord deputy at Dublin [p]; where he remonstrated the dangerous consequences he foresaw, so urgently, that, the case being taken into consideration by his lordship and the council, they returned him with a full commission to enter upon the castle called Barry-Court, with all other lands of the said Barry; and to reduce him to peace and subjection, by such means as he judged most feasible; appointing him for his farther enablement a party of horse. In the interim, such measures were used with those in authority at Cork, that the commission proved of little effect; but though the said estate of Barry-More was made over to the mother of David Barry, and only rented to the son; and though it was his principal seat; yet partly in fear of that commission, partly through spite and indignation, he burnt the castle himself to the ground, and wasted the country about it with greater outrage and destruction, than his enemies, had they taken it, would have done. Moreover, as Ralegh was on his journey back to his quarters, an old rebel of Barry's faction, named Fitz-Edmonds, who was seneschal of Imokelly, lay in wait to set upon and seize him, with a party of horse and some kerns, at a ford through which he was to pass between Yougall and Cork: some historians call the place Corabby [q]. Ralegh was much inferior in number, being, at his setting out, accompanied but with six men, and they scattered behind when he approached the ford. Here Fitz-Edmonds and his

His commission to seize upon Barry-Court.

[p] Spenser, in his View of Ireland, gives some political reasons why the lord deputy's seat of residence had better be more in the middle of the kingdom than at Dublin: agreeable to the ancient observation on the hide of leather; which, being pressed or trod upon only on one side, the distant parts will rise, but in the centre, keeps all parts down.

[q] Cox's History of Ireland, p. 367.

crew sallied from their ambuscade, and crossed him, to oppose his passage, whom Ralegh manfully encountered and defeated, or at least broke through them, so that he got clear over the river[r]. But one of his company, Mr. Henry Moyle, following, either took a part too deep and unfordable, or plunged into a quick-spring; or his horse, otherwise foundering, threw him down in the middle of it; where, between fear of drowning and being taken by the enemies, he called out to Ralegh for help; who, though he had escaped both dangers, yet incurred them again to save his companion's life. But Moyle, in haste and confusion remounting, overleaped his horse, and fell down on the other side into a deep mire, where he might have been stifled, had not Ralegh recovered him a second time, and brought him safe to land; but his horse run over to the rebels[s]. Ralegh waited on the opposite bank, with his staff[t] in one hand and a pistol in the other, for the rest of his company who were yet to cross the river; among whom was his servant Jenkin, who had two hundred pounds of his money in charge; a sum in those days enough to make a soldier of fortune in these circumstances look about him; especially now the seneschal had got a recruit of twelve men, and was in all above twenty strong against him. Yet this hero, as his party called him, when he beheld Ralegh stand his ground, and the rest of his company advance, whom he possibly thought might be of greater number than they were, only exchanged a few rough words with him, and thought it best to offer no further molestation. Not long after, there being a parley between the earl of Ormond and the rebels, where the seneschal beginning to vaunt of his own exploits, Ralegh, who was present, charged him openly with flat cowardice, as having lately twenty to one on his side, and durst not encounter him alone. One of the rebels own comrades pretended an unwonted diffidence in their

Defeats Fitz-Edmonds.

Saves his friend's life.

[r] Cox's History of Ireland, fol. 367.

[s] Hooker's Supply, fol. 173.

[t] These staves were not short, like truncheons, but rather like poles, or watermen's stretchers, though not so long or clumsily made; for being headed at one end with a sharp point or pile of iron, they might be used for defence or offence, either as quarter-staves or spears.

champion upon that rencounter; but gave confident assurances he would never be so remiss again upon any like occasion. This so chafed the earl of Ormond, that he challenged the seneschal, with sir John Desmond, and any four they would nominate, to meet himself, captain Ralegh, and four more whom they would bring, at the place aforesaid; where they would pass the great river to them, and there, two to two, four to four, or six to six, fight and determine the point in debate between them; but no answer was then returned: wherefore the white knight, named Fitz-Gibbon, was afterwards sent to him with a repetition of the challenge; but the rebels then absolutely refused it. Soon after the earl of Ormond departed from his long and wearisome services here to England, about the spring of the year 1581. His government of Munster was given to captain Ralegh, in commission with sir William Morgan and captain Piers. Ralegh lay for the most part at Lismore; and, in the country and woods thereabouts, spent all this summer in continual action against the rebels [u].

In a challenge.

Commissioner for the government of Munster.

Then Ralegh removed, with his little band of fourscore foot and eight horse, to his old quarters at Cork; but receiving intelligence by the way, that the arch-traitor Barry was at Clove, with several hundred men, he resolved to pass through that town, and offer him the combat. Accordingly at the town's end he met Barry and his forces, whom Ralegh charged with great bravery, and put him to flight. As he pursued his journey, he overtook another company of the enemy in a plain, by a wood-side; upon whom, having only six horsemen with him, expecting probably his company would soon join him, he gave the onset; but the rebels, who were in much greater number, being cut off from the wood, and having no other relief, faced about, and fought very desperately, killing five of the horses belonging to Ralegh's company, whereof his own was one, and he himself very near being overborne by the numbers upon him, had not his trusty servant Nicholas Wright, a

Puts lord Barry to flight.

[u] Hooker's Supply, fol. 173.

Yorkshire man, interposed; who, perceiving his master's horse so mortally wounded with darts, and plunging past all recovery, encountered six of the enemy at once, and killed one of them; while another of his fellow-servants, named Patrick Fagaw, rescued Ralegh; which had been so unsuccessfully attempted by James Fitz-Richard and his kern, both of Ralegh's company, that the man was slain, and the master very near the same fate. Whereupon Ralegh would not suffer Wright to fight by him any longer, but ordered him "to charge above-hand, and save the gen-"tleman:" at which command he rushed into the throng of the enemy, despatched the antagonist who pressed sorest upon Mr. Fitz-Richard, and rescued him. In this sharp skirmish there were many of the rebels slain, and two taken prisoners, whom Ralegh carried with him to Cork; and while he lay here, he performed several other notable services, which deserve (says my author Hooker) to be for ever registered[x].

Rescued in a dangerous engagement.

Among the rest, his excellent conduct in the seizure of the lord Roch is more particularly remembered and applauded. This nobleman, being much suspected to hold confederacy with some of the chief rebels, Ralegh undertook to bring, with his family, before the earl of Ormond at Cork. But the design of this hazardous surprise took air among the enemy, and a party of eight hundred men, under Fitz-Edmonds and Barry, were gathered to waylay the English either going or coming. However Ralegh, knowing the lord Roch to be a powerful and popular man among the Irish, so suddenly commanded all his company to be in readiness by eleven o'clock that night, and they were so punctual to the hour, that he directly marched away to Bally in Harsh, which was Roch's seat, about twenty miles from Cork, and escaped the ambuscade. He arrived there by break of day; but the townsmen were so alarmed, that they soon gathered five hundred strong. Ralegh drew up, and in such manner bestowed his men in the

[x] Hooker's Supply, fol. 174.

town itself, that he soon quelled and restrained the people there; then selecting half a dozen out of his company, among whom were Arthur Barlow, hereafter to be spoken of, with Nicholas Wright before mentioned, and having appointed another little party to follow him, he marched up to the castle. He was met by three or four of Roch's gentlemen, of whom he desired to speak with their lord; which was agreed to, on condition he would dismiss three or four of his own attendants; to which, with apparent readiness, he complied; but so contrived, that none of them were locked out. Then he gave them directions which way the rest also, without the gates, might be admitted, whilst he should hold the lord Roch in discourse; which succeeded so happily, that by degrees his whole complement were got within the court-yard; some guarding the gates, others watching in the hall, each having his piece loaden with a brace of balls. The lord Roch was amazed and terrified at so silent and insensible a seizure; but, dissembling his uneasiness, he would needs have Ralegh, and the gentlemen with him, participate of his plentiful table: yet the policy of his hospitality did not defeat that of their enterprise; for, as soon as the dinner was over, Ralegh ingenuously laid open the occasion of his visit. Lord Roch made many excuses, and in the end absolutely refused to go along with him. But when the commission was produced, and he found Ralegh inflexible, he chose to do that by consent, which he found he must do by compulsion. Then Ralegh urged him to oblige his townsmen likewise, who had so faithfully risen for his defence in his neighbourhood, to escort and defend him in his journey; to which lord Roch also consented, professing he doubted not but to clear himself of whatever allegations should be laid to his charge. When his lordship, with his lady and attendance, had made themselves ready, Ralegh was for another nocturnal progress; but though the night fell out so very dark and tempestuous, and the ways were so full of hills and dales, rocks and precipices, that many of his soldiers were much bruised by falls, and one of them so mortified that he lost his life in

Seizes lord Roch in his own castle.

the march; yet the veil wherewith the rest were sheltered by that obscurity from the more dangerous ambuscades of their enemy, who had every where bestrewed the passages to intercept them, made such sufficient compensation for those disasters, that by the next morning early he safely presented his prisoners to the general; not without raising an universal astonishment at his dexterous evasion of so many perils. But the lord Roch, upon examination, did make his words good; for being honourably acquitted, he approved himself a faithful subject ever after, and three of his sons laid down their lives in her majesty's service [y].

In the month of August, the same year, the lord deputy made the aforesaid captain John Zouch governor of Munster, with whom Ralegh and Dowdal made several journeys to settle and compose the country; but the certain place of their residence was at Cork. And when Zouch, with Dowdal, made that secret expedition, in which he lopped off the third branch of this venomous hydra, sir John Desmond, whose body was hung by the heels on a gibbet, then fixed on the gates of that city, and his head sent to London, he left the government of Cork to Ralegh [z]. I have observed this service against that sir John Desmond to have been commemorated by Ralegh himself in honour of Zouch, though in a discourse on a different subject, and some years after his death [a]; for soon after his return with the lord deputy into England, he was killed in a duel by one of his intimate friends: and this I remark here, as somewhat disproving the insinuation that Zouch's superior preferment should have nourished any such discontent in Ralegh [b], as might occasion that dispute we shall hear of between him and the lord deputy afterwards in England. Nor can I impute it to the disbanding his company, which might happen about this time; it seeming reasonable, upon the silence of the earl of Desmond, the slaughter of his brothers, and the

Governor of Cork.

[y] Hooker's Supply, p. 174.

[z] Cox's History of Ireland, p. 367.

[a] Sir Walter Ralegh's True Report of the desperate fight near the Azores, &c. in Hakluyt's Voyages, vol. 2. part 2. p. 173.

[b] Lives English and Foreign, more particularly cited in a succeeding note.

submission Barry had newly made, that the deputy, thinking Munster was now growing quiet, should not only lessen the queen's expenses there, by cashiering several companies, and discharging many garrisons, which he did, so as to have for the whole service of that province only four hundred foot and fifty horse; but that in the command of these, the senior officers should be continued. However it was, Ralegh appears no longer, after this reduction, in the wars of Ireland: but how well his services were received by the queen, and how nobly she rewarded him for them after the earl of Desmond himself was slain, we shall hear when we arrive at the time that his large possessions came to be divided among those who had assisted in quenching the flames of his rebellion.

His introduction at court.

Ralegh was not long in England, before his relation in some degree to the court began to appear. Tradition has industriously ascribed his first introduction thither to a piece of gallantry, wherewith he surprised the queen accidentally in one of her walks. "Her majesty meeting," says my author, "with a plashy place, made some scruple to go on; "when Ralegh (dressed in the gay and genteel habit of "those times) presently cast off and spread his new plush "cloak on the ground, whereon the queen trod gently over, "rewarding him afterwards with many suits for his so free and "seasonable tender of so fair a footcloth. Thus *an advan-* "*tageous admission*," says he, "*into the notice of a prince* "*is more than half a degree to preferment*[c]." After this, as the same author tells us, Ralegh coming to court, and finding some hopes of the queen's favour reflecting upon him, he wrote in a glass window, obvious to her eye,

Fain would I climb, yet fear I to fall.

Under which her majesty soon after wrote,

If thy heart fail thee, climb not at all.

No romantic air that may appear in these passages has been able to deny them a recital by several serious authors:

[c] Fuller's Worthies of England, fol. 1662. in Devon.

and indeed readers of experience, knowing how often an unusual compliment or artificial bait for favour catches it before the most substantial services, will not only be apt to doubt whether such incidents are to be called accessories so much as principals in worldly promotion, but esteem those as the most instructive circumstances in the lives of great men, which display the footsteps of their advancement, and how they first fell into the track of distinction: for the acquisition of glory is like that of riches, the profound mystery lies in coming at the prime stock; an ordinary prudence will increase it.

Description of his person.

But though he always made a very elegant appearance, as well in the splendour of attire as the politeness of address; "having a good presence, in a handsome and well "compacted person; a strong natural wit, and a better "judgment; with a bold and plausible tongue, whereby he "could set out his parts to the best advantage[d];" all very engaging advocates for royal favour, especially in a female sovereign: yet, observing Ralegh had at this time rendered himself considerable enough by his actions, and that the queen was not wanting in due notice towards such as were of a public nature; I should think these, of a more private and particular nature, might be accounted only as concurrent causes of his favourable reception at court; and especially seeing others, about the same time offering, sufficient of themselves to establish him there: but be that as it may, we find him, upon his return into England, employed in an expedition or two, by authority belike from the court; they being upon occasions of state. And though it imports not much whether it was now, or before he was in Ireland, that he accompanied the French ambassador, monsieur Simier, among those gentlemen who were appointed for his safe convoy to France; yet if that ambassador returned home, when his master the duke of Anjou came last over in November, the year before named, this is the place for it to be mentioned in. That Simier was, it seems, a proper ad-

Accompanies monsieur Simier to France.

[d] Frag. Reg. p. 28, 29.

vocate for the cause he came to plead; skilled in all the insinuating arts and devices of amorous address, and thereby perhaps won more of the queen's attention to his master's suit, than sat easy upon the earl of Leicester's mind: for though this earl was now privately married to the late earl of Essex's widow, yet his prejudice might at this time be renewed against the ambassador, for procuring him the queen's displeasure by discovering that marriage; as it was at first created, by supplanting him in his higher hopes. Indeed, the earl's animosity is said to have extended to the hiring of bravos to assassinate the ambassador; and Camden, who relates thus much, assures us the queen published (about two years before this time) a proclamation, commanding that no man should offer any affront to Simier, or any of his attendants [e]: nay, if we will believe a certain collection of most flagrant accusations against that earl, to which Camden, who seldom spares him, has paid much credit, the land itself was no boundary to the earl's revenge: for when other attempts failed, he is said, among those accusations, to have "dealt with certain Flushingers, and "other pirates, to sink the ambassador at sea, with the "English gentlemen, his favourers, who accompanied him "at his return into France; and though they missed of this "practice also, (as not daring to set upon him for fear of "her majesty's ships; which, to break this design, attended "by special command, to waft him over in safety,) yet the "foresaid English gentlemen were holden four hours in "chase at their coming back, as master Ralegh well know-"eth," says my author, "being then present; and two of the "chasers, named Clark and Harris, confessed afterwards "the whole designment [f]."

But after the duke of Anjou himself had been three months in England, he also departed, to take upon him the government of the Netherlands. This departure was in February following; and though the queen seems to have declined the marriage with him principally because she

[e] Camd. Annal. Reg. Eliz. anno 1579.

[f] Leicester's Commonwealth, 8vo. 1641. p. 37.

found her ministry so averse to it; yet there was an author, and his printer, who, for having published a little treatise against it about two years before [g], had their hands cut off but a few days after the duke came to London [h]. And she shewed him many other marks of favour and distinction; particularly, when he left the kingdom, she bore him company in person to Dover, and having appointed a most splendid retinue of nobles and gentlemen to wait upon him to his new government, I find that Ralegh was also among this grand assembly. They attended the duke to Antwerp, where, making a most magnificent procession, he was created duke of Brabant, &c. and invested with his charge. Ralegh seems not only to have stayed there some time after the lord admiral Howard, Leicester, young Sidney, and the rest were returned; but, through the opportunity of being personally known to the prince of Orange, honoured with some special acknowledgments from him to the queen of England. And Ralegh mentions thus much himself, in a discourse he wrote many years afterwards; wherein, speaking of the Hollanders' flourishing state, he lays down, as the first cause thereof, the favour and assistance granted them by this crown; "which," says he, "the late worthy and famous "prince of Orange did always acknowledge; and in the "year 1582, when I took my leave of him at Antwerp, "after the return of the earl of Leicester into England, "and monsieur's arrival there, when he delivered me his "letters to her majesty, he prayed me to say to the queen "from him, *Sub umbra alarum tuarum protegimur:* for "certainly," says he, "they had withered in the bud, and "sunk in the beginning of their navigation, had not her "majesty assisted them [i]."

And the duke of Anjou to Antwerp.

Brings over the prince of Orange's acknowledgments to the queen.

Towards the end of August, this last mentioned year, the

[g] This treatise is entitled, The Discovery of a gaping Gulf, wherein England is likely to be swallowed by another French Marriage, &c. Printed with a small letter, in a thin octavo, 1579.

[h] The names of this author, and his printer or publisher, were John Stubbs and William Page; and that sentence was executed on them at Westminster, November 3, 1581. Vide Stow's Chronicles and Camden's Annals in those years.

[i] Sir Walter Ralegh's Invention of Shipping, in his select essays, 8vo. 1650. p. 36.

lord Grey resigned the sword of Ireland, after he had been two years deputy in that kingdom[k]: and this must be the time that dispute between him and Ralegh was brought to a hearing, of which authors have so blindly written. Sir Robert Naunton "is confident, that, among the second "causes of Ralegh's growth, (not denying, or rather ac-"quiescing in his actions and accomplishments to have been "the first,) that variance between him and the lord Grey, "in his descent into Ireland, was a principal; for it drew "them both over," says he, "to the council-table, there to "plead their cause; where (what advantage he had in the "cause, my said author knew not, but says) he had much "the better in telling of his tale; and so much, that the "queen and the lords took no slight mark of the man and "his parts; for from thence he came to be known, and to "have access to the queen and the lords[l]." Now if this author is so defective, as not to have known the cause or subject of their quarrel, or, that Ralegh, leaving Ireland long before the lord Grey, was not likely to be drawn over together with him to the council-table; how much more must those writers following him be so, who have confused this matter with several other particulars, though they seem to have had no other authority? One of them says, Ralegh had in deed, but not in truth, the better by the tongue[m]; and insinuates, (with great caution and delicacy he thought, no doubt,) that the queen had been told something so engaging of Ralegh, besides his advantage in pleading, that it was *not to be mentioned*[n]; as if any of her courtiers dared

His dispute with the lord Grey, reckoned among the causes of his preferment.

[k] The sentiments of sir Walter Ralegh, upon the short term even of three years, (in those unsettled times,) to which the deputies of Ireland have been commonly circumscribed, may be read in his History of the World, lib. 5. cap. 3. sect. 5.

[l] Fragmenta Regalia, p. 29.

[m] Aulic. Coq. p. 90.

[n] The same author of Aulic. Coquin. says a little before, "that Ralegh "so took them (meaning the lords) "by his pleading, especially the earl "of Leicester, that the queen was "told the tale, and something more "of him; and no sooner he came to "be known to her, but she took him "to grace." Id. p. 75. I cannot be sure this is the style of a reverend father in God, though Mr. Tindal, in his notes upon Rapin, would induce us to think so, in calling the author of this Aulicus Coquinariæ by the name of Goodman, who was bishop of Gloucester, and did indeed write a review of sir Anthony Weldon's Court and Character of King James; which review is said by Anthony Wood to

to say any thing to the queen's face, which this anonymous writer, near fifty years after her death, would be either ashamed or afraid to repeat. A later writer makes such distinctions of Ralegh's extraordinary behaviour in this dispute, as if he had been at the council-table, and seen as well as heard him [o]. And another, after them all, has found out the cause of this difference between them to be captain Zouch's preferment [p]; of which we have before spoken as improbable. But passing these over, our author Naunton goes on; "and though he does not determine, whether the "lord Leicester had then cast in a good word for Ralegh "to the queen, yet says, it is true that he had gotten the "queen's ear at a trice, and she began to be taken with his "elocution, and loved to hear his reasons to her demands: "and the truth is, she took him for a kind of oracle, which "nettled them all; yea, those he relied on began to take "this his sudden favour for an alarm; to be sensible of "their own supplantation, and to project his; which made "him shortly after sing, *Fortune my foe*, &c."

It is hinted to us somewhat more expressly, by another court-writer of those times, and that is a rarity, such being commonly too polite or political to be very obliging in historical particulars, that the earl of Leicester befriended Ralegh (perhaps through his friendship with young Sidney,

As also the patronage of the earl of Leicester.

be involved in this Aulicus Coquinariæ. But the review itself, written in a thin folio, and sometimes quoted by H. Foulis, in his Romish Treasons, remains still in MS. in the Bodleian library, and begins differently from this printed answer to that court and character.

[o] David Lloyd says, Ralegh, upon this occasion, stated his case with that clearness; urged his arguments with that evidence and reason; offered his apologies with those pertinent and taking allegations, and his replies with that smartness; expressed himself with that fluency and eloquence, and managed his carriage and countenance with that discretion, that he was, first, the statesman's observation; next, her majesty's favourite; and at last, her oracle. See this author's Observations on the Statesmen and Favourites of England since the Reformation, 8vo. 1665. p. 487.

[p] The author of sir Walter Ralegh's life, in Lives English and Foreign, 1704. vol. 1. p. 86. says, that Ralegh's disgust at the deputy's preferring Zouch grew to a difference between him and the said lord Grey, which was referred by the council of war in Ireland to that in England, and there decided in Ralegh's favour: the soliciting of which business was the true cause of his leaving Ireland. But he quotes no authority: and I think, by what is before said of the matter, this true cause will appear a groundless conjecture; at least less probable than what might perhaps be drawn from Spenser's View of Ireland, vol. 6. p. 1669.

that earl's worthily beloved nephew) in his first advancements at court; and that being willing, for his own ease, to bestow handsomely upon another some part of the pains, and perhaps of the envy, to which a long indulgent fortune is obnoxious, either brought or let him into that promising sphere of preferment; where the earl soon found him such an apprentice, as knew well enough how to set up for himself, says my said author [q]. So that if the earl of Sussex, who was Leicester's antagonist, had any hand in Ralegh's rise, as some later writers of less authority have suggested [r], it seems to have been afterwards, when Ralegh's courtly splendour was, by occasion, somewhat obstructed; and Leicester meant to allay it, by interposing the young earl of Essex: for Ralegh continued, during that storm, in some lustre of a favoured man, like billows which sink but by degrees, even when the wind is down that first stirred them. But this we shall observe as we go on, that in all the different aspects or conjunctions of interest, through the access or change of new favourites in this long reign, none were less immerged by the smiles of the court, in the luxuries and vanities of it, nor more animated by its frowns to the enterprising of public and superior difficulties for the honour and aggrandisement of his country. Not that he set out to sea but when he had despaired of raising himself on shore; for these public enterprises were rooted so early in Ralegh's aspiring mind, that we perceive, even now, before factions at court could drive him from the land, or preferments and grants from the crown enable him for the sea, that he had built at his own expense, to prosecute them, a strong handsome ship, which was named Bark Ralegh, of two hundred ton burden.

And earl of Sussex.

Bark Ralegh.

And now that the six years period of sir Humphrey Gilbert's patent grew short, four of them being elapsed, he thought it high time to make a new attempt in person (since his assignments had proved of little consequence) at those

[q] Sir Henry Wotton's Parallel of Robert Devereux earl of Essex, and George Villiers duke of Buckingham.

[r] Shirley's Life of Sir Walter Ralegh, 8vo. 1677. p. 19. and the same in fol. p. 3.

discoveries he had before failed in, that he might confirm by experience what he had so excellently advanced in theory. Accordingly, having fitted out a fleet of four ships, Ralegh also victualled and manned out his before-mentioned, which was the largest among them; and, in the quality of vice-admiral, set out to bear his brother Gilbert company, in this his last expedition to Newfoundland. The fleet departed from Plymouth on the 11th of June, 1583. My author, who was in this voyage, tells us, no cost was spared by Ralegh in provisions and necessaries for the happy accomplishment of it; yet that in two or three days following he returned greatly distressed to Plymouth, by reason his whole ship's company was infected with a contagious sickness[s]. But lucky to him, perhaps, was this visitation; since the voyage proved so fatal to those who went through it, particularly sir Humphrey himself; who, though he arrived in Newfoundland in the beginning of August following, took possession of the country in right of the crown of England, by digging up a turf, and receiving it with a hazel wand, delivered to him according to our law and custom; also had assigned lands to every man in his company, and was got three hundred leagues in his way home again, with full hopes of the queen's assistance to fit out a fleet, not only for the north, but one also for the south next year; yet over-hardily venturing in a little frigate of but ten ton burden, called the Squirrel, he was on the ninth of September following at midnight, in a high sea, swallowed up[t]. Another

Sets out with sir H. Gilbert to Newfoundland.

[s] Captain Edward Hayes's report of sir H. Gilbert's voyage to Newfoundland, in Hakluyt, vol. 3. p. 149. See also sir George Peckham's report of the discovery and possession of Newfoundland, by that valiant and worthy gentleman sir H. Gilbert, in the same volume, p. 165.

[t] As authors have been very defective and erroneous in their accounts of this brave and public-spirited, but unfortunate knight, sir Humphrey Gilbert of Compton, I shall here observe, that John Hooker, who knew him, says he was bred at Oxford: see his Supply of the Irish Chronicles, p. 132.: though A. Wood is silent of any such Oxonian. Hooker takes notice of his extraordinary services in Ireland, for which he was made colonel of Munster; and sir Roger Williams, in his Actions of the Low Countries, tells us he was the first English commander who led a regiment thither to serve the prince of Orange against the Spaniards. But John Prince, who pretends to give us his life among his Worthies of Devon, mentions nothing of his land-services. The said J. Prince quotes sir W. Pole's MSS. to vouch this Gilbert's being knighted by the queen

of the vessels, called the Delight, but few days before also suffered the same fate; and even the rest returned not without great hazard, hardship, and loss: teaching, says Camden, that it is a more difficult matter to carry over colonies to remote countries upon private men's purses, than he and others had persuaded themselves, to their own loss and detriment[u]. But neither these unfortunate attempts by sea hitherto, nor the ruin of sir Humphrey Gilbert's estate, nor the loss of his life, nor the hardships of all his company besides, could teach Ralegh that lesson: these examples and this experience were so far from satiating, that they did but sharpen his appetite to such honourable dangers.

And as we are assured from family tradition, by a late author of his own name and lineage, that the discoveries of the great Columbus, the conquests of Fernando Cortez, the famous Francis Pizarro, and other leaders of the Spaniards,

at Greenwich, 1577. But Hooker aforesaid shews him to have been knighted in the church at Drogheda, by sir Hen. Sidney, deputy of Ireland, seven years sooner at least; and agreeable thereto, we find him called sir Humphrey Gilbert in a letter of sir Thomas Smith's, dated 1572. among sir D. Digges's collection before mentioned, p. 299. Lastly, another writer of his life, in Latin, places his last expedition to Newfoundland twenty years sooner than he undertook it, if it is not the fault rather of the printer than the author: vide Hollandi Heroologia Anglica. fol. Arnheim. 1620. p. 65. As for sir Humphrey's writings, we have extant in Hakluyt, vol. 3. p. 11. his discourse to prove a passage by the north-west to Cathay and the East Indies, in ten chapters; first published in 4to. 1576. at the end of which he mentions another discourse, now lost, I fear; wherein he amended the usual errors of sea-cards, which make the degrees of longitude in every latitude of equal bigness; and invented a spherical instrument, with a compass of variation, for the perfect knowledge of the longitude; and laid down a precise order to prick the sea-cards, with certain rules for the shortening any discovery, and knowing at the first entrance of any fret, whether it lies open to the ocean more ways than one, and how far the sea stretches itself into the land. As for the picture at Compton, said by Prince to be drawn for sir H. Gilbert; if his author, sir W. Pole, is no truer in his assertion of the queen's having given sir Humphrey the gold chain represented about the neck thereof, than he was in her having knighted him, and there are no other signatures besides that chain, and the inscription of Virginia on the globe, with the verses under it relating thereto, I see not but the picture is to be doubted, as rather meant for his brother Ralegh, who was honoured with a golden chain by the queen, and whose title to that inscription on the globe was beyond any man's in the world. But the stately poem in Latin hexameters, upon his last expedition, by Stephanus Parmenius Budeius, a learned Hungarian, who was drowned with him, was undoubtedly, among other English adventurers therein named, chiefly intended for his honour. See it in Hakluyt, vol. 3. p. 138.

[u] Camd. Annal. Eliz. Reg. anno 1583.

who, under the emperor Charles and his son Philip II. had made the greatest and most surprising additions to their empire that ever prince received or subjects wrought, were the favourite histories that took up Ralegh's early reading and conversation while he was but a young man [x]; we may presume they so possessed his noble genius, (with perhaps also some late domestic and living examples,) that no little personal oppositions at home, or particular misadventures abroad, could ever discourage him from the pursuit of these grand and national undertakings. But when, by his own observation, he found the Spaniards had only settled upon the middle and southern parts of America, and that there were certain vast territories yet unknown to the north of those lands which the Spaniards already enjoyed, as fit perhaps for settlement, and as easy to conquer, as any they did enjoy; and when, by his inquiries among the most observant pilots and mariners who had sailed in the Spanish ships to the gulf of Mexico, many of whom he had opportunity to meet and discourse with in Holland and Flanders, he had learnt that the Spaniards always went into the gulf of Mexico by St. Domingo and the island of Hispaniola, where the currents with the trade-winds always ran together, and set into the bay; that they always disembogued, as they called it, or came out by the Havannah and the channels of Bahama, which they now call the gulf of Florida; and that, as they returned by this gulf, they found a continued coast on the west side, trending away north, which they generally lost sight of by standing away to the east, to make for the coast of Spain; Ralegh fully determined that there was a vast extent of land north of that gulf, or west from the coast of Spain, which might be well worth discovering; and, after mature deliberation, fully resolved upon the discovery. As soon as he had digested his proposal, and dis-

[x] See an Historical Account of the Voyages and Adventures of Sir Walter Ralegh, with the Discoveries and Conquests he made for the Crown of England, &c. humbly proposed to the South Sea Company, 8vo. 1719. p. 8. Though no author's name is prefixed to it, I take it to be written by some relation of Philip Ralegh, hereafter mentioned.

played the manner of prosecuting it in proper schemes, he laid them before the queen and council, to whom it appearing a rational, practical, and generous undertaking, her majesty was pleased, in the beginning of the year 1584, to grant him full power to enjoy such countries as he proposed to discover, by her letters patents; which in epitome, or divested of the tautologies usual, if not necessary, in instruments of such kind, are as follows.

The queen's letters patents to him for discovering of unknown countries.

"Elizabeth, &c. To all people greeting. Know ye that "out of our special grace we grant to our trusty and well-"beloved servant Walter Ralegh, esq. his heirs and assigns, "free liberty to discover such remote heathen and barbarous "lands not actually possessed by any Christian prince, nor "inhabited by Christian people, as to him or them shall "seem good, to hold the same with all prerogatives, com-"modities, jurisdictions, royalties, and privileges, by sea "and land, as we by letters patents may grant, or any of "our progenitors have granted; with licence to inhabit or "remain, build and fortify, at the discretion of the said W. "Ralegh, his heirs, &c. the statutes or acts against fugitives, "or such as depart this realm unprivileged, notwithstanding.

"We likewise grant him or them full power to take or lead "such of our subjects as shall willingly accompany him or "them; also to employ and use sufficient shipping and fur-"niture for transportations and navigations in that behalf: "so that none of those persons be such as are restrained by "us, our heirs or successors. Further, that the said W. "Ralegh and his heirs shall enjoy for ever all the soil of "such lands so to be discovered, and of all such cities, "castles, or towns in the same, with the right and royalties, "as well marine as other, within the said lands or seas ad-"joining, with full power to dispose thereof in fee simple, "or otherwise, according to the laws of England, at his and "their will, to any person within the allegiance of us or our "heirs, reserving always to us, for all services, duties, and "demands, the fifth part of all the ore of gold and silver "there obtained after such discovery. All which lands,

" and countries shall be for ever holden by the said W.
" Ralegh, his heirs, &c. by homage, the said payment re-
" served only for all services. We likewise grant to the
" said Ralegh and his heirs licence for their defence, to
" repel by land or sea all persons that shall without his or
" their liking attempt to inhabit the said countries, or within
" two hundred leagues of the places in them where he or
" they within six years to come shall make their dwellings,
" if not before inhabited by the subjects of any Christian
" prince in amity with us. Giving also power to him or
" them to take those persons, with their ships and goods,
" and keep them as lawful prize, who without his or their
" licence shall be found trafficking within the limits afore-
" said, (our subjects and others in amity with us only ex-
" cepted.) And as well for uniting in more perfect league
" such countries with our realms of England and Ireland,
" as for the encouragement of men to these enterprises, we
" declare that all such countries so possessed shall be of our
" allegiance. And we grant to the said W. Ralegh, his
" heirs, and to all being of our allegiance, whose names shall
" be entered in some court of record within our realm of
" England, and to their heirs, who with the assent of the
" said W. Ralegh, his heirs, &c. shall in his journeys for
" discovery or conquest hereafter travel to such lands, that
" they and every of them, being either born within our said
" realms of England or Ireland, or any other place within
" our allegiance, and who shall hereafter be inhabitants of
" any of the lands aforesaid; shall have all the privilege of
" free denizens and persons native of England, in such
" ample manner as if they were born and personally resi-
" dent in our said realm of England, any law, &c. notwith-
" standing. And further, for the safety of all that shall
" adventure themselves, we grant the said W. Ralegh, and
" his heirs, full power and authority within the said lands,
" in the way thither, and from thence, to correct, punish,
" pardon, govern by their good discretions and policies, as
" well in causes capital or criminal, as civil, both marine

" and other, all our subjects who so adventure themselves, " and shall inhabit the territories aforesaid, or shall abide " within two hundred leagues of any such places where he " or they shall inhabit within six years next ensuing, ac- " cording to such statutes as shall be by him or them esta- " blished; so that the said statutes or laws conform as near " as conveniently may be with those of England, and do " not oppugn the Christian faith, or any way withdraw the " people of those lands from our allegiance. We also grant " full power to our trusty and well-beloved counsellor sir " W. Cecil, lord Burghley, our high-treasurer of England, " and to the lord-treasurer for us and our heirs, and to the " privy-council of us and our heirs, or any four or more of " them, that he or they, under their hands or seals, authorize " the said Walter Ralegh or his heirs, by themselves or " officers, to transport out of England and Ireland any of " their goods, with other commodities, as to the said lord- " treasurer or the said privy-council shall be thought con- " venient, for the better relief and support of the said Wal- " ter Ralegh or his heirs, any act notwithstanding. Pro- " vided always, that if the said Walter Ralegh, his heirs, " or any other, by his or their licence, shall rob or spoil by " sea or land, or do any unlawful hostility to any of our " subjects, or those of kings or states in perfect league " and unity with us, we shall, upon just complaint, make " proclamation that the said W. Ralegh or his heirs shall, " within the terms to be limited, make full satisfaction; so " that we and those who complain may be fully contented; " and that if he or they make not such satisfaction within " such time, it shall be lawful for us to put him or them out " of our allegiance, and from that time for all princes or " others to pursue with hostility, as not to be avouched or " defended by us; though any mention of the yearly value " of the premises, or any part thereof, or of any other grant " by us or our predecessors to the said Walter Ralegh be- " fore this time made, be not expressed, or any other pro- " vision or restraint to the contrary notwithstanding. In

"witness whereof we have caused these our letters to be "made patents, at Westminster the 25th of March, in the "26th year of our reign [y]."

Immediately upon the grant of this patent, Ralegh gave his instructions for an American voyage [z] to captain Philip Amadas and captain Arthur Barlow, two experienced commanders, and had got a couple of barks well furnished with men and provisions at his own expense, in such readiness, that on the twenty-seventh day of April following they departed from the west of England. The tenth of May they arrived at the Canaries, and a month after fell upon the isles of the West Indies, "which, with the rest adjoining, (says "my author, one of those captains,) are so well known to "yourself, (directing the account of this voyage to his pro-"prietor,) and to many others, that I will not trouble you "with the remembrance of them." In the beginning of July they were saluted with a most fragrant gale from the land they were seeking, and soon after arrived upon the coast; but sailed along some six-score miles before they could find an entrance by any river issuing into the sea. At last discovering one, they manned out their boats to view the land adjoining, where they saw vines laden with grapes in vast abundance, climbing up the tall cedars, and spreading so luxuriantly along the sandy shore, that the sea often overflowed them. On the thirteenth of July they took possession in right of the queen, and afterwards delivered the country over to Ralegh's use. They thought this land had at first been the continent, but found it afterwards only an island twenty miles long, called Wocoken; plentifully stocked with animals, groves of sweet-smelling trees, pulse, grain, and esculent roots. They observed along the coast a tract of islands two or three hundred miles long; and passing between them, saw another great sea, twenty, forty,

[y] See these letters patents at large (penned with the same limitations that sir Humphrey Gilbert's had been) in Hakluyt's Voyages, vol. 3. fol. 243.

[z] But that he now sailed thither himself, or then made the discovery, whatever he might do before, of the country hereafter mentioned, in person, and returned in the beginning of 1585, as the author of his life, in Lives English and Foreign, tells us, vol. 1. p. 90. is all fancy and fiction.

and in some places fifty miles over, before they could reach the continent; and in this enclosed sea above a hundred islands of various size, whereof one is sixteen miles long, called Roanoak, and about seven leagues distant, up the river Occam, from the harbour they first entered; at which they chiefly settled while they stayed, finding it so pleasant and fruitful as to yield three harvests in five months. But they remained upon the borders of Wocoken two days before they beheld a human creature. On the third, they saw a boat rowing towards them with three of the natives; one of them landed, and walked up the shore near their ship, for they were then on board; then the two captains, with some others, took their boat and rowed to land, and by their courteous carriage soon prevailed on the native to return with them on board, where they clothed him, and gave him victuals, wine, and several little toys or utensils, which won the simple creature's heart. Soon after his departure, he returned again with a boat full of fish, to be divided between the ship and the pinnace, and then he left them. The next day came the king's brother Granganimeo, with a great many attendants; for the king himself, who was named Wingina, and his large territories Wingandacoa, lay ill of the wounds he had lately received in war. His brother was highly pleased with his entertainment, and having received several presents, soon after sent the savages to traffick with the English; also came again himself, and exchanged twenty skins, worth as many nobles, for a tin dish, which he hung as a gorget about his neck, to defend him from the arrows of his enemies: then also he brought his wife and children, with her attendants, forty or fifty in number. She was well-favoured, but bashful, clad in a mantle of deer-skin, lined with fur, and a kind of apron of the same; her hair hung down long on each side, with a band of white coral about her forehead, and long bracelets of pearl down to her middle, as big as peas in her ears, "a bracelet whereof "we delivered to your worship," says my author to Ralegh. Her husband's apparel was much like hers, only about his head he wore a broad plate of gold or copper, and his hair

The first voyage for the discovery of Wingandacoa.

was long but on one side. After this interview, familiar commerce passed between the natives and the English, who, when they went to Roanoak, were much caressed and treated by the lady aforesaid. And when she could not prevail with them to stay, being but few in company, though the natives had no edge-tools of iron or steel, and had proffered a great box of pearl for some armour and a sword, she sent her women to watch them all night in their ships on the bank-side. And indeed all the people who saw them admired much at their ships, their firearms, their clothes, and above all, their complexions; for, except a vessel which was cast away with some Christian adventurers about twenty-six years before near Secotan, the southernmost town in Wingandacoa, never any people in apparel or of fair colour were seen or heard of among them; which made them wonder so much at the whiteness of their skins, and so fond of seeing and touching them. Under these favourable recommendations, and the distress which the natives were in for some powerful friends to defend them from the invasions of their neighbours, the promises of visiting them again, wherewith the English left them, after having learnt as much of the situation, state, and product of the country, as was at this time convenient, were very acceptable. So bringing over a couple of the Indians with them, named Manteo and Wanchese, to shew them our fine country, they arrived safely in the west of England about the middle of September following. Then captain Barlow addressed the relation of this first voyage, and his success in it, to his proprietor, whereof I have thus given an abstract [a].

When Ralegh had laid before her majesty these and all other reports most worthy of notice, which were brought him of this rich, beautiful, and virgin country; and had acknowledged how much this hopeful progress towards the possession of it was owing to the auspices of a virgin queen; she was so well pleased with the honour and advantage it

[a] See the first voyage to the coasts of America with two barks, by the captains Amadas and Barlow, at the charge of sir Walter Ralegh, in Hakluyt, vol. 3. fol. 246.

promised, and gave him such encouragement to complete the discovery, which he forthwith prepared to do by another expedition, that she called it herself by the name of Virginia[b]. What enemies this public patronage might raise him at court, we hear not; but find he had such friends in the country, that upon the approaching sessions of parliament, about two months after, he was elected a knight of the shire for the county of Devon, sir William Courtenay being the other representative[c]. There was then a clerk of the parliament so very indolent, or otherwise indisposed, that the transactions of the house of commons at this time were very imperfectly recorded[d]. Yet we find Ralegh mentioned to have been chosen of the committees upon some bills that were then read. On the fourteenth of December following, the bill, in confirmation of his patent aforesaid for the discovery of foreign countries, was read the first time. In the afternoon it was read the second time, and committed to the vice-chamberlain Hatton, secretary Walsingham, sir Philip Sidney, sir Francis Drake, sir Richard Greenfield, (or Grenvill,) sir William Courtenay, sir William Mohun, and others. Three days after, the said bill was, without any alteration, ordered to be engrossed. The next day it was read the third time, when, after many arguments and a proviso added, it passed the house upon the question[e]. Between this time in December and the twenty-fourth of February following he received the honour of knighthood: for being then in a committee for considering after what manner and measure they should supply her majesty by subsidy, this is the earliest time I meet with of his being styled sir Walter Ralegh[f]; a title which her majesty bestowed, as all others of honour, with frugality and choice. Therefore was it a more certain cognizance of virtue or

Named Virginia.

He is chosen member of parliament.

Knighted.

[b] Most authors say, Ralegh first called it Virginia in compliment to the queen; but she named it so herself, as further will appear.

[c] Notitia Parliamentaria, by Browne Willis, esq. 8vo. vol. 2. 1716. p. 254.

[d] His name was Fulk Onslow. See sir Simon D'Ewe's Journal of both Houses in Queen Elizabeth's Reign, fol. 1708. p. 356; and other parts of this session.

[e] Ib. fol. 341.

[f] Ib. fol. 356.

valour, than titles of more pompous denomination in the reign of her successor, who suffered lucre to corrupt the noble fountain, to turn it into vulgar channels, and drain it even to the dregs[g]; so that the dignities which flowed or overflowed from it proved distinctions oftener of their pride, riches, or prostitutions, on whom they were conferred, than of any abilities or performances for the public good that might deserve them. Nay, that this honour was intended by that queen as the most significant testimony of personal desert, may be instanced, according to an ingenious observer of her reign, "in sir Francis Vere, a man nobly descended; "and sir Walter Ralegh, exactly qualified," says he, "with "many others, set apart in her judgment for military ser-"vices; whose titles she never raised above knighthood: "saying, when importuned to make Vere a baron, *that in* "*his proper sphere, and her estimation, he was above it* "*already*[h]."

His patent for wine-licences.

About the time that her majesty granted Ralegh the patent above-cited for the discovery of remote countries, she seems also to have given him another, to license the vending of wines throughout the kingdom, that by the advantages of this he might be better able to sustain the great charges which the other brought upon him. There were no restric-

[g] Sir Edward Walker, garter, and secretary of war to king Charles I. observes, "That in all queen Eli-"zabeth's forty-four years reign "she created but six earls and eight "or nine barons. So that when she "died, the nobility consisted but of "one marquis, nineteen earls, two "viscounts, and about thirty ba-"rons: but doubts whether in the "reign of king James the dispensing "of honours so liberally was not one "of the beginnings of general dis-"contents, especially among persons "of great extraction. So that when "this king died, having reigned but "twenty-two years, he left the no-"bility in his three kingdoms above "double the number to what he found "them, though his reign was peace-"able, and not full of action, which "renders men in capacity highly to "merit from their prince; and so, "without envy, receive advance-"ment." And a little further: "When alliance to a favourite; "riches, though gotten in a shop; "persons of private estates, and of "families, that many of them, and "their fathers, would have thought "themselves highly honoured to have "been but knights in queen Eliza-"beth's time, were advanced; then "the fruits thereof began to appear, "&c." His observations on the inconveniences of frequent promotions to titles of honour, in his Historical Discourses, fol. 1705. p. 300. and 302, &c.

[h] The miscellaneous works of Francis Osborne, esq. in Traditional Memoirs on the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, vol. 2. p. 43.

tions belike in this patent from increasing the number of vintners in any part of the realm. And hence arose his controversy at this time with one of the universities. For Ralegh having by virtue of that general patent given licence to one John Keymer to sell wine in Cambridge, some of the hotter heads, especially the other vintners there, among whom was one Baxter, an esquire beadle, licensed to sell wine by that university, opposed this Keymer and his wife with such violence, that she was likely to have died. Complaint being made to Ralegh, he wrote a letter "To the "worshipful Dr. Howland, vice-chancellor, and the rest of "the masters," to tell them how much he took this riotous demeanour as a contempt of the queen's grant to him; presuming, if he had given any unlawful privilege, the conference he had offered by his deputies, for a quiet decision of the matter by learned counsel between them, would have been accepted. Further telling them, that if the abuse was not regulated, and the said Keymer permitted to enjoy the liberty granted him, he would take some other course for reformation therein: but resting assured they would use such means as might occasion no further trouble, he not desiring to execute his grant to its extent among their vintners, who were the only disturbers herein, respecting more their own gain than quiet government; he only craves their answer, and that the riotous persons might not rest unpunished: so bids them heartily farewell; from his lodgings at the court, the 9th of July 1584; and subscribes himself, "Your very affectionate loving friend." This producing no answer in seven months, and Ralegh having heard they continued to oppress Keymer, he wrote, by him, again; "To his loving friend the vice-chancellor," &c. telling him, that being by information persuaded, himself, with the grave and well disposed of the university, were so grieved with the unseemly outrages lately committed by the young and unbridled heads thereof, to the contempt of the queen's prerogative and his discredit, as sufficient order had been taken for the bearer's quiet; which caused him to rest from requiring reformation therein at his good lord-treasurer's

His controversy with the university of Cambridge.

hands; who as yet understood nothing from him of these riots, through the good-will he bore to their university: and that he meant so to deal with them for the other four taverns as should sufficiently have contented them. But his too favourable dealing with them had given such encouragement, as, this day he is informed, that, intending further to disturb the bearer, they had warned him to appear before them, with which he had persuaded him to comply: for though he knew them not, their place should tell him their proceedings would be just and lawful; which only he desired, and wherein they would pleasure themselves, and continue his readiness to serve them. Thus hoping to find by their answer these informations sprung rather from jealousy than just occasion, he leaves them to God; from the court at Somerset-house the 10th of February in the year aforesaid, and subscribes himself "Your very willing friend." Upon their sending no answer to this, and Ralegh hearing they had suddenly clapped up the man in prison, he sent, ten days after the last, his third letter from the court, directed "To the vice-chancellor, and the rest of the masters, &c." And herein tells them, he cannot a little marvel at their peremptory and proud manner of dealing. That he was content to use all manner of courtesy towards them in respect of his honourable good lord the lord-treasurer; but perceived his reasonable, or rather too submiss dealing, had bred in them a proceeding unsufferable, having committed a poor man to prison, for doing nothing but what was warranted by the great seal of England; which, supposing they had a charter, he knew not that any man or society would so much take upon them to do before a trial. "As I re-"verence the place," says he, "of which you are the go-"vernors, so I will not willingly take any wrong or disgrace "from you." But as he was assured the lord-treasurer would be indifferent in the case, and as the matter so much concerned the validity of his patent elsewhere, as well as in their university, he would try the utmost of his right as well for this one, wherewith he was content to have been satisfied, as for all the other four. So having thought they would have

vouchsafed him an answer to his last letters, he ends, subscribing himself, "Your friend, as you shall give cause[i]." This roused them to some consideration, and soon after, a handsome apologetical letter was sent from the vice-chancellor to sir W. Ralegh, setting forth, that the hard opinion he had conceived of them for this matter, made them doubt what manner of answer they might address to him without offence; and that their silence was so ill taken, they knew not how their endeavours to excuse it might give him satisfaction. That they had not neglected any reasonable means to procure his favour for the quiet enjoyment of that whereof they had the fruition for above two hundred years; nor omitted to become petitioners to him in a very humble manner. That his counsel had not made any just exception against their charters; and those who had the hearing of the case thought them to have the better warrant. Yet that he used such hard terms as they little looked for at his hands; "being by birth a gentleman; by education trained "up to the knowledge of good letters; instructed with the "liberal disposition of a university, the fountain and nur-"sery of all humanity: and further, by God's good bless-"ing, advanced in court, from whence the very name of "courtesy is drawn." That the prejudice he apprehended from their example against his patent was unlikely to fall out; since other places were not privileged as the universities were. That her majesty's grant, by her prerogative, gave him his title; and the like prerogative was the ground of their charters. And as he would think it hard to have his patent impeached by an after-grant, they hoped he would with like equity measure them, who were warranted to have the sole dealing with all vintners in Cambridge town, and the precincts thereof. Touching the imprisonment of the party, whom he charged them with proceeding against before trial, and who, according to Mr. Brown's promise to

[i] The three letters, whereof I have here given the substance in Ralegh's own words, were communicated to me by the right honourable the earl of Oxford, from the collections of the reverend and learned Mr. Baker of St. John's college, Cambridge, who copied them out of the originals.

the lord treasurer, was to have given over at Michaelmas last; however the course thereof had been otherwise reported to him, it was only at this time to correct his contempt in not appearing, being lawfully warned, and refusing to answer before the ordinary judge, or enter bond for appearance when cause should require. That for their own part, it would be no disadvantage whether he or other, one or many, were vintners there; but in regard of the youth committed to their charge, duty bound them to consider who they admitted to keep taverns, the number whereof also was limited; which, if they exceeded, would endanger their privileges; for the preservation whereof, as they had all taken a special oath, so they right humbly eftsoons beseeched him to have regard of them for their duties therein. Concluding thus: "Whatever kindness you shall any ways "shew to the university, *as the body thereof doth still con-* "*tinue, so the memory thereof cannot decay.* There is not "one of us but you may readily command wherein it may "please you to employ us; only we pray you, and that in "the heartiest manner, to vouchsafe us your favour in mat-"ter of our privileges; *that we may leave them in no* "*worse estate to our posterity, than we did receive them of* "*our predecessors.* Thus desiring God so to direct you "with his blessed Spirit, as may be most to his glory and "your greatest comfort, we take our leave; from Cam-"bridge[k]." This might probably pacify Ralegh at present, both for their neglect in not answering his letters, and their forwardness in imprisoning the man; till the difference was a few months afterwards accommodated by the lord treasurer, who was chancellor of that university[l].

[k] The old copy of this letter, whence I have given the extract above, is in the possession of Hugh Howard, esq.

[l] For the said lord treasurer Burghley sent, in a letter to Dr. Norgate, his vice-chancellor, on the 26th of July 1585, the opinion of the two chief justices, sir Christopher Wraye and sir Edmund Anderson, upon this controversy between that university and Mr. Rawlie, as he is therein called, for the nomination of vintners, and setting the price of wine there; which opinion is as follows: ——"First, touching the nomina-"tion of vintners there, we think it "appertaineth to the university, by "usage and charters from her ma-"jesty, confirmed by parliament: "and that Mr. Rawlie can nominate "none there. For the price; it seem-"eth they may set prices, so as it be

And indeed at this juncture Ralegh seems to have had little leisure for further debates of this kind: for the parliament being soon after, on the 29th of March 1585, prorogued, Ralegh appears several ways engaged in the laudable improvements of navigation. For his brother Adrian Gilbert of Sandridge, afterwards knighted, in pursuance of the arguments laid down by his brother sir Humphrey, having been at great charges in finding out the northern passage to China and the Moluccas; and in consideration thereof been granted a patent by the queen two years before this time, to pursue the discovery by partners, under the title of *The colleagues of the fellowship for the discovery of the north-west passage;* Ralegh was now one of the associates in this enterprise; and after having duly consulted about the likeliest means to success, and liberally contributed towards the expense, they chose captain John Davis, an experienced navigator, to be undertaker of the exploit. He set first out upon it this summer from Falmouth in two barks. When he came to land in sixty-six degrees forty minutes latitude, he anchored in a very fair road, under a brave mountain; which, for the splendid appearance it made, the cliffs thereof being as orient as gold, they named Mount Ralegh [m], in honour of their proprietor; and soon after fell into the very passage they sought, since well known by the name of Davis's Straits. The farther search whereof, through the same patronage and support, captain Davis made in two voyages more, the two following years, and in a manner completed the said discovery [n].

Contributes to the discovery of the north-west passage.

Mount Ralegh.

"according to the statute, and not "otherwise. And if the vintners set "at higher prices, they are to be "punished by law. Which penalty "Mr. Rawlie may dispense withal; "and yet cannot sue for the penalty "by his patent against the statute "laws: for therein all liberties to "the university is excepted." After this we hear no more of the dispute. See the said lord Burghley's letter, and opinion of the judges, in Mr. John Strype's Annals of the Church, tom. 3. 1728. fol. 343.

[m] John Janes account of captain Davis's first voyage in June 1585, for the discovery of the north-west passage, in Hakluyt, vol. 3. fol. 101.

[n] These two voyages follow the first in the same volume. Joannes Baptista Ramusius, in the preface to his third volume of Navigations, writes with respect to this discovery of the north-west passage to the East Indies, and the attempt first made by Sebastian Cabota, pilot-major of England, as follows: "It seems, that "God does still reserve this great

The second voyage to Virginia.

But about two months before Davis begun his said first voyage for this discovery, Ralegh sent out his own fleet for Virginia, which consisted of seven sail, whereof some were his own ships, and they departed from Plymouth on the 9th of April, the year above specified. He deputed his gallant relation sir Richard Grenville general of the expedition, and Mr. Ralph Lane, who was afterwards knighted, to be governor of the colony which they now transported. There went besides, Mr. Thomas Candish, John Arundel, Raymond, Stucley, Bremige, Vincent, Mr. John Clark, and several others, whereof some were captains, and others assistants for counsel and direction in the voyage. So they shaped their course to the Canary islands, from thence to Dominica, and to the island of St. John de Puerto Rico, where they were sadly stung with the muskittos, and near which they took two Spanish frigates; one whereof was freighted with a rich cargo, and divers Spaniards of distinction, who afterwards were ransomed for good round sums of money. Then they made away to Hispaniola; soon after which the general, and some of his company, were near being cast away in catching of seals. From thence they sailed to Florida [o], and on the 26th of June anchored at Wocoken, whence they sent word of their arrival to king Wingina at Roanoak. They carried the Indians with them from England; and Manteo, on the 6th of July, led Mr. Arundel to the main continent, where they found some of

"enterprise for some great prince, "to discover this voyage to Cathay "by this way; which, for the bringing of the spiceries from India into "Europe, were the most easy and "shortest of all others; to make his "name great, and fame immortal to "all ages to come; far more than "can be done by any of all those "great troubles and wars which daily "are used in Europe among the miserable Christian people."

[o] One argument used by a late author to prove this was the first attempt made for the discovery of these parts of America, is, that these navigators "knew no other way to sail "from England to the coast of Virginia, than to go first to the Canaries, from thence to Hispaniola, "and into the gulf of Mexico: then "out by Cuba and the gulf of Bahama; and so coast along the shore "from Florida to Virginia, from the "latitude of 30 minutes to 42; which "is in short," says he, "like going "from London by Portsmouth, and "from thence to Exeter, away to "Bristol, and so up by the banks of "the Severn to come at West-Chester." See the Historical Account of the Voyages and Adventures of Sir Walter Ralegh, 8vo. p. 19.

their men who had been conducted thither twenty days before, by captain Raymond. On the eleventh following, the general, accompanied by Arundel, Stucley, Lane, Candish, Hariot, Amadas, Clark, and others, passed over the water to the main land, and victualled their ships; in which voyage they first discovered the towns of Pomeioc, Aquasgococ, and Secotan; also the great lake Paquipe, and many other places; then returned to their fleet. They afterwards revisited those parts, and were kindly entertained by the savages. Coming at last to anchor at Hatorask, prince Grangino, or Granganimeo, before mentioned, came attended by Manteo to visit them on board the admiral, which was named the Tyger. The particulars which passed between them about the settlement are not mentioned in the short journal of this voyage; but we may conclude it was agreed on to their mutual satisfaction; since one hundred and seven men, whose names are printed at the end of the said journal, under the government of Mr. Lane, were left for a year in the country, without disturbance, to begin the plantation. On the 25th of August the general weighed anchor, and set sail for England. About six days after he took a Spanish ship of three hundred ton, richly laden; and on the 18th of October arrived with the prize at Plymouth, where he was courteously received by his worshipful friend [p].

A rich prize.

Of this prize we have some further account, if it is to be credited; for it comes from a man, who, in the latter end of sir Walter Ralegh's life, met with countenance to prove his greatest enemy; but after his death, found himself necessitated to publish all the arguments he could devise, to justify his perfidy towards him, and assuage the reproach of mankind. This author, one of king James's knights, was the son, it seems, of that Stucley [q] mentioned in the foregoing voyage; who is no where called a captain, nor seems to

[p] See the voyage made by sir Richard Grenvill for sir Walter Ralegh to Virginia, anno 1585. in Hakluyt, vol. 3. fol. 251; and the abridgement of it in the Latin Life of sir Richard Grenvill, by H. Holland. Heroolog. Angl. fol. 1620. p. 85.

[q] A late author, in his Life of sir Walter Ralegh, calls him John Stucley, from what authority I know not. Lives English and Foreign, vol. 1. p. 91.

have had command in any of the ships, but to have been a private gentleman, who went over as an assistant for counsel, or some directions relating to the plantation. But his said son, after Ralegh's death, hence takes occasion to tell us, that one day himself upbraiding Ralegh with the injury he had done his father, in deceiving him of a great adventure, "which my said father," says he, "had in the Tyger, when "he went to the West Indies with my uncle sir Richard "Grenvill; which was, by his (Ralegh's) own confession, "worth fifty thousand pounds, and came all to his hands, "my father's portion being at least ten thousand pounds, "which he might lawfully claim: he answered, that the queen, "however she seemed a great and good mistress to him in "the eyes of the world, yet was so unjust and tyrannous to "him, that she laid the envy, as well of this as of many "other her oppressions, upon him: and that she took all "the pearl in a cabinet unto herself, without so much as "ever giving him one pearl[r]." This is published visibly to reflect injustice upon Ralegh towards that author's father, and ingratitude towards the queen: but how probable it will seem (had it proceeded even from an indifferent hand) that so great a share in this prize should be due to his father, and no dissatisfaction appear in his uncle; he who got it all, to be allowed also no share; or that his father should never claim so great a sum by law, which, as the son says, he might lawfully claim; and lastly, how so great a profit to Ralegh will correspond with some subsequent observations on the royal assistance he soon needed, through the slender returns these Virginian voyages made for all the charge and care he bestowed upon them, must be submitted to the reader's judgment, when he shall arrive at those passages; and more especially at the tragical catastrophe of the whole story.

If so much good fortune did now befall Ralegh, a pretty enlargement was soon after made to it by the queen herself; somewhat unusual with the leisurely course of her bounty:

[r] Sir Lewis Stucley's Petition and Information to King James, &c. 4to. p. 8. a pamphlet hereafter more particularly mentioned.

but that it was a favour in conjunction, or of a comprehensive nature; from a principal share whereof, he, neither for his former eminent services, could be justly excluded; nor for the support of that chargeable discovery, by which he had so newly deserved. For an end having been put to the Munster rebellion by force of arms, and the country further laid desolate by a raging famine, which devoured what the sword had left, except a few who remained in cities, fled to England, or could feed upon weeds and carrion, so as even to rob the graves and the gibbets of their dead, to keep the dying alive[s]; the queen soon became desirous of repeopling the country, and to have ways considered on, how the late earl of Desmond's large territories in Ireland might be disposed of to the advantage of her and her subjects. After commissioners were sent over for this purpose, and proper methods taken to prevent fraudulent conveyances by the rebels, there was now at last a scheme resolved on for the plantation of Munster; and secretary Fenton carried over the instructions towards the latter end of this year[t]. The whole forfeiture was above five hundred seventy-four thousand acres of land[u]; and after some restitutions had been made, the remainder was divided into seigniories among certain *gentlemen-undertakers*, as they were called[x]; but

[s] Hooker's Supply to the Chronicles of Ireland, *ad fin.* and Spenser's View of Ireland.

[t] Cox's History of Ireland, fol. 389—391. See also Howes' Abridgment of Stow's Chronicles, anno 1585, p. 353.

[u] Fynes Moryson in his Itinerary, fol. 1617. part 2. cap. 1. page 4. agrees with Cox, fol. 392. that the number of acres English measure, forfeited by the earl of Desmond and his confederates, were 574628. But Cox makes three variations from Moryson in the division of that land, with respect to sir Walter Ralegh's share. For Moryson makes Ralegh's dividend to lie in Waterford and Tipperary; Cox, in Cork and Waterford; Moryson, parcelling four shares together, allots by patent to the earl of Ormond, sir Christopher Hatton, sir Edward Fitton, and sir Walter Ralegh, 22910 acres. But their four shares joined, out of Cox, amount to 37425 acres. Yet in Cox this greater tract yields but 242*l.* 13*s.* 7*d.* yearly rents; and that smaller tract in Moryson, 303*l.* 3*d.* So that Moryson's account falls short of the other in 14515 acres of land; and Cox's account falls short of his in 60*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* yearly rent. But as no other author I have met with expressly distinguishes sir Walter Ralegh's share to have been 12000 acres, with rents 66*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* besides Cox, and he seems to have had good authority for that distinction, I find myself obliged, not only by necessity, but reason, to accept of his account. See MS. collection in Lambeth lib. marked M. fol. 166.

[x] Sir Francis Walsingham's Table-book, MS. 8vo. p. 131.

chiefly such as had been instrumental in appeasing the Irish rebellion. One of the largest divisions, which was twelve thousand acres, situate in the counties of Cork and Waterford, was given by her majesty to sir Walter Ralegh and his heirs, with certain privileges and immunities, upon those conditions of planting and improving the same, to which the rest were also obliged [y]. And though many of the undertakers did not people their seigniories with well-affected English, but sold them to English papists, or otherwise to their profit, nor fortified according to their covenants, nor forbore encroaching upon the lands of the loyal and protected Irish, (as the crown on the other side failed of maintaining certain forces promised for their security from fresh invasions;) yet I meet with none of those irregularities objected to Ralegh: on the contrary, that he peopled his plantation unexceptionably; that he kept the said estate to the latter end of the queen's reign, and then sold it to Richard Boyle, afterwards the famous earl of Cork, as, in a memorial of his own life, the said earl has related [z]. But as capacious as this benefit seemed, it was rather expensive perhaps at first, than profitable to him.

His seigniory in Ireland.

For sir Richard Grenvill, who, at his departure from Virginia, had promised the colony he left behind to return punctually with supplies by the following Easter at furthest, was not altogether so expeditious as they expected; probably through some difficulties attending the charge thereof, which Ralegh's new undertaking of planting also that seigniory might probably render more burdensome. Grenvill brought over letters from governor Lane to a very worthy encourager of all naval adventures [a]; describing the

[y] Cox, fol. 391. and MS. in Bibl. Lambeth lib. C.

[z] It is a manuscript, entitled, True Remembrances, for the benefit and information of his posterity, written anno 1632, remaining in the family of his noble descendants. See the Life of the late Earl of Orrery, by Eustace Budgell, esq. 8vo. 1732. p. 3. and 18. Mr. Thoresby also mentions this MS. in his account of the family of the Boyles, towards the end of his Topography of Leeds, printed in fol. 1715.

[a] Richard Hakluyt of the Middle Temple, esq. kinsman to the industrious Richard Hakluyt, preacher of Christ Church, Oxford, who published the Voyages, as may be distinguished in the preface to his first edition of them, as well as in other places, and not the same person with the said Oxonian, as Anthony Wood has con-

commodities and fertility of the country they were about to cultivate and civilize: the said governor also drew up notes while he was there, which he afterwards methodized into a discourse of two parts, displaying the "particularities of "the country of Virginia, and the reasons which moved "their departure from thence into England[b]." In this discourse we learn that their discovery for sir Walter Ralegh had extended from Roanoak southward, as far as Secotan, about eighty miles; northward as far as the Chesepians, being a hundred and thirty miles more; and to the north-west, as far as Chawanook, a hundred and thirty miles: and further mentions many towns about the waterside, discovered by the way. It also informs us of his inquiries after a fishery and traffick for pearl in those parts; besides a mine of strange metal like copper, but paler and softer: moreover, of the taking prince Skyco prisoner; and after the death of Granganimeo aforesaid, how his brother king Wingina changed his name, and plotted an insurrection against the English, for which he lost his life: while another king, called Okisco, sent to pay homage and acknowledge subjection to the grand Weroanza, or queen of England; and after her, to sir Walter Ralegh. Lastly, the arrival of sir Francis Drake about the 10th of June 1586, who, returning from his prosperous conquest of St. Domingo, Cartagena, and St. Augustine, determined, in his way homeward, to visit his friend's colony in Virginia. They had despaired of sir Richard Grenvill's promise; and the rather, because of the preparations then making for Flanders, and other parts of America. Their corn was indeed within a fortnight of inviting the sickle; but they were in need of many other provisions. Hereupon Drake readily proffered them all manner of supplies, by victuals, men, ammunition, and ships, to carry on and complete their worthy undertaking. The governor desired only a ship, and so much provision as about August would carry him

founded them. The governor's letter to the said templar is in his kinsman's third volume, fol. 254.

[b] This discourse of Mr. Lane's immediately follows, in the same volume, fol. 255.

and his company to England, which Drake granted in full sufficiency; besides pinnaces, boats, and two experienced masters or pilots, to abide with them, and apply themselves earnestly in the action. All this was performed in two days. On the next day, while some were writing letters into England, and others relating their adventures to each other, some at sea, some on shore, there arose a most violent tempest, which lasted three days; drove most of the fleet from their anchors away to sea, and in them the provisions and masters aforesaid, with the chief of the English colony; whom they saw no more till they met in England. Then Drake proffered them another ship; but the rest of the colony who were left behind, all begged to go for England; to which Drake consenting, took them aboard on the 19th of June, and set sail[c]. Sir Walter Ralegh had in the mean time provided a ship of a hundred ton, freighted with all kind of provisions in a most plentiful manner, for the relief of this colony; but not sailing till after Easter, the said colony was newly departed before this fresh supply arrived at Virginia. After some time spent up the country, in seeking the colony, and not finding it, they returned with all the provision aforesaid into England[d]. About a fortnight after, sir Richard Grenvill arrived at Virginia with three ships more, well stored for the same company of planters: but he, after much search, missing also of them and of the aforesaid ship, left fifteen men at Roanoak with plenty of supplies, and made for England; not without some conquests over the Spaniards at the Azores in his return[e]. And indeed Ralegh was also about this very time victorious at the same place: for, when he sent the aforesaid ship to relieve his colony, or soon after, he despatched two more, named the Serpent and Mary Spark, both of them

The third voyage to Virginia.

[c] See Lane's said account of the particularities of the employment of the Englishmen left in Virginia by sir Richard Grenvill, &c. directed to sir Walter Ralegh; in Hakluyt aforesaid, fol. 264. Also Tho. Cates's summary and true discourse of sir Francis Drake's West Indian voyage, began 1585, in the same volume, fol. 547.

[d] Account of the third voyage for the relief of the colony in Virginia, at the sole charges of sir Walter Ralegh, the same volume, fol. 265.

[e] Ibid.

his own, to the Azores against the Spaniards, under the conduct of captain Jacob Whiddon, John Evesham, and others. They departed from Plymouth on the 10th of June aforesaid, and took more Spanish prizes than they could bring home. In one of them was the governor of St. Michael's island; in another, which they took near the isle of Graciosa, was the famous Pedro de Sermiento, governor of the Straits of Magellan; who was the furthest and most experienced navigator in all Spain[f]. They took also three other vessels, but turned two adrift, after having taken out of them what they wanted, because they could not spare hands to man them; and after a fight for thirty-two hours with two great caracks, and the other guard-ships of twenty sail more, richly laden, they gave over for want of powder, and returned safe to Plymouth, where they were received with triumphant joy; then proceeding to Southampton, they were met by their owner sir Walter Ralegh, who rewarded them with their shares out of the merchandise, and other commodities of value, which in those three prizes were thus taken from the enemy[g]. Not long after this, there was another voyage set out, the same year, by the earl of Cumberland to the South sea, but performed no further than the latitude of forty-four degrees to the south of the equinoctial, in which as sir Walter Ralegh was also an adventurer, his fine pinnace, named Dorothy, being engaged therein, and some small prizes also being taken, he had, no doubt, his proportion in the profits that arose from them[h].

His success at the Azores.

And in a voyage to the South Sea.

[f] While this Sarmiento was Ralegh's prisoner in England, they were one day surveying a map together, concerning which Sarmiento told him a pleasant story of the Painter's Wives Island; which Ralegh, afterwards, ingeniously applied; where he compares the liberties of local and historical fiction, or such as geographers make, in filling up the blank spaces of their maps with lands of pigmies, and rocks of load-stone to those of historians, in repairing the broken accounts of past ages: yet concludes with an encouraging difference, against the ignorant describers of remote places, in favour of liberal conjecture, to enlighten the obscurities of ancient times. See the History of the World, lib. 2. cap. 23. sect. 4.

[g] See John Evesham's account of the voyage to the Azores with two pinnaces belonging to sir Walter Ralegh, &c. in 1586. in Hakluyt, vol. 2. part 2. fol. 120.

[h] Relation of the earl of Cumberland's voyage to the South sea, by Mr. John Sarracoll, in Hakluyt, vol. iii. fol. 769.

But to return to the Virginian colony: it arrived at Plymouth on the 27th of July following. Camden has remembered, that by this colony of Ralegh's, and in those ships of Drake's, the famous American plant called *tobacco* was first brought into England, by or under governor Lane[i], doubtless according to the instructions they had received of their proprietor; for the introduction among us of that commodity is generally ascribed to Ralegh himself. There are some pleasant stories of this plant, with relation to him, which have been as carefully preserved as the box he kept it in[k]. But the tradition of "Ralegh's smoking tobacco at "first privately in his study, and of the servant, who used "to wait on him there, surprising him one time with his "tankard of ale and nutmeg as he was intent upon his "book, before he had done his pipe; and seeing the smoke "reeking out of his mouth, threw all the ale in his face; "then running down stairs alarmed the family with repeated "exclamations, that 'his master was on fire, and before "they could get up would be burnt to ashes[l];'"—this I say, if true, has nothing in it of more surprising or unparalleled simplicity, than there was in that poor Norwegian, who upon the first sight of *roses* could not be induced to touch, though he saw them grow, being so amazed to behold trees budding with fire[m]: or, to come closer by way of retaliation, than there was in those Virginians themselves, who, the first time they seized upon a quantity of gun-

[i] Annal. Reg. Eliz. anno 1585.

[k] Being at Leeds in Yorkshire, soon after Mr. Ralph Thoresby the antiquary died, anno 1725, I saw his museum; and in it, among his other rarities, what himself has publicly called (in the catalogue thereof, annexed to his Antiquities of that town) sir Walter Ralegh's tobacco box. From the best of my memory, I can resemble its outward appearance to nothing more nearly than one of our modern muff-cases; about the same height and width, covered with red leather, and opened at top (but with a hinge, I think) like one of those. In the inside there was a cavity for a receiver of glass or metal, which might hold half a pound or a pound of tobacco; and from the edge of the receiver at top, to the edge of the box, a circular stay or collar, with holes in it, to plant the tobacco about, with six or eight pipes to smoke it in. This travelling box, with the MSS. medals, and other rarities in its company, descending to a young clergyman, the son of the deceased, was soon after reported to have been translated to London.

[l] The British Apollo, 3d edition, 1726. vol. 2. p. 376.

[m] Tho. Forde's Fenestra in Pectore: a collection of familiar letters, 8vo. 1660. p. 81.

powder which belonged to the English colony, sowed it for grain, or the seed of some strange vegetable, in the earth, with full expectation of reaping a plentiful crop of combustion by the next harvest to scatter their enemies [n]. But passing over these tales; as Ralegh was the first who brought this herb in request among us, and laid the foundation for that great traffick therewith, which has been of such considerable benefit to his country, there is no less honour due to him than has been conferred on that ambassador who had before brought it out of Portugal into France; where, in mentioning the herb, they pay grateful acknowledgments to the importer, by calling it Nicotiana, after his own name: nay, his politic sovereign, Catharine de Medicis, did so zealously encourage the use of it, that it was also afterwards, in honour of her, called the *queen's herb* [o]. Nor was the queen of England backward in listening to and promoting the advantages it was promised to produce. We may gather from some authors, that she was very curious to know its virtues and properties; and that once conversing with Ralegh upon this subject, "he assured her majesty he had "so well experienced the nature of it, that he could tell her "of what weight even the smoke would be in any quantity "proposed to be consumed. Her majesty fixing her thoughts "upon the most impracticable part of the experiment, that "of bounding the smoke in a balance, suspected that he "put the traveller upon her, and would needs lay him a "wager he could not solve the doubt: so he procured a "quantity agreed upon to be thoroughly smoked; then "went to weighing, but it was of the ashes; and in the con-"clusion, what was wanting in the prime weight of the "tobacco, her majesty did not deny to have been evaporated "in smoke; and further said, that 'many labourers in the

Introduces the use of tobacco in England.

[n] Winstanley's Historical Rarities, 8vo. 1668.

[o] "Jean Nicot, maître des requêtes, "ambassadeur de France en Portu-"gal; d'où il apporta le premier à "la reine Catharine de Medicis, la "fameuse plante de TABAC; laquelle "fut nommée d'abord Nicotiane, "de son nom; ensuite, herbe à la "reine, à cause que Catharine de "Medicis la mit en réputation dans "le royaume, &c. Il est mort vers "l'année 1559." Descrip. de la Ville de Paris, par Germain Brice. Sept. edit. Amst. 1718. tom. 2. p. 120.

"fire she had heard of who turned their gold into smoke, but "Ralegh was the first who had turned smoke into gold p.'" Whether those two queens did ever recommend the use of this herb by their own example, we are not certain; but it is evident, it soon became of such vogue in queen Elizabeth's court, that some of the great ladies, as well as noblemen therein, would not scruple to take a pipe sometimes very sociably: however, it was such an abomination to the refined palate of her Scotch successor, that he not only refused the use of it himself, but endeavoured to rob his crown of what has since proved one of its greatest revenues q,

p Apophthegms of the English Nation, MS. quarto, inter Collec. Rodnei Fane, armig. And James Howel in his Epistles, vol. 3. has a whole letter upon tobacco, where he mentions also in effect this story of sir Walter Ralegh's wager with the queen.

q An author of experience has lately informed us, "that the benefit of "this vegetable to Great Britain is "prodigious, if we consider the short "time since it was first introduced "into England by sir Walter Ra-"legh. It is now become," says he, "the staple of two of his majesty's "colonies, inhabited by half a mil-"lion of people; many of whom "could hardly support themselves at "home; yet there they live in great "splendour and ease; having sump-"tuous buildings, rich equipages, "slaves, and other attendants. Ac-"cording to the exactest computation "that has been made on this branch "of our trade, about 430 sail of "ships, with above 5000 seamen, "have been employed in one year to "bring over about 75,000 hogsheads "of tobacco from Virginia and Ma-"ryland; the freight of which, at 8*l.* "per ton, (a medium in times of "peace,) amounts to 150,000*l.* ster-"ling; most of which sum centres "among ourselves, in the payment "of sailors and tradesmen, who live "by shipping; besides about 15*s.* "per hogshead customhouse fees, "cooperage, lighterage, wharfage, "porterage, cartage, warehouse rent, "brokerage, and other incident "charges. It is further calculated, "that out of the said 75,000 hogs-"heads imported, there are exported "46,000 hogsheads, containing 720*lb.* "per hogshead, at four pence per "pound on board; which amounts "to 552,000*l.* towards supporting "the balance of trade with foreign "nations." The same author a little further observes, as another great benefit arising from this vegetable, "that the produce is laid out in our "British manufactures, and exported "to the British colonies; which in "one year has amounted to 500,000*l.* "(and would be much more, if pro-"per encouragement were given to "manufacture it before exportation:) "therefore it may be justly said, "that tobacco is become in few "years one of the most valuable "branches of trade belonging to "Great Britain." Thus far Mr. John Lacy, tobacco-merchant, in his Observations on the Nature, Use, and Trade of Tobacco. Folio, one sheet, printed Mar. 1. 1733. Besides the advantage this vegetable is of to trade, a large revenue arises to the crown by custom-duties on tobacco.——I have seen several accounts of its gross and net produce, and also several estimates of what it might further produce, if put under a new regulation: but there being so much difference in the several calculations, that no certain judgment can, without much scrutiny and distinction, be formed from them; it may be thought sufficient here to observe, that I have seen an account, upon the veracity whereof I can depend, by

by restraining his subjects also from it. Indeed it is not to be wondered that such a philosopher, as could magnify the power of witches after the manner he has done in one of his learned pamphlets[r], should be such a politician as to discourage the taking of tobacco in another[s]. But those who have not admired at his prejudice in this attempt to dispel the fumes of that herb with greater of his own, if I may allude to the witty title of his performance without imputation of irreverence to his memory, may yet applaud his policy, in so far conducing to its suppression, as to exclude it from the body of his works, when this royal pamphleteer resolved to become an author in folio. As for the uses and

which it appears, the money paid on this article of tobacco into his majesty's exchequer in the year 1731, was 175,277*l.* 8*s.* 10*d.* and that a medium for seven years past to that time was 169,079*l.* 0*s.* 10*d.*

[r] Dæmonologie: a Discourse in three books, Edinb. *cum privil. reg.* 4to. 1597. In the preface whereof, king James protests "he did not pub-"lish this pamphlet for a shew of his "learning and ingine, but to preasse "thereby, as far as he can, to resolve "the doubting harts of many, both "that such assaults of Sathan are "most certainly practised, and that "the instrumentes thereof merits "most severely to be punished; "against the damnable opinions of "two principally in our age; where-"of the one, called Scot, an English-"man, is not ashamed in public "print to deny, that there can be "such a thing as witchcraft; so "mainteines the old error of the Sad-"duces, in denying of spirits: the "other called Wierus, a German phy-"sician, sets out a public apology "for all these craftes-folks; whereby "procuring for their impunity, he "plainly bewrayes himself to have "been one of that profession." Then his majesty lays down the method he intends to follow, in speaking, first, of magic and necromancy; secondly, of sorcery and witchcraft; lastly, of all kinds of spirits and spectres, that appears and troubles persons. His further affirmation of magicians raising suddenly all dainty dishes; bringing wine out of a wall; and making men unable for women, contains not yet the most remarkable passages in this crowned author; for if you would have a masterpiece of his royal scholarship in the mysteries of nature, turn to his chapter of the Incubi and Succubi; there you have Rex Platonicus in perfection. But as many old women's notions as there are in this tract, sir Walter Ralegh was at the pains of finding something he could approve in it, and generously honours its author before all others for the same, as may be seen by the very first quotation he makes in the introduction to his History of the World.

[s] Entitled the Counter-blast to Tobacco, 4to. without date. There is also extant king James's warrant to the lord treasurer Dorset, anno 1604, for laying a good heavy imposition upon tobacco, that less quantity may be brought into the realm, and only sufficient for the better sort, who will use it with moderation for their health: wherefore he authorizes the said treasurer to order, that from the 26th of October ensuing, the proper officers should take of all who import tobacco the sum of six shillings and eight pence upon every pound weight, over and above the custom of two pence per pound, usually paid heretofore. Rymer's Fœdera, tom. 16. fol. 601.

virtues of this plant; since so many learned writers have given us whole books upon them, I shall only here observe, from the first author among us, who wrote thereof out of his own experience, immediately upon his return with the colony aforesaid from Virginia, where he had been employed by Ralegh to survey the country and describe its products; that the savages distinguished it by sowing it apart from all other vegetables, and held it of highest estimation in all their sacrifices by fire, water, and air, either for thanksgiving to, or pacification of their gods. And as by sucking it through pipes of clay they purged all gross humours from the head and stomach, opened all the pores and passages of the body, preserving it from obstructions, or breaking them, whereby they notably preserved health, and knew not many grievous diseases wherewith we in England are often afflicted; so "we ourselves," says he, "during the time we were there, "used to suck it after their manner, as also since our re-"turn, and have found many rare and wonderful experi-"ments of its virtues, whereof the relation would require a "volume by itself, the use of which by so many men and "women of great calling, as well as others, and some learned "physicians also, is sufficient witness[t]."

The learned author of this account, Mr. Thomas Hariot, a famous mathematician, of whom something more will be spoken hereafter, having further in the said discourse confuted the calumnies which had been raised of this new discovered country, by the idle, ignorant, and avaricious part of the colony lately returned from it, and given a faithful relation of the merchantable commodities, with those fit for food or building, and an account of the natures of the people, in three parts, expresses himself towards the conclusion of the whole in this manner. "Seeing the air there is so tem-"perate and wholesome; the soil so fertile, and yielding "such commodities as I have before mentioned; the voyage

[t] A brief and true Report of the new-found land of Virginia, &c. written by Thomas Hariot, servant to sir Walter Ralegh, a member of the colony, and there employed in discovering a full twelvemonth. Hakluyt, vol. 3. fol. 271.

"also to and fro sufficiently experienced to be performed "twice a year with ease, and at any season; and the deal- "ings of sir Walter Ralegh so liberal in large giving and "granting lands there, as is already known, with many "helps and furtherances else; the least that he hath granted "having been five hundred acres to a man only for the ad- "venture of his person: I hope there remains no cause "whereby the action should be misliked [u]."

His encouragement to planters.

There are many other public testimonies in recommendation of this enterprise, especially of Ralegh's discreet orders or instructions to these first undertakers, as well as some complaints that his said directions were not always punctually followed; and I remember to have met with a scarce old tract in the Lambeth library, written by a learned and ingenious author of those times, wherein, according to his brief and volatile way, skimming over the characters of many eminent contemporaries, he mentions sir Walter Ralegh's political government of Virginia [x]. But where to come at those particular laws or instructions now, I know not, though they seem to have been in the possession of sir Francis Walsingham, (a great encourager of these plantations.) For I find a bundle entitled, *Matters relating to sir Walter Ralegh's voyages*, mentioned in the inventory of that secretary's state-papers relating to the navy, about this time [y]. But the author, who this year dedicates his Irish history to Ralegh, has, in general terms, both largely commended his proceedings in that discovery, and informed us of others who have done the like. For having mentioned the ill success wherewith his first maritime adventures were attended, as a matter sufficient to have dismayed a man of common resolution from the like attempts for the future, he adds, "Yet you, more respecting the good ends where- "unto you levelled your line for the good of your country, "did not give over till you had recovered a land, and had

[u] Mr. Hariot's Report of the new-found land in Virginia, as before, p. 280.

[x] Dr. Gabriel Harvey's Pierce's Supererogation, &c. 4to. 1593.

[y] Sir Francis Walsingham's Table-book, MS. 8vo. p. 44.

" made a plantation of the people of your own English na-
" tion in Virginia, the first English colony that was ever
" planted there; not a little to the derogation of the Spa-
" niards' glory and impeachment to their vaunts, who, be-
" cause with all cruel immanity they subdued a naked and
" yielding people, whom they sought for gain, and not for
" religion or the plantation of a commonwealth, over whom,
" to satisfy their insatiable covetousness, they did most
" cruelly tyrannize, and against the course of all human na-
" ture scorch and roast them to death, as by their own his-
" tories doth appear. These, I say, do brag and vaunt,
" that they only have drawn strange nations and unknown
" people to the obedience of their kings, to the knowledge
" of Christianity, and to the enriching of their country;
" and thereby claim the honour to themselves alone. But
" if these your actions were well looked into, and with due
" consideration, it shall be found much more honourable in
" sundry respects, for the advancement of the name of God,
" the honour of the prince, and the benefit of the common-
" wealth. For what can be more pleasant to God, than to
" gain and reduce, in all Christian-like manner, a lost
" people to the knowledge of the gospel and a true Chris-
" tian religion, than which cannot be a more pleasant and
" sweet sacrifice, and a more acceptable service before God?
" And what can be more honourable to princes, than to
" enlarge the bounds of their kingdoms, without injury,
" wrong, and bloodshed, and to frame them from a savage
" life to a civil government, neither of which the Spaniards
" in their conquests have performed? And what can be
" more beneficial to a commonwealth, than to have a nation
" and a kingdom to transfer unto, the superfluous multi-
" tude of fruitless and idle people, (here, at home, daily
" increasing,) to travel, conquer, and manure another land,
" which, by the due intercourses to be devised, may and
" will yield infinite commodities? And how well you do
" deserve every way, in following so honourable a course,
" not we ourselves only can witness, but strange nations
" also do honour you for the same; as doth appear by the

"epistle of Bassimerus of France to the history of Florida, "and by Julius Cæsar, a citizen of Rome, in his epistle to "his book, entitled Columbeados[z]." To this we may here add the testimony of Camden; who, speaking of this undertaking of Virginia, at the return of the last colony sent thither by sir W. Ralegh, says, "He was a man never to "be sufficiently commended for the great pains he took in "discovering remote countries, and advancing the glory of "the English navigation[a]."

That Bassimerus, as Hooker calls him, was the learned Martine Bassaniere of Paris, as I find elsewhere, with whom Richard Hakluyt, the worthy collector of our naval adventures, being acquainted, and having procured a very valuable history in manuscript, of the first discovery of Florida about twenty years before this time, by Rene Laudonniere and three other French captains, he delivered it to that monsieur Bassaniere, who published it from the said French copy this year[b] at Paris, and dedicated it as aforesaid to sir Walter Ralegh, who, as appears above, is therein celebrated; for I have not yet seen, though I have been promised, that original French edition. But it was translated into English the year following by Richard Hakluyt himself, who also dedicates it anew to the same patron: and indeed we find Ralegh from this time a very considerable patron of learned and ingenious authors, not only in history and geography, but antiquities, chemistry, poetry, and other polite branches of art and science; some further instances whereof will occasionally arise as we proceed. And even here we may mention something of his encouragement in painting; for admiral Coligny having sent over, with the aforesaid discoverers of Florida, a very skilful artist from France, to take draughts of whatever he found observable and worthy of re-

A patron of learned and ingenious men.

[z] Hooker's Epist. Dedic. to sir W. Ralegh.

[a] *Nunquam satis laudato studio remotas regiones detegendi, et navalem Angliæ gloriam promovendi.* Ann. Reg. Eliz. anno 1585.

[b] So Hakluyt himself in the first edition of his Voyages, 1589. fol. 543. Yet in the preface to his second volume printed fol. 1599, he says it was in the year 1587 that he caused that history of Florida to be published in France; which must be a mistake, because Hooker mentions its being published in his Dedication dated the year before.

presentation in the said country; which he did, not only among the animal and vegetable rarities thereof, but also, it seems, from the customs of the natives and historical events among the discoverers themselves: this painter living afterwards in London, at or before the publication of those discoveries, was supported by Ralegh in the great expense of publishing also his draughts and descriptions. For Hakluyt, among other reasons for not particularizing the commodities of those parts, the accidents of the Frenchmen's government therein, the causes of their good and bad success, with the surprises made by their enemies, tells Ralegh he does not reckon them up again, "the rather, because "the same, with divers other things of chiefest importance, "are lively drawn in colours, at your no small charges, by "the skilful painter James Morgues, sometime living in "Blackfriars, London, whom monsieur Chastillion, then "admiral of France, sent thither (to Florida) with Laudo-"niere for that purpose, which (painter) was an eyewitness "of the goodness and fertility of those regions, and hath "put down in writing many singularities, which are not "mentioned in this treatise; and which he hath since pub-"lished together with the portraitures[c]." Hereunto we may further add, that there was about this time also another book dedicated to Ralegh, in praise of music, wherein, besides the antiquity and dignity thereof, is declared the sober and lawful use of the same in the congregation and church of God[d]. It was written by an Oxonian, then lately deceased, who is not named, and published by the university printer, who, subscribing his own name Joseph Barnes to the said dedication, has made it pass among our auctioneers, and other superficial inspectors, for a treatise of the said printer's writing. I apprehend there was a greater propriety in the publisher's choice of this patron to that work, than is now commonly known; for I have somewhere met

[c] Hakluyt's Dedication to sir Walter Ralegh of the said History of Florida, by him translated and inserted among his Collection of Voyages, vol. 3. fol. 301.

[d] The Praise of Music, &c. printed in the old English character, 8vo. 1586.

with hints, that sir Walter Ralegh was a great proficient in music, either vocal, instrumental, or both; whence we might be somewhat induced to construe some lines of Spenser's concerning him, hereafter quoted, in the literal sense.

Nor among learned and ingenious men only was Ralegh now in great esteem; but he flourished at this time also highly in the queen's favour, as Camden, where he speaks of the foregoing colony, has informed us. And about this time it was, her majesty conferred upon him some preferments; but of honour more than profit perhaps to him: for Hooker, in the Dedication aforesaid, of his Irish History, dated the 12th of October this year, superscribes it to the right worthy and honourable gentleman, sir Walter Ralegh, knt. seneschal[e] of the duchies of Cornwall and Exeter, and lord warden of the stannaries[f] in Devon and Cornwall. To these dignities I presume he was then but newly advanced, because the said historian, in the body of the Dedication, begs leave to remember, "how it "hath pleased God to bring you," says he, "into the favour "of your prince and sovereign; who, besides her great fa- "vour towards you many ways, hath also laid upon you "the charge of a government in your own country; where "you are to command many people by your honourable "office of the stannary, and where you are both a judge "and a chancellor, to rule in justice and to judge in equity. "—Be therefore careful to be reported well of for your "upright dealings both herein and in all your other ac- "tions. Be a patron of virtue, and an example of true no- "bility, which hath her foundation upon virtue; for, as

Made seneschal of Cornwall and Exeter, and lord warden of the stannaries.

[e] Of the ancient office of seneschal, see Le grand Constumier du Pays et Duché de Normandie, fol. Paris, 1523, and an extract thereof concerning this office in a scarce tract revived in Mr. Morgan's Phœnix Britannicus, vol. 1. 4to. 1731. p. 408.

[f] Of the institution of the lord warden, and his jurisdiction, see Camden and Carew, in their accounts of Cornwall; also Plowden's Commentaries, fol. 327. and Pearce's Laws and Customs of the Stannaries, folio, 1725. There is in being an old manuscript list of the officers in queen Elizabeth's time, and their fees; in which I find that, as officer of the coinage of tin, and steward of the stannaries in the duchy of Cornwall, sir Walter Ralegh's fee was 53*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* Cotton libr. Titus B. III.

" the poet saith, *Ex virtute nobilitas nascitur, non ex nobi-*
" *litate virtus: virtus sola nobilitat, non caro nec sanguis.*
" — Your ancestors were men of great nobility; beneficial
" to their princes and country many ways: and as in na-
" ture you are descended from them, so it hath pleased
" God to bless you with *knowledge in learning*, with *skill*
" *of warlike service*, and *experience in maritimal causes;*
" and besides hath placed you among the nobles, and in
" the good grace and favour of your prince."

How Ralegh used this favour, and what usage it also procured him, the same Dedication does somewhat further reveal in these words. " It is well known, that it had been
" no less easy for you, than for such as have been advanced
" by kings, to have builded great houses, purchased large
" circuits, and to have used the fruits of princes' favours, as
" most men in all former and present ages have done, had
" you not preferred the general honour and commodity of
" your prince and country before all that is private; where-
" by *you have been rather a servant than a commander to*
" *your own fortune.* And no doubt, the cause being so
" good, and the attempt so honourable, but that God will
" increase your talent and bless your doings, and every
" good man will commend and further the same. And
" albeit the more noble enterprises a man shall take in hand,
" the more adversaries he shall have to deprave and hinder
" the same; yet I am persuaded, as no good man shall
" have just cause, so there is none so much carried with
" a corrupt mind, nor so envious of his country's honour,
" nor so bent against you, that he will derogate the praise
" and honour due to so worthy an enterprise. And that
" so much the sooner, because you have endured so many
" crosses, and have, through so many envyings and mis- Envied.
" fortunes, persevered in your attempts; which no doubt
" shall at last by you be performed, when it shall please
" Him, who hath made you an instrument of so worthy a
" work [5]."

[5] Hooker's Dedication to sir Walter Ralegh aforesaid.

Thus Hooker hints at the cause of these envyings; but from whom they should proceed it does not manifestly appear. The earl of Essex had now been near a twelvemonth abroad, under his father-in-law, Leicester, governor of the Netherlands; was but nineteen years of age when he went over, being his first engagement in any public action, yet no less than a general of the horse; and before that, as himself says, "he had small grace, and few friends at "court[h]." So that it must be now after their return that Leicester[i] set him up a competitor against Ralegh, as we are before informed out of sir Henry Wotton. But Leicester, as great as his power was, could no more bridle the licentious reflections of the populace than Ralegh; an instance whereof we have from some ancient authority it seems, though in a modern author, who, speaking of "Tarleton, the best comedian of these times in England," tells us, "that when a pleasant play he had made was acting before her majesty, he pointed at sir Walter Ralegh, and "said, *See the* knave *commands the* queen; for which she "corrected him with a frown: yet he had the confidence to

Slandered.

[h] See an Apology of the earl of Essex against those which falsely and maliciously tax him to be the only hinderance of the peace and quiet of his country: penned by himself, anno 1598. To Mr. Anthony Bacon. And printed in 4to, 1603. Also (from the original MS. as pretended) by the title of the earl of Essex's Vindication of the War with Spain, &c. in 8vo. 1729. p. 6.

[i] On the 8th of December 1585, the earl of Leicester, and his train, with an army of about 5000 men, set out from Harwich, in 50 sail of ships, to his government of the Netherlands; and it was committed as absolutely to him, as it had been to the emperor Charles V. But at last the Hollanders growing jealous of his authority, and complaining of certain innovations, factions, and treacherous commanders under him, he was recalled, and returned to London the 23d of November this following year, (soon after the corpse of his much lamented nephew sir Philip Sidney;) not without leaving behind a printed vindication of himself in Dutch, now scarce to be found; and striking a medal, representing his own head on one side, and seven unguarded straggling sheep on the other. The author of a Brief Discourse of Dr. Allen's seditious Drifts, &c. 4to. 1588. p. 46. endeavours to clear the earl's conduct in that government against the said doctor; as E. Cliffe, in his Breviate of Holland's Deliverance and Ingratitude to the Crown of England and the House of Nassau, 4to. 1665. p. 55. does against Vander Sande and Hugo Grotius; especially the latter, who insinuates, as if the earl, who died within two years following, was poisoned by his wife, because she soon after married again. I have read, this earl's effects were then seized upon by the crown for debt, and heard that an inventory of them is in the possession of sir John Evelyn, bart.

"add, that he was of too much and too intolerable a power: "and going on with the same liberty, he reflected on the "over great power and riches of the earl of Leicester; "which was so universally applauded by all who were pre-"sent, that she thought fit at that time to bear these reflec-"tions with a seeming unconcernedness; but yet was so of-"fended, that she forbade Tarleton and all her jesters from "coming near her table, being inwardly displeased with this "impudent and unreasonable liberty[k]." Ralegh seems to have little regarded these aspersions, but constantly attended his public charge and employments, whether in town or country, as occasion called him. Accordingly we find him the latter end of this year in parliament, where, among other weighty concerns, the fate of Mary queen of Scots was determined. There is nothing particular upon record in the journals of the house of commons of Ralegh's opinion in this matter, nor indeed any debates upon the sentence that had been pronounced against that queen. For on the 12th of November, a petition agreed upon in both houses was presented to queen Elizabeth, by the speaker Puckering, the privy-council, and a body of the commons, joined with the lord chancellor Bromley, and twenty other temporal lords, for the speedy execution of the said queen of Scots, in consideration of the treasonable and rebellious practices wherewith she had been proved to endanger this realm and its ruler. The said petition was immediately printed[l], and that queen in less than three months after executed[m]. The clerk of the parliament's place being supplied at this time by a kinsman, inexpert in the rules and

In parliament.

[k] The Character of Queen Elizabeth, by Edmund Bohun, esq. Oct. 1693. p. 353.

[l] See the copy of a Letter to the Earl of Leicester, and the Parliament's Petitions to Queen Elizabeth to put Mary Queen of Scots to death. London, imprinted by Christopher Barker, the queen's printer, 4to. 1586.

[m] The imperfections wherewith Camden was obliged in king James's reign to publish that part of queen Elizabeth's Annals, relating to the queen of Scots, have occasioned some voluminous publications of the memorials to be found on both sides of her character: on one side, about sixteen tracts in Latin, French, &c. chiefly by Roman catholics, were collected by a late bookseller, and published by Dr. Samuel Jebb, 2 vols. folio, 1725: and on the other, a collection of original papers and scarce printed pieces; by James Anderson, esq. in 4 vols. 4to. 1728.

methods of the house, we find nothing more recorded of Ralegh this sessions, which was dissolved on the 23d of March, than that he was appointed one of the committee to confer upon the amendment of some things, whereunto the clergy were required to be sworn, and that some good course might be taken to have a learned ministry: for the queen had in her speech at the close of the last sessions told the bishops of some faults and negligences, "which if you, my "lords of the clergy," said she, "do not amend, I mean to "depose you[n]."

In a committee for the regulation of the clergy.

Now Ralegh, resolving to persevere in planting his country of Virginia, prepared a new colony of one hundred and fifty men to be sent thither, under the charge of Mr. John White, whom he appointed governor, and with him twelve assistants, to whom he gave a charter, and incorporated them by the name of *the governor and assistants of the city of Ralegh in Virginia*. Their fleet, consisting of three sail, departed from Portsmouth on the 26th of April, 1587, and in less than three months following arrived safe at Hatorask, from whence they went to the isle of Roanoak, to look for the fifteen men left there by sir Richard Grenvill the year before, meaning from thence to pass to the bay of Chesepiock, where they intended to make their seat and fort, according to the charge given them, among other directions, under the hand of sir Walter Ralegh. But they sought their companions in vain, and when they came to the north part of the island, where governor Lane had built his fort, they found it rased, and the ground-rooms of the dwelling-houses, which had been also erected about it, inhabited by deer, and overgrown with melons, or such like sort of fruit, which those animals browsed upon. At Croatoan, they were very well received and entertained by the natives, through the means of Manteo their countryman. Of these they learnt, that the Englishmen they were seeking had been treacherously set upon by a party of the savages, who wounded some of them, and drove the rest to some remote

The fourth voyage to Virginia.

[n] Sir Symonds D'Ewes' Journal of Parliaments, fol. 1708. p. 413 and 328.

and obscure parts of the country. On the thirteenth of August, their friend Manteo was, according to the commands they had received of sir Walter Ralegh, christened in Roanoak, and called lord thereof and of Dasamonguepeuk, in reward of his faithful services. Three days after, the governor's daughter Eleanor, wife of Ananias Dare, one of the assistants, was delivered of a daughter in Roanoak, and the infant was christened there the Sunday following, who, because she was the first Creolian or Christian born in that country, was baptized by the name of Virginia. Now having reestablished their interest and alliance with the natives, as far as this short interview would permit, and delivered their ships of the provisions for the colony, the planters began to consider, they should be in want of fresh supplies; therefore upon some difference about choosing a factor to return for that purpose into England, they unanimously petitioned the governor to return himself, to which he at last consented, and the ships, with some few of the company, arrived in England, not without storms, sickness, and the death of several of them by other like casualties, about the latter end of the same year[o].

Captain of the queen's guard, and lieutenant-general of Cornwall.

It was but five days after the going forth of this second colony that Mr. Richard Hakluyt dedicated his translation of the Voyages to Florida before mentioned, to the right honourable sir Walter Ralegh, as he styles him, captain of her majesty's guard, lord warden of the stannaries, and her highness's lieutenant-general of the county of Cornwall. In this Dedication it will somewhat appear, that neither the returns which might have been made by any merchantable products in Virginia, nor the profits arising to him from any Spanish prizes which had been taken at sea, were equivalent to the great expenses he had been at in settling this plantation; and further, that he had received

[o] See the fourth voyage to Virginia in 1587, which transported the second colony, in Hakluyt, vol. 3. fol. 208; and at the end of the said voyage, fol. 287, a list of the men, women, and children in the said colony, who remained in Virginia this year. Among whom governor White and the pilot Simon Ferdinando are mentioned, but erroneously; for it appears, in the narrative of that voyage, they both returned.

no particular or private assistance in this enterprise from the queen, because his hopes therein, and her majesty's regard thereof, are so handsomely excited by the said author. But take his own words: "These four voyages," says he, "I knew not to whom I might better offer than to yourself, for divers just considerations: first, for that they "were dedicated to you in French: secondly, because now "four times also you have attempted the like upon the "selfsame coast near adjoining: thirdly, in that you have "pierced as far up into the main, and discovered no less secrets in the parts of your abode, than the French did in "the places of their inhabiting: lastly, considering you are "now also ready (upon the late return of captain Stafford, "and good news which he brought you of the safe arrival "of your last colony in their wished haven) to prosecute "this action more throughly than ever. And here to speak "somewhat of this your enterprise, I affirm, that if the "same may speedily and effectually be pursued, it will "prove far more beneficial in divers respects to this our "realm, than the world, yea many of the wiser sort, have "hitherto imagined. The particular commodities thereof "are well known to yourself and some few others, and are "faithfully and with great judgment committed to writing, "as you are not ignorant, by one of your followers, who "remained there about a twelvemonth with your worshipful "lieutenant Mr. Ralph Lane, in the diligent search of the "secrets of those countries. Touching the speedy and effectual pursuing of your action, though I wot well it "would demand a prince's purse to have it throughly followed without lingering; yet I am of opinion, that you "shall draw the same, before it be long, to be profitable and "gainful, as well to those of our nation there remaining, as "to the merchants of England, that shall trade hereafter "thither; partly by certain secret commodities already discovered by your servants, and partly by breeding of divers sorts of beasts in those large and ample regions, and "planting such things in that warm climate as will best "prosper there, and our realm standeth most in need of:

" and this I find to have been the course which both the " Spaniards and Portugals took, in the beginnings of their " discoveries and conquests [p]. And, if our men will follow " their steps by your wise directions, I doubt not but in " due time they shall reap no less benefit. Moreover, there " is no other likelihood but that her majesty, who hath " christened and given the name to your Virginia, if need " require, will deal after the manner of honourable god- " mothers, which, seeing their gossips not fully able to bring " up their children themselves, are wont to contribute to " their honest education, the rather if they find any toward- " liness or reasonable hopes of goodness in them.

" And if Elizabeth, queen of Castile and Arragon, after " her husband Ferdinando and she had emptied their coffers " in subduing the kingdom of Granada, was nevertheless so " zealous of God's honour, that she laid part of her own " jewels, which she had in great account, to gage, to furnish " Columbus forth upon his first voyage, before a foot of " land in all the West Indies was discovered; what may " we expect of our most magnificent and gracious prince " Elizabeth of England, into whose lap the Lord has so " plentifully thrown his treasures? What may we, I say, " hope of her forwardness and bounty, in advancing this " your most honourable enterprise, being far more certain " than that of Columbus, at that time especially, and tend- " ing no less to the glory of God than that of the Spa- " niards?" Then a little further: " Sundry men entering

[p] Here this author illustrates his address by these examples: " The " Spaniards, at their first entrance " (says he) into Hispaniola, found " neither sugar-canes nor ginger " growing there, nor any kind of " our cattle; but finding the place " fit for pasture, they sent kine and " bulls, and sundry other profitable " beasts thither, and transported the " plants of sugar-canes, and set the " roots of ginger; the hides of which " oxen, with the sugar and ginger, " are now the chief merchandise of " that island. The Portugals also " at their first footing in Madeira, as " John Barras writes in his first " Decade, found nothing there but " mighty woods for timber, where- " upon they called the island by that " name: howbeit, the clime being " favourable, they enriched it by " their own industry with the best " wines and sugars in the world. " The like manner of proceeding " they used in the isles of the Azores, " by sowing therein great quantity " of woad. So they dealt in St. Tho- " mas under the equinoctial, and in " Brasil, and in sundry other places."

"into these discoveries, propose unto themselves several "ends: some seek authority and places of command; others "experience, by seeing of the world; the most part, worldly "and transitory gain, and that oftentimes by dishonest and "unlawful means; the fewest number, the glory of God, "and the saving of the souls of the poor and blinded in-"fidels. Yet because divers honest and well-disposed per-"sons are entered already into this your business, and that "I know you mean hereafter to send some such good "churchmen thither, as may truly say, with the apostle, to "the savages, *We seek not yours, but you*, I conceive great "comfort of the success of this your action; hoping, that "the Lord, whose power is wont to be perfected in weak-"ness, will bless the feeble foundations of your building: "only be you of a valiant courage, and faint not, as the "Lord said to Joshua, exhorting him to proceed in the "conquest of the land of promise; and remember, that "private men have happily wielded and waded through as "great enterprises as this, with lesser means than those "which God in his mercy hath bountifully bestowed upon "you, to the singular good, as I assure myself, of this our "commonwealth wherein you live: hereof there are ex-"amples domestical and foreign [q].—But if the greatness of "the main of Virginia, especially to the west, should make "you think the subduing of it a matter of more difficulty "than the conquest of Ireland, (by Strongbow;) first, I

[q] As the same author had before incited queen Elizabeth to support this chargeable enterprise by example, so here he encourages sir Walter Ralegh to proceed in it by the like means, in these words: "Re-"member, I pray you, what you "find in the beginning of the Chro-"nicle of Ireland, newly dedicated "unto yourself. Read you not, that "Richard Strongbow, the decayed "earl of Chepstow, passed over "thither in the year 1171; and, ac-"companied only with certain pri-"vate friends, had in short space "such prosperous success, that he "opened the way for king Henry "II. to the speedy subjection of all "that warlike nation to this crown "of England? The like conquest of "Brasilia, and the annexing thereof "to the kingdom of Portugal, was "first begun by mean and private "men; as don Antonio de Castil-"lio, ambassador here for that "realm, and by office, keeper of all "the records and monuments of "their discoveries, assured me in "this city, anno 1581." These examples, as not directly necessary to the history of my subject, are thus subjoined, because they illustrate the arguments of my author.

"answer, that as the late experience of that skilful pilot, "captain John Davis, to the north-west, towards which his "discovery yourself has thrice contributed with the for-"wardest, hath shewed a great part to be main sea, where "before it was thought main land: so, for my part, I am "fully persuaded by Ortelius his late reformation of Cal-"vacan and the gulf of California, that the land on the "back part of Virginia extends nothing so far westward as "is put down in the maps of those parts. Moreover, it is "not to be denied, that one hundred men will do more now "among the naked and unarmed people in Virginia, than "one thousand were able then to do in Ireland, against that "armed and warlike nation in those days. I say further, "that these two last years experience hath plainly shewed, "that we may spare ten thousand able men, without any "miss.—Seeing therefore we are so far from want of people, "that retiring daily home out of the Low Countries, they "go idle up and down in swarms for lack of honest enter-"tainments; I see no fitter place to employ some part of "the better sort, than in the inward parts of Virginia, "against such stubborn savages as shall refuse obedience to "her majesty. And doubtless many of our men will be "glad and fain to accept this condition, when by reading "this present treatise they shall understand the fertility "and riches of the regions confining so near upon yours, "the great commodities and goodness whereof you have "been contented to suffer to come to light. In the mean "season I humbly commend myself and this my translation "to you; and yourself, with all those who have undertaken "this enterprise in hand, to the grace and good blessing of "the Almighty; which is able to build further, and finish "the good work, which in these our days he hath begun "by your most Christian and charitable endeavour." Such were the praises of this discovery, and exhortations to proceed in it, that were publicly paid to sir Walter Ralegh at this his setting out the fourth voyage to Virginia, by those who wished it might contribute no less to the improvement of his fortune, than it did to the advancement of his glory.

But the ships, in which this second colony was transported, had not been many days returned into England, before we find Ralegh's thoughts diverted, for a while, from planting in a foreign country, and engaged upon schemes of displanting rather those powerful enemies who were preparing to root themselves in his own. For the rumour grew stronger every day of such a mighty fleet threatening us, as if all Spain and Rome were to land upon our little island, and overrun the whole kingdom. The queen and her privy-council therefore no longer delayed all proper means for the defence of the realm; but out of all her commanders by land and sea appointed those of most approved abilities in naval and military affairs, as well as of the greatest authority in their respective counties, to hold consultations for the security of her person, her people, and their possessions. And as there were such consultations distinctly held by the most ancient and experienced commanders at sea; so we find by the like appointment a council of war also held on the 27th of November this year, by others of highest repute for their knowledge how to put the forces of the realm in the best order, to withstand any invasion by land. For this purpose were chosen the lord Grey [r], sir Francis Knolles [s], sir Thomas Leighton [t], sir Walter Ralegh [u], (for I recite as I find them written,) sir John Norris [x], sir Richard Grenvill [y], sir Richard Bingham [z], sir Ro-

In the national council of war.

[r] Late deputy of Ireland, and now lord-lieutenant of the county of Bucks, knight of the garter, and an excellent soldier, says Camden; at least cool in council, though hot in action.

[s] Knight of the garter, treasurer of the queen's household, and privy-counsellor; a prudent and learned man, trained in military affairs; and perhaps now governor of the Isle of Wight, whereof he writ a General Survey, though it was never printed.

[t] Governor of the Isle of Guernsey, well versed in matters of state, as well as the army; sent into France afterwards in 1591, of special trust, to advise the earl of Essex in his actions there; and author of "Les "Loix, Coustumes, et Usages de "l'Isle de Guernsey, differentes du "Coustumier de Normandie, d'an-"tienneté observées en la dite Isle." A fair written copy whereof, in eight sheets folio, is in the Harleian library.

[u] Lieutenant-general of Cornwall, &c. as before.

[x] Trained in the wars of France, general in Friesland and the Low Countries, now president of Munster in Ireland, and the year following lord-marshal of the field in England.

[y] Vice-admiral, I think, in the west, before mentioned; and of whose valour we shall hear more hereafter.

[z] A Dorsetshire man, famous in

ger Williams[a], and Ralph Lane, esq.[b] Of their determinations in this important council I shall here present an abstract, from a manuscript drawn up perhaps by sir Walter Ralegh himself; the said draught being annexed to another manuscript now before me, which was apparently of his composing[c].

They first numbered up *the places most suspected for the army from Spain, and also those most convenient for that in Flanders, to land at:* then concluded *how many of those places were to be put in defence to hinder their landing.* And first they took notice of Milford; which though they did not suspect would be preferred, for the barrenness of the country, yet, in regard to the goodness of the haven, they thought it convenient there should be a trained number of two thousand foot and five hundred horse in readiness; and that in want of horsemen, the gentlemen and their servants were to supply the deficiency. But Plymouth they thought the most likely place; because it was improbable the king of Spain would venture his fleet too far within the sleeve, before he had mastered some good harbour; of which Plymouth is nearest to Spain, soonest fortified, and most convenient to be succoured either from Spain or France. Portland they also thought a tempting place, having a large harbour and good landing. The Isle of Wight they considered as a strong retreat, if won, and the country adjoining champion; where the enemy might march his whole army. And why they thought the Downs, Margate, and

the wars of France, Scotland, and the Isle of Candia; late president of Connaught, and a brave commander in the wars of Ireland, where he afterwards died governor of Leinster.

[a] A valiant and experienced commander in the French and Belgic wars, of whom further mention will be made in the course of this history.

[b] Late governor of Virginia, as before observed; afterwards knighted, and preferred to some considerable post in the navy or the treasury; a man able either to give counsel in warlike affairs, or put it in execution; was author, besides his discourses on Virginia, of several military memorials in letters to the lord treasurer and others; particularly one, on the use to be made of don Antonio against Spain; another, about encamping of soldiers, and inconvenience of quartering them in towns, &c.

[c] Entitled, "A Discourse on the "present Consultation, touching the "Peace with Spain, and retaining of "the Netherlands in Society and "Protection." Which manuscript will be further spoken of in a more convenient part of this work.

the Thames, fit landing places, was in regard to the easiness of landing; and being nearest the prince of Parma, in whose forces the king of Spain reposed special trust. Then they consulted *whether these places were to be strengthened by fortification, or assembly of the people, or both;* and concluded, that for Plymouth there should be both; and that the five thousand trained men in Devon and Cornwall, besides the stannaries, were to be assembled for Plymouth, standing equal to both counties: of this number, instead of muster-days, chargeable and of little effect, two thousand should be assembled in Plymouth, under the general to be appointed over the western army, that they might know their leaders, be acquainted with watch and ward, and so instructed, that on a sudden there might be no confusion; and this to be half at the charge of her majesty, and half on the country, if the country charge surmounted not the ordinary trainings. Portland also was to be armed both by fortification and assembly; for the two thousand seven hundred trained men in Dorsetshire and Wiltshire were to be assembled for that place; and two thousand of them to be exercised as before, in some part of Wiltshire, appointed for the Isle of Wight, to take Somersetshire in, which are two thousand foot. At Sandwich and the Downs by assembly. In Kent and Sussex, the four thousand five hundred trained men to be assembled for defence there; and two thousand of them to be exercised at Sandwich, as before. The like order to be taken for Norfolk and Suffolk. Their further meaning was, that these garrisons should remain but for twenty days, to be throughly trained, and acquainted with encamping. Then every such two thousand men in garrison thus disciplined, should give example to a great army of raw men, so prevent confusion on a sudden. Further, that twenty captains should be appointed to every such two thousand men; which captains having each of them a hundred trained men, should receive under them when the army assembled a hundred more; so as in effect there would be four thousand men in order, and under martial discipline. Half these captains were to be chosen by

the general of the army, the rest to be from the principal gentry of the country; under whom were soldiers to be appointed for their lieutenants. And the same order to be observed in all other places of garrison. Then they considered on *the course to be taken for fighting the enemy, if by force he should land;* and this they agreed must be left to the discretion of the general; only advised, if they could not prevent his landing and marching forward, that the country be driven, so as no victuals remain to the invaders, and that they be kept waking with perpetual alarms; but in nowise to venture battle, till divers lieutenants were assembled to make a strong army, as before specified; except upon special advantages. Further, that in those provinces where there are many lieutenants, some one to be appointed chief leader, that there be no straining of courtesy among one another, and giving thereby advantage to the enemy; but that every lieutenant's authority shall only extend to the command of his own company, as colonel of that regiment, and be commanded by the lieutenants general: as in Devon and Cornwall, there being ten lieutenants; whereby it shall be known who shall command in either, as need shall require. Next they considered *what proportion of men must be prepared for this end.* Here, supposing the enemy landed at Plymouth, they computed that the six thousand armed and furnished in Devon and Cornwall, with the assistance of those in Wiltshire, Dorset, and Somersetshire, would make a sufficient army, strengthened with the gentlemen, their retinue, and others of the neighbouring counties, to be incorporated, though not so completely armed: and if by resistance, or contrary weather, the enemy pass over Plymouth, and land at Portland, then the army of the west shall repair to them. If the invasion happen upon Kent, or other part to the west of the Thames, then the midland shires, directed to assist the west, may turn to the east along the coast. If the army in Flanders land to the east of the Thames, the same order to be taken with Suffolk, Norfolk, Sussex, and the city of London. And because special regard was to be had to her majesty's per-

son, an army should be provided, and commanded under counties reserved for that end, to join the forces of London and others, to be armed out of her majesty's stores. Further, for the increase of footmen wanting armour, among one fourth of the able unarmed men, eighty should be pikes, and twenty billmen, and those weapons speedily to be provided, they being furnished by the realm. And for the increase of pikemen in this scarcity of armour, that the billmen be converted into pikemen, and that able billmen unarmed should be levied in their places; because the ranks of billmen in order to battle are always environed with pikemen; for the billmen serve specially for execution, if the enemy be overthrown: only a few armed billmen or halberdiers reserved to guard the ranks wherein the ensigns, drums, &c. are placed. And because, on a sudden invasion, it will be too late to provide necessaries, store of ordnance, munition, and all other furniture, to be forthwith provided, and sent to the foresaid garrisons. Also that horse as well as foot be exercised in those general assemblies; and that at Plymouth, Portsmouth, Sandwich, or other places thought fit to have the like training, the horsemen of the next counties be also brought together; as at Plymouth, those of Devon, Cornwall, and Somersetshire; at Portland, those of Dorset, Wilts, Hampshire, and Berkshire; and at Sandwich, those of Kent, Sussex, and Surrey. And because in these places for training the infantry there may want forage and conveniences for horsemen, the lieutenants may choose the fittest for the cavalry as near the foot as they can. But as they cannot resist the landing in Scotland, they proposed six thousand foot and two thousand horse, whereof one thousand to be lances, for that side. And if these shall be thought too weak for the army in Flanders when it lands there, a good part of the army appointed to guard her majesty may be detached to join the army in the north, and the army of the west march up to supply their charge. They also considered the king of Spain's hopes in the papists and malecontents; and that if those small regiments were not in readiness, it would be

too late to assemble, both for resisting a foreign enemy and withstanding these at home in one day; for every man would rest in fear of having his own house fired, and his family destroyed; therefore, if they made any stir, severe execution upon such offenders should be used by martial law. Further, that it should be bruited in Spain, a vast army of double or treble the number was ready in the west, and other coasts of England, to embark for Portugal or the Indies; the same opinion being fortified by the preparation of so many ships making ready in those parts by sir Francis Drake. They also thought, that throughout all the counties of England, the proportion among the armed and trained, as well as unarmed pikes and bills, should be eighty pikes and twenty bills in every hundred. And lastly, cautioned the lords of the council to be wary of her majesty's ships lying at Rochester.

Besides this grand scheme for the safeguard of the kingdom in general, Ralegh seems to have had some special regard to several particular places. For there has been found among the lord Burghley's papers, *A remembrance for the lord treasurer, touching the request of sir W. R.* dated, it seems, this year; which makes request for five pieces of brass cannon lying at Woolwich; also for letters to the marquis of Winchester, lieutenant of Dorsetshire, for a hundred men, and arms to defend the castle and island of Portland, with a supply of powder, there being but one last. Further, for removal of the unserviceable ordnance there to London; and that the lord marquis would give order for his said hundred men, by his commission directed to the lieutenant of Portland, and he will undertake to collect men of sufficiency, not of the trained number. Lastly, for his lordship's good remembrance for the towns of Weymouth and Melcomb-Regis. From whence my author is not only inclined to believe this paper was sent by sir Walter Ralegh, but that he was now governor of Portland castle, and had those towns under his care[d]. We

[d] See Strype's Annals of the Church, tom. 3. fol. 452.

may indeed hence believe this paper was written by him; and that he not only took those places, but several others, under his consideration, that they might be put in the best state of defence: but that he was now governor of Portland castle, or limited to the defence of that place at the time of the invasion, as might be implied from my author, seems not very consistent with his lieutenancy in the west.

But as much engaged as Ralegh seems at this time to have been for the safety of the kingdom, he found some interval to consider also upon means for the relief of his colony. For after governor White returned, and had delivered him his letters, with other advertisements concerning his late voyage, and the state of the planters in Virginia, Ralegh immediately appointed a pinnace to be sent thither, with all such provisions as he apprehended they might want; and also wrote letters to them, promising that he would prepare a good supply of shipping and men, with all other necessaries, to be with them the summer following.

The fifth voyage to Virginia.

This pinnace and fleet he accordingly prepared at Biddeford in the west of England, under the command of sir Richard Grenvill; and all things being now ready, they waited only for a fair wind. In the mean time, the alarm so increased throughout all England, of that vast and formidable armament made by the king of Spain, under the sanction of the pope's crusado, for the invasion and conquest of the whole island, that most of the ships of war then in any readiness received orders from the state to attend in their harbours for the defence of their own country: and sir Richard Grenvill was personally commanded not to depart out of Cornwall. Governor White nevertheless laboured so earnestly for the relief of the colony, that he obtained two small pinnaces, called the Brave and the Roe, wherein fifteen planters, and all convenient provisions for those who wintered in the country, were transported; but the names of the captains who commanded those vessels are not remembered. On the 22d of April 1588, they put over the bar at Biddeford, and the same night came to anchor at the Isle of Lundy: but the company, minding

more to make a gainful voyage than a safe one, run in chase of prizes; till at last one of them was met with by a couple of strong men of war of Rochelle, about fifty leagues to the north-east of Madeira; where, after a bloody fight, the English were beaten, boarded, and rifled. But it is observable, the Frenchmen were so immoderate in possessing themselves of their spoil, that, by overloading the boats with the freight of the English ships, they sunk what they were too eager to share; so the vice which led them to conquest being itself unconquered, they lost by their greediness what they had won by their strength. In this maimed, ransacked, and ragged condition, the said ship returned to England in a month's time; and about three weeks after returned the other, having perhaps tasted of the same fare, at least without performing the intended voyage; to the distress of the planters abroad, and displeasure of their patron at home[e].

In the mean time the king of France sent queen Elizabeth a message, assuring her, that the tempest, which had been gathering in Spain for three years, would certainly break very speedily upon her kingdom; therefore advised her to make the best preparation she could for its defence. Nor did the king of Spain keep it now any longer a secret, having about the same time, that is, in the month of May this year, published at Lisbon an ample and ostentatious account[f] of this Invincible Armada, as the Spaniards themselves had called it; wherein the squadrons are distinguished according to the several provinces; the names

[e] Hakluyt's Voyages, 1st edit. fol. 1589. p. 771.

[f] It is entitled, *La Felicissima Armada que el rey Felipe nuestro senior mando juntar en el puerto de la ciudad de Lisboa en el reyno de Portugal; en el anno de mil e quinientos y ochenta y ocho. Hecha par Pedro de Pos Salas.* It was translated into English the same year by Daniel Archdeacon, under the title of "A Discourse of that "Armada which the king of Spain "caused to be assembled in the "haven of Lisbon in the kingdom "of Portugal, in the year 88, against "England; the which began to go "out of the haven the 29th and "30th of May." See an abstract of this pamphlet in Hakluyt, (out of Van Meteran,) vol. 1. fol. 592. Also in the Triumphs of Nassau, translated from a French book hereafter mentioned, fol. 1613. from page 50 to 63. Also in Speed's Chronicles, fol. 1198. And Mr. Strype's Annals of the Church, tom. 3. fol. 1728. Appen. N°. 51, &c.

of the ships, their burden, and their commanders; with the number of their soldiers, mariners, and other associates and adventurers; their stores, and all other necessaries, likewise specified: whence it appears the whole fleet consisted of a hundred and thirty, or, according to sir Walter Raleigh [g] and Hugo Grotius [h], a hundred and forty sail; some few tenders, or others, joining them by the way, not being perhaps in the Spanish list reckoned: carrying, by the generality of accounts, above twenty-six hundred pieces of brass and iron ordnance [i]; near nineteen thousand soldiers; between eight and nine thousand sailors; besides officers, priests, galley-slaves, servants, and other attendants; amounting in all to about thirty thousand persons: or, according to the confession of don Diego Piementelli, one of their own commanders, who was driven into Zealand, the whole fleet, army, &c. were no less than thirty-two thousand men; and cost the king of Spain 30,000 ducats every day [k]. The general of this mighty navy was the duke of Medina Sidonia, knight of the golden fleece; and John Martines de Ricalde was chief admiral. In Flanders the prince of Parma was also making great preparations to join this armada; had gathered up an army consisting of more than a hundred, some say two hundred companies of

[g] In his brief account of the Spanish invasion hereafter following.

[h] Annal. et Hist. de Rebus Belgicis. Amst. 12mo. 1648. p. 171. But one of Mr. Lediard's lists in his Naval Expeditions, now publishing, folio 252, raises them to 145. The author of a letter sent out of England to don Bernardin Mendoza, ambassador in France for the king of Spain, 4to. 1588. says, p. 17. their number was 150. Also Van Meteran, the Dutch historian's relation of this invasion, in Hakluyt, vol. 1. fol. 593, agrees in that number; but a little further reckons them at 134. And Stow or Howe's Abridgment of him advances the Spanish fleet to 158 ships. But the accounts above, especially of the Spaniards themselves at the very time, seem most credible: for in the examination of one of the Spanish prisoners, named Emanuel Fremosa, on the 12th of September this year, I find he confessed, that they were, at their coming forth from Spain, 135 sail. Thus in a scarce tract, entitled, Certain Advertisements out of Ireland, concerning the Losses and Distresses happened to the Spanish Navy, 4to. 1588. in the Harleian library, B. H.

[i] Sir Walter Raleigh has made some good observations upon this plenty of Spanish guns, which there will be occasion hereafter more particularly to recite.

[k] So Emanuel Van Meteran, in Hakluyt, as before, probably out of the deposition of don Diego Piementelli, before the chief lords of the council of the Hague, in Holland, printed in English at London, 4to. 1588.

foot, and four thousand horse; and was very busy in making rafts, ferry-boats, floating bridges, portcullises, gabions, and what not? Nor were they idle in England; for how well the directions of the council of war aforesaid were put in execution, and how far Ralegh may be presumed to have been engaged among the most indefatigable in this service, is to be inferred from the words of that author, who says, "In a very short time the whole kingdom and every "corner were speedily furnished with armed people on "horseback and on foot; and those continually trained, "exercised, and put into bands in such warlike manner, as "in no age ever was before in this realm." And a little further, "That all concurred in one mind, to be in rea-"diness to serve for the realm; and some one country was "able to make a sufficient army of twenty thousand men "fit to fight, and fifteen thousand of them well armed and "weaponed; and in some countries the number of forty "thousand able men: that the maritime countries from "Cornwall all along southward to Kent, and from thence "eastward to Lincolnshire, were so furnished with soldiers, "both of themselves, and with resort from their next shires, "as there was no place to be doubted for landing of any "foreign forces, but there were within forty-eight hours to "come to the place above twenty thousand fighting men "on horseback and on foot, with all manner of ammuni-"tion, provision, and carriages, under the principal nobles "of the countries, and captains of the greatest knowledge[1]." We further learn from the same author and others, that besides these armies for the maritime countries, the city of London exercised before the queen ten thousand men, and had several thousands more in readiness; that there were also two great armies raised, whereof one was encamped at Tilbury in Essex, between the city and the mouth of the Thames, consisting of twenty-two thousand foot and a thousand horse, under the command of the earl of Lei-

[1] The copy of a letter sent out of England to don Bernardin Mendoza, &c. 4to. 1588. p. 6.

cester. The queen reviewed this camp several times, dined, made orations in it, and lodged in the borders of it [m]. The other army, consisting of thirty-four thousand foot and two thousand horse, commanded by the lord Hunsdon, was planted about the queen's own person [n]. And it increased daily by the several bands and troops, which were led from the inland countries by such noblemen, knights, and gentlemen, as had no special charge or government in their respective counties; while the young earl of Essex, and others among them, entertained her majesty with tiltings and tourneys, barriers, mock-fights, and such like arts, as in public are wont to render men popular [o]. But the lieutenants of the maritime counties were otherwise employed. And as the earl of Pembroke had been assiduous in levying the forces of Wilts and Somersetshire, and the earl of Bath those of Devonshire; so Ralegh seems to have been no less forward and industrious in raising and reducing those of Cornwall to the best order and discipline for the service of his country, against the common enemy; notwithstanding what he might have done, as has been said before, at Portland: and, like the rest of the lords-lieutenant, to have sent up constantly his certificates to the queen of the numbers that were assembled; the posture

Assembles the western forces against the Spanish invasion.

[m] The most particular description perhaps of these preparations against the Spanish invasion, especially of the queen's entertainment at the royal camp of Tilbury, is to be found in a poem of blank verse, entitled, Elizabetha Triumphans: containing the damned practices which the devilish popes of Rome have used ever since her first coming to the crown. Dedicated to Dr. Julius Cæsar, &c. by James Aske, 4to. 1588.

[n] But six years before this occasion of raising the military strength of England, according to sir Walter Ralegh, there were, upon a general view and muster, found in the kingdom, of all men fit to bear arms, eleven hundred and seventy-two thousand. See his Select Essays and Observations, 8vo. 1650. in his discourse of the Invention of Shipping, p. 27.

[o] The earl of Essex was now master of the queen's horse. See the letter to Mendoza aforesaid, p. 25. In which sir Henry Wotton agrees, who makes this further observation: "This service at Tilbury camp was, "in my judgment," says he, "the "very poison of all that followed; for "there, while the queen stood in "some doubt of the Spanish invasion, she made him in field commander of the cavalry, as he was "before in court, and much graced "him openly in view of the soldiers "and people, even above my lord of "Leicester: the truth is, from "thenceforth *he fed too fast*." Parallel between Robert Devereux, earl of Essex, and George Villiers, duke of Buckingham.

they were in; the provisions they were supplied with; or those whereof they stood in need.

But notwithstanding all these land preparations, which moved some speculative warriors at court to think a sea force unnecessary, as if the English were sufficient to cut the Spaniards to pieces in landing, or when they were ashore, and run away with their ships at the same time; sir Walter Ralegh knew better what another kingdom might do, even against England, by the advantage of a fleet, if we have none: no man having so solidly resolved as himself that weighty question, *whether England, without the help of a fleet, is able to debar an enemy from landing?* He knew that ships, without putting themselves out of breath, will easily outrun the soldiers that coast them: he knew that a fleet after sunset may be seen at the Lizard, and by the next morning at Portland, which an army should be six days in marching; and consequently, that the sailor may choose his landing-place, where there are no soldiers that can oppose him: and even supposing an invader should offer to land near where our greatest army was ready to receive him, Ralegh doubted, when the choice of all our trained-bands and of officers were drawn together, as at Tilbury, to attend the person of the queen, and to defend the city of London, whether those that should remain to guard the coast could be of any such force as to encounter an army like that which the prince of Parma should have landed in England [p].

By sea therefore all possible defence was likewise made, and the chief command was very properly conferred on the lord admiral Howard, who, hearing the Invincible Armada was upon the point of hoisting sail, sent sir Francis Drake, who was constituted his vice-admiral, with fifty-six ships well appointed, to the western parts, and himself arrived there on the 23d of May with others, which made up the fleet about a hundred sail; while the lord Henry Seymour was sent to lie with forty English and Dutch ships, (accord-

[p] Vid. History of the World, lib. 5. cap. 1. sect. 9.

ing to Camden,) between Dover and Calais to intercept the prince of Parma[q]. The Invincible Armada loosed anchor from Lisbon four days before, but met with such storms, sickness, and other disasters, that the lord admiral put forth towards Spain, in hopes of surprising them in their distress; till more maturely considering they might pass by undiscovered, he returned to Plymouth, and suffered his men to relieve themselves on shore. The queen had received such assurance they were so disabled from coming this year by that storm, that she made secretary Walsingham send for four of her first-rate ships to be brought home to Chatham. But their return was prevented by the intelligence which captain Thomas Fleming brought into the harbour on the 19th of July, that he had discovered the enemy approaching from the Lizard-Point in Cornwall. The captains and commanders were then, it seems, at bowls upon the Hoe at Plymouth[r]; and the tradition goes, that Drake would

[q] As for the naval force in these times, William Harrison, in his Historical Description of England, (with whom sir Walter Ralegh in his Essays aforesaid agrees,) tells us, the queen had then in the 24th year of her reign, (six years before this invasion,) already built and furnished four or five and twenty great ships, (whose names they both recite,) and three notable galleys; with the sight whereof, and the rest of the navy royal, says Harrison, it is incredible to see how greatly her grace is delighted. They further say, there were then 135 ships more, whose burden exceeded 500 ton; besides many more of lesser burden, boys, &c. Harrison also observes, her grace doth yearly build one ship or other, to the better defence of her frontiers from the enemy. See him in the 2d vol. of Holinshed, fol. 201.

Michael Castelnau, who was ambassador here many years in those times, and who has given the most noble and ingenuous character of the said queen, in his Memoirs, of any foreigner I have met with that knew her, comes so near that author, where he observes she built a noble fleet, the bulwark of her kingdom, as to affirm, she launches a large man of war every second year. But by that long list of the English navy, (which this year opposed the Spanish armada,) among the MSS. in the Royal library 14. B. XIII. lately printed by Mr. Lediard, in his Naval Expeditions, fol. 238, it appears, there were very few ships of that burden before mentioned among them. For though that list raises their number beyond all other accounts to 197 sail, (manifestly omitting some which were there, and probably admitting several which were not,) yet there are not above six ships among them mentioned to be of 500 ton, and not above seven of greater burden. Therefore, as Mr. Lediard well observes, though our several squadrons might exceed those of the Spaniards in number of ships; yet by comparing the tonnage of the several ships in both fleets, and the number of men employed in them, the superiority of the enemy's fleet will appear very considerable; more than double in men, and very near double in burden.

[r] Phœnix Britannicus, 4to. 1731. p. 346.

needs see the game up, but was soon prevailed on to go and play out the rubbers with the Spaniards. All hands were now at work to warp out the ships, which, with the admirable industry of the seamen, was very speedily, for the difficulty thereof, performed, the wind blowing stiffly into the haven from the south-west. The lord admiral, with the few he could then get ready, lay all night in the road. Next day about fifty or threescore more joined him, and at noon they kenned the Spanish fleet; some with lofty turrets and decks reared one above another, and others rowed along with two or three hundred oars apiece; all advancing with their Spanish gravity, the wind being abated, in a semicircular order; and extended, as Camden observes, seven miles from end to end. The English suffered them all to pass by, so got the advantage of the wind, when they began to chase them in the rear: nor did the Spaniards offer to land at Plymouth, their commission being to join the prince of Parma, and sail directly to London. The next day, which was the 21st of July, the lord admiral sent out a pinnace, called the Defiance, and begun the fight. This, I take it, was near the Eddistone; for there we have account of the first conflict, and of the first Spanish ship that was taken or sunk[s]. Then the lord admiral in the Ark-Royal, Drake in the Revenge, with Hawkins, Frobisher, and others, having thundered thick upon the enemy for two hours together, withdrew, forty of their ships not being (says Camden) yet come up. In this engagement the Spaniards, by endeavouring to circle in and shelter one of their disabled galleons, she had her foremast broken, and was left behind, which Drake took the next day, with don Pedro de Valdez and other nobles in her, besides fifty-five thousand ducats, which were shared among his sailors. Immediately after, another of their greatest ships was set on fire, with all the people in her, and yet the powder escaped.

[s] See the list of the Spanish ships lost in the narrow seas in July and August 1588, at the end of Certain Advertisements out of Ireland, concerning the Losses and Distress of the Spanish Navy, 4to. 1588. before mentioned.

But how the lord admiral, all the first night, followed the Spanish lantern, instead of Drake's, into their fleet, while Drake at the same time was making another mistaken pursuit; and how the Ark-Royal followed the Spanish fleet also the second night so far, almost alone, that it was the afternoon following before the English fleet overtook her, with other particulars, I leave to the more ample accounts of this engagement, that I may attend the motions of sir Walter Ralegh; who, from being at first the nearest, now growing impatient at being the most remote from the enemy, appears to have committed his charge by land to proper officers, or detached part thereof to march up nearer the Spaniards, and with a gallant company of nobles and gentlemen, in several ships, to have joined the English fleet; that is to say, on the 23d of July, when the Spanish fleet was advanced over against Portland; where, this whole day being one continued engagement from morning till night, it proved the most general and bloody fight of any between them in the British channel. And here, after the taking of a great Venetian ship, and others of lesser bulk, the Spaniards were driven from all intention of assaulting the English till they had joined the prince of Parma; for during this fight, or, "in the mean while" (according to the words of my author, from Van Meteran, one of the earliest, most copious, and accurate journalists of this expedition) "the English navy increased; whereunto, out of all havens "of the realm, resorted ships and men; for they all with "one accord came flocking thither (to Portland) as unto a "set field where immortal fame and glory was to be at-"tained, and faithful service to be performed unto their "prince and country[t]." In which number having mentioned the earls of Oxford, Northumberland, and Cumberland, he also names sir Walter Ralegh among the foremost of near twenty other knights and gentlemen, whereby the English ships were augmented to a hundred sail; and

Joins the English fleet with a squadron of volunteers.

[t] See the miraculous Victory of the English fleet over the Spanish Armada; in Hakluyt, vol. 1. fol. 1599. p. 599. from the 15th book of Emanuel Van Meteran's History of the Low Countries.

doubtless, by some of those Camden mentioned to have been left behind in Plymouth-Sound, with which Ralegh very probably advanced[u]. These, ever asunder, and always in motion, were on every side useful to annoy the enemy; now presenting a broadside, and sheering off; then tacking about and discharging the other; in such sort, that sir Henry Wotton called it, a morris-dance upon the waters[x], while the sluggish and unwieldy castles of the enemy, clustered and hampered together, could only offer offence from one disabled side; and that, when they had done, flew over the Englishmen's heads. Camden tells us, that in this day's engagement the lord admiral was advised by some of his officers, with more heat than discretion, to grapple with and board the enemy. Now Ralegh, having made some excellent animadversions upon this very circumstance, goes nigh to prove out of his own words, that he was not only in this day's engagement, but that the counsel he might thence appear to have given did greatly contribute to the success of it. He has shewn how well he knew that in such case the advantage of weapons would be likeliest to carry it, whereof the enemy was provided with far the greatest number; also, that in such close fight how liable the lesser ships were to be crushed by the greater; that these by their very height must have further advantage over those that endeavoured to board them from below; and lastly, in these of more bulk and breadth being also more firm and more steady, those who could best keep their feet would probably be best able to use their hands. But that I may not impede too much the course of action, his further arguments upon this head are subjoined more closely in his own words[y]. Next

[u] What further persuades me to believe Ralegh entered the fleet at this place and time is, my having met with a certain foreign history, hereafter mentioned, which had been his own book, and wherein he has with his own hand corrected other passages relating to himself; but has let this of his joining the fleet, as above, pass uncontradicted.

[x] His Parallel between Robert earl of Essex, and George duke of Buckingham, before mentioned.

[y] "Certainly he that will happily "perform a fight at sea, must be "skilful in making choice of vessels "to fight in: he must believe, that "there is more belonging to a good "man of war upon the waters than "great daring; and must know, that "there is a great deal of difference "between fighting loose or at large,

day the Spaniards were glad to lie by, and the English no less pleased with the cessation, that they might take the opportunity of sending to shore for a recruit of ammunition; and this, being a circumstance taken notice of also by Ralegh himself, further confirms his having been now among them [z]. The 25th of July, the English had another sharp

" and grappling. The guns of a slow " ship pierce as well, and make as " great holes, as those in a swift. " To clap ships together without con- " sideration, belongs rather to a mad- " man than to a man of war; for by " such ignorant bravery was Peter " Strossie lost at the Azores, when " he fought against the marquis of " Sancta Cruz. In like sort had the " lord Charles Howard, admiral of " England, been lost in 1588, if he " had not been better advised than a " great many malignant fools were, " that found fault with his demeanour. " The Spaniards had an army aboard " them, and he had none; they had " more ships than he had, and of " higher building and charging; so " that had he entangled himself with " those great and powerful vessels, " he had greatly endangered this king- " dom of England. For twenty men " upon the defence are equal to a " hundred that board and enter; " whereas then, contrariwise, the " Spaniards had a hundred for twenty " of ours to defend themselves withal. " But our admiral knew his advan- " tage, and held it; which had he " not done, he had not been worthy " to have held his head. Here to " speak in general of sea-fights," (continues he, though I think his observation may have respect to some further events in this particular fight, wherefore it is here also added,) " I " say, that a fleet of twenty ships, all " good sailors and good ships, have " the advantage on the open sea of a " hundred as good ships, but of " slower sailing. For if the fleet of " a hundred sail keep themselves to- " gether in a gross squadron, the " twenty ships upon any angle shall " force them to give ground and to " fall back upon their own next fel- " lows; of which so many as en- " tangle are made unserviceable or " lost. Force them they may easily; " because twenty ships, which give " themselves scope, after they have " given one broadside of artillery by " clapping into the wind and stay- " ing, may give them the other, and " so the twenty ships batter them in " pieces with a perpetual volley; " whereas those that fight in a troop " have no room to turn, and can al- " ways use but one and the same " beaten side. If the fleet of a hun- " dred sail give themselves any dis- " tance, then shall the lesser fleet " prevail, either against those that are " arrear and hindermost, or against " those that, by advantage of over- " sailing their fellows, keep the wind: " and, if upon a lee-shore, the ships " next the wind will be constrained " to fall back into their own squa- " dron; then it is all to nothing, that " the whole fleet must suffer ship- " wreck, or render itself. That such " advantage may be taken upon a " fleet of unequal speed, it hath been " well enough conceived in old time, " as by that oration of Hermocrates " in Thucydides, which he made to " the Syracusians when the Athe- " nians invaded them, it may be " easily observed." History of the World, book 5. chap. 1. sect. 6.

[z] Speaking of the superfluity of great ordnance in the royal navy, he observes, that " many times there " is no proportion of shot and pow- " der allowed, rateably to that quan- " tity of great ordnance, as was " seen in the sea-battle," says he, " with the Spaniards, in the year " 1588, when it so nearly concerned " the defence and preservation of the " kingdom. So as then many of " those great guns, wanting powder " and shot, stood but as ciphers and " scarecrows, not unlike to the " easterling hulks, who were wont " to plant great red portholes in " their broadsides, where they car- " ried no ordnance at all." See sir

battle with the Spanish admiral, and three great galleasses at the Isle of Wight, in which Camden mentions the taking of a Portuguese galleon, and that from this time the galleasses durst not venture upon any new engagement, but closing themselves up again in a rundle, as they called it, made the best of their way to tell the prince of Parma how they had been served. The English fleet followed and kept playing upon their rear all the next day, having determined to forbear any closer engagement till they came to the British Frith, or Straits of Calais, where the lord Seymour expected their arrival. "But so far was this Invin-"cible Armada from alarming the sea-coasts," says Camden, "that the English gentry of the younger sort entered "themselves volunteers, and, leaving their friends and fami-"lies, did with incredible cheerfulness hire ships at their "own charge, and in pure love to their country joined the "grand fleet in vast numbers." And here Camden names those nobles, and some of those gentlemen, with Ralegh among them, which composed the squadron before mentioned, as if it entered but now from Dover, or some of those ports: not that he confines their entrance to this day, otherwise than naming them under it, or any other way suggests they did not join the grand fleet three days before; but seems, by remembering them in this place, to have believed, they were most conspicuous or in greatest number at this time, unless he postponed the mention of them to a day, that was least thronged with circumstances of action. Indeed, that this noble squadron of volunteers was united to the queen's navy, when such valiant services were performed against the Spaniards in the great fight before Calais, another writer also, greatly to their commendation, agrees; but neither is he so expressive as to satisfy us it was the first appearance they made, and that they were not before at Portland. For, having mentioned the earls of Cumberland, Northumberland, and other gentlemen of distinc-

Walter Ralegh's Observations on the Royal Navy and Sea-service, inscribed to Henry, prince of Wales, 8vo. 1650. p. 26.

tion, who, without any charge or knowledge of the queen, joined the fleet before Calais, and ventured their lives in the said engagement; he goes on to observe, how earnest all ranks and degrees were, by instancing also, "that the earl "of Oxford, one of the most ancient nobles in this land, "went to sea and served the queen among them, as did "Robert Cecil, lord Dudley, and sir Walter Ralegh, a "gentleman of the queen's privy-chamber," says he, "and "in his company a great number of young gentlemen, "among whom were William Cecil, Edward Darcy, and "Arthur Gorge[a];" the same persons mentioned with others by Camden, and also in larger number by the Dutch historian above quoted, three days before. "With the re-"cital of whom, I only shew you," (continues my last author, the letter-writer,) "how far we have been deceived to "think, that we should have had a party here for us, when, "as you behold, both by land and sea, all sorts of men were "so ready, at their own charges, without either command-"ment or entertainment, to adventure also their lives in de-"fence of the queen and the realm[b]." From hence it appears, this squadron must have also been at the final overthrow of the Spanish armada, which on the 27th of July in the evening anchored before Calais, intending to hold on for Dunkirk in expectation of the prince of Parma, who was always preparing, but never ready; and, the English following, anchored also within culverin shot of them. Here the lord Seymour joined the English; and then the lord admiral's fleet was increased to a hundred and forty sail, says Camden; wherein he both exactly agrees with the augmentation thereof at Portland by these volunteers, as we have it from the Dutch historian there quoted; and also excludes all intermediate addition, of ships at least, by the number himself has before given us of the lord Seymour's squadron. Next day the English resolved, according to the queen's directions, upon the stratagem of the fire-ships to burn or disperse the Spanish navy; and the same was

Gentleman of the queen's privy-chamber.

[a] Copy of a letter sent out of England to don Bern. Mendoza, p. 28.

[b] Ibidem.

put in practice at or soon after midnight so successfully, that the enemy, cutting their cables with the utmost horror and precipitancy, were some scattered by the wind, some fell foul of each other, and others struck upon the sands; the English chasing and thundering upon them from all quarters: then was a great galleass taken by captain Preston, its commander Moncada slain, and a booty of near as much gold fell to the conquerors as was taken in another before mentioned[c]. On the 29th of July the Spaniards ranged themselves into the best order they could within sight of Graveling; hither the English fleet also pursued them, and here the Spaniards received their last fatal adieu, by incessant and numberless damages from the English cannon the greatest part of the day, till their galleons, galleasses, galleys, urcas, and zabras were so miserably shattered, having their hulls pierced through and through, their oars and rudders cut away, their tackling all rent, and their masts broken, that some were deserted as unserviceable, some sunk with the crew that was in them, and others retiring upon the neighbouring coasts were seized and plundered by the inhabitants: while those that had the ability left them, most prudently employed it in running away. The English still followed them into the northern seas, even beyond the latitude of fifty-seven degrees, and, leaving them past all thoughts of the prince of Parma, returned on the 4th of August; when the violent storms that arose resumed their cause, and completed their victory: for, by the tem-

At the final overthrow of the Invincible Armada.

[c] "It was affirmed by men of "great judgment in Calais, that "never was seen by any man living "such a battery; so great for num-"ber, so furious, and of so long con-"tinuance, as the English made "against the Spanish. Calais saw "the Spanish navy first driven from "their anchors with fire; they saw "the greatest galleass of the Spanish, "whereof was commander that wor-"thy nobleman Moncada, spoiled, "and himself slain in it by the "English: Calais saw the next day, "that the English fought and beat "the armada from eight o'clock in "the morning till four in the after-"noon without ceasing: Calais saw "the Spanish hoist up all their sails "and fly as fast as the wind could "drive, and the English pursue them: "yet Calais saw a sufficient navy of "England left before Dunkirk, able "to master all the shipping that the "duke of Parma had provided." Thus in a scarce old tract in the Harleian library, B. H. called, A Pack of Spanish Lies, first printed in Spain, translated, and now ripped up, unfolded, and condemned, 4to. 1588. p. 6.

pests, shipwrecks, sickness, and famine in their dangerous passage homewards, they sustained greater losses than even all they had met with throughout the narrow seas. For the particulars of those losses we shall refer to the distinct and more copious narratives of this invasion [d], and close this account with the summary thereof, which was soon after published to the world by sir Walter Ralegh himself [e]; where, giving the honour of the victory to the courage and conduct of the lord admiral Howard, he says, that "not-"withstanding the victories they pretended to have ob-"tained, it was soon manifested to all nations, how the navy,

[d] At the end of an old pamphlet before quoted, called, Certain Advertisements out of Ireland, concerning the Losses and Distresses of the Spanish Navy, there is one list of fifteen Spanish ships which perished, or were taken by the English in July and August, in the narrow seas; and another list of seventeen more, sunk, burnt, and taken on the coasts of Ireland in September; so that both losses were thirty-two ships: in which were also destroyed and taken 10185 men, whereof one thousand were detained prisoners in England and Zealand; further adding, there were multitudes besides slain, sunk, or starved, who were not accounted for. Insomuch as Van Meteran in Hakluyt more distinctly computes, with whom, I observe, most of our historians agree, there returned not home above fifty-three sail, leaving also behind the greater and better part of their men; and, as they all conclude, "There was not a famous or worthy "family in all Spain, which in this "expedition lost not a son, a brother, "or a kinsman."

Among the English, there were not in the whole eight or nine days engagement above one hundred lost, and among them only one captain, named Cock by Camden. Fuller, in his Worthies of Devon, laments mightily that he cannot recover his Christian name; but perhaps Hakluyt, vol. 3. fol. 771. might have helped him to it. However, the Cottonian MS. quoted by Mr. Lediard, fol. 256. puts the matter further in doubt, by calling him William Cope, and his pinnace the Delight; which William Cope is more likely to be William Cox, who did command such a vessel of fifty ton, called the Delight, in the said fleet, according to the list which this ingenious gentleman himself has exhibited; unless Camden's Cock is this Cox, and so his name may be William; though it will then differ from the person offered out of Hakluyt, who is named Abraham. But, as the person of this Christian name is there only mentioned in a former expedition, though his surname agrees best with the person who was lost in this, it is left to the reader's judgment, whether he will prefer this Abraham Cock, or that William Cox, to the honourable memory that captain Cock in Camden deserves for dying in defence of his country.

[e] In his Report of the truth of the fight about the isles of the Azores, &c. hereafter more particularly mentioned, reprinted in Hakluyt, tom. 2. fol. 169. Here I cannot but wonder, how the industrious Mr. Strype was led to say in his Annals, vol. 3. fol. 530. that this brief relation above quoted of the Spanish invasion was penned by sir Francis Drake, of whose writings I never saw any thing in print or MS. but some letters; though he quotes even the very page in Hakluyt, whence he takes it, as I do; and where the said Report, in which that relation is included, is expressly said to be penned by the honourable sir Walter Ralegh.

"which they had termed *invincible*, consisting of a hun-
"dred and forty sail, was by thirty of the queen's ships of
"war, and a few merchant-men, beaten and shuffled toge-
"ther, even from the Lizard-Point in Cornwall to Port-
"land, where they shamefully left don Pedro de Valdez
"with his mighty ship; from Portland to Calais, where
"they lost Hugo de Moncada, with the galleys of which he
"was captain; and from Calais, driven with squibs from
"their anchors, were chased out of the sight of England
"round about Scotland and Ireland; where, for the sym-
"pathy of their barbarous religion, hoping to find succour
"and assistance, a great part of them were crushed against
"the rocks; and those other who landed (being very many
"in number) were notwithstanding broken, slain, and taken,
"and so sent from village to village, coupled in halters, to
"be shipped into England; where her majesty, of her
"princely and *invincible* disposition, disdaining to put them
"to death, and scorning either to retain or entertain them,
"they were all sent back again to their own country, to
"witness and recount the worthy achievements of their
"*invincible* navy."

The services of sir Walter Ralegh against this invasion, his diligence in regulating the forces of the land, and his interest in strengthening those of the sea; the charges he was at, and the dangers he voluntarily incurred, however undistinguished more than is above expressed by our common historians, and those few inaccurate accounts thereof which are descended to us; were yet received with such approbation by the queen, that she seems, as some recompense for them, to have this year made a considerable augmentation to his patent of wines; as if he had, besides the grant before mentioned, another now also bestowed upon him for tonnage and poundage upon those liquors [f], except it is the same patent with the former, only renewed this year, or

Augmentation of his wine-office.

[f] In sir Robert Cecil's list of the patentees and their patents, which he produced in the house of commons, anno 1601, sir Walter Ralegh's for the tonnage and poundage of wines is mentioned to bear date, 30mo. reginæ. See Heywood Townshend's Historical Collections of the four last Parliaments of Queen Elizabeth, fol. 1680. p. 244.

wrong dated in the author who mentions it. Be it as it should, this patent seems to have been one of the most beneficial favours which Ralegh ever received of the queen, and might perhaps exceed in profit the pension which she settled on the lord admiral himself, for his conduct and courage in the said overthrow. This benefit Ralegh enjoyed as long as she lived; though, towards the close of her reign, the number of such like grants to others being very much increased, they were inveighed against in parliament as grievous and burdensome monopolies, by those especially, who had not the merit or interest to procure any for themselves. Sir Robert Naunton tells us, in his conclusion of Ralegh's character, with relation to the grants he thus obtained, "that though he gained much at the court, yet "he took it not out of the exchequer, or merely out of the "queen's purse, but by his wit, and the help of the prero-"gative: for the queen was never profuse in delivering out "her treasures; but paid many, and most of her servants, "part in money and the rest with grace[g]." We meet with another office, which Ralegh himself erected, no less praiseworthy than this was profitable to him. For one writer, in the short account he gives of him, having spoken of the division he made of his time, in allowing five hours to sleep, four to reading, two for discourse, and the rest to business and other necessaries; and having hinted at the diversity of his correspondencies, intelligence, and the like, says, that "in the capacity of an agency for all sorts of persons, he "set up a kind of *office of address*." And further, "that "considering the despatch of such variety of engagements "in the former part of his life, one must be much to seek "how a man of so many actions should write any thing, "and one of so many writings should do any thing[h]." By another little hint that has been elsewhere preserved, we may conceive this office did chiefly respect a more liberal intercourse, a nobler mutuality of advertisement, than would

His office of address.

[g] Fragmenta Regalia, p. 29.

[h] See Observations on the Statesmen and Favourites of England since the Reformation. By David Lloyd, M. A. 8vo. 1665. p. 489.

perhaps admit of all sorts of persons; and such as advanced rather to the improvement of men themselves, than their means. But this suggestion is drawn only from comparing it with the general tendency of those other schemes, among which I once saw it mentioned, in a letter written by an ingenious person of great note for his writings to a nobleman, who had the greatest correspondence with such persons of any in his time; recommending "that long dried foun-"tain of communication, which Montaigne first proposed, "sir Walter Ralegh put in practice, and Mr. Hartlib en-"deavoured to revive[i]." This is all that occurs to me of

[i] This letter, written by John Evelyn, esq. about forty years past, in a little black hand as I remember, to Henry earl of Clarendon, I saw among the remains of that earl's most numerous and expensive collections, about eleven years since, at which time I made the extract above out of it. And, as I have met with the projects of those other persons mentioned in that letter with sir Walter Ralegh, "for this commodious interchange "and accomplishment of human re-"searches;" the recital of theirs may probably reflect a further light into the nature of his, and possibly quicken the public spirit of some times or other for bringing to perfection the important and extensive benefits, which are so many ways to be apprehended from such a commodious and desirable intercourse. Montaigne's project, (or his father's,) was for having an office of inquiry in several towns, for every body to register what they were in search or want of, with their terms, it is supposed, for obtaining it. *Car à tous coups*, says he, *il y a des conditions qui s'entrecherchent; et pour ne s'entr' entendre, laissent les hommes en extreme necessité.* "There are," says he, "evermore conditions, which "are hunting after one another; and "for want of hearing one another's "occasions, leave men in very great "necessity." Then giving an instance of "those two excellent scho-"lars, Lilius Giraldus in Italy, and "Sebastian Castalio in Germany, "who died so poor they had scarce "bread to eat; he believes thousands "would have retained or relieved "them, had they known their wants. "For the world is not so generally "corrupted, but that I knew a man," continues he, "who would heartily "wish the estate his ancestors had "left him, might be employed in se-"curing rare and remarkable per-"sons of any kind, from those mis-"fortunes which sometimes perse-"cute them to the last extremity." See his Essays, lib. 1. cap. 34. The other notice of this most useful scheme, (since I have not at present Mr. Hartlib's own account,) I shall here offer in sir William Petty's ingenious representation of it, directed many years since to the said last projector himself. "We must re-"commend," says he, "an office of "address, according to the projec-"tion of Mr. Hartlib, that painful "and great instrument of this de-"sign; whereby the wants and de-"sires of all may be made known to "all. Where men may know what "is already done in the business of "learning; what is at present in "doing, and what is intended to be "done; to the end, that by such a "general communication of designs "and mutual assistance, the wits "and endeavours of the world may "no longer be as so many scattered "coals, which, for want of union, "are soon quenched; whereas being "but laid together, they would have "yielded a comfortable light and "heat. For, methinks, the present "condition of men is like a field,

this *office of address:* but whatever useful means of this nature, for advancing the knowledge or interest of mankind, was instituted by Ralegh, it was probably in some less active part of his life, than at this present juncture.

For don Antonio, king of Portugal, who had been expelled from his dominions by king Philip, and was now in London, soon after the signal overthrow of the armada aforesaid, took this opportunity to renew his motion to queen Elizabeth for her assistance towards his restoration, which he propounded to the lord treasurer in a letter full of liberal offers, written in the Portuguese language, all with his own hand [k]. The queen not only consented to the enterprise, as thinking it more convenient to return the late visit of the Spaniards in their own country, than suffer them to repeat it here, but lent six of her men of war, and disbursed threescore thousand pounds towards defraying the charges thereof. This encouragement, and the late provocation, so spirited up the warlike men of the kingdom, and Ralegh among the rest, to become volunteers therein, that they augmented the number of the said ships with a hundred and twenty sail more, and manned them with fourteen or fifteen thousand soldiers and sailors at their own further expense, committing the charge by sea to sir Francis Drake,

" where, a battle having been lately " fought, we see many legs, arms, " and organs of sense, lying here " and there, which, for want of con- " junction, and a soul to quicken " and enliven them, are fit for no- " thing but to feed the ravens and " infect the air: so we see many " wits and ingenuities dispersed up " and down the world, whereof some " are now labouring to do what is " already done; and puzzling them- " selves to reinvent what is already " invented: others we see quite stuck " fast in difficulties for want of a " few directions, which some other " man, might he be met withal, both " could and would most easily give " him. Again, one man wants a " small sum of money to carry on " some design that requires it; and " there is perhaps another, who has " twice as much ready to bestow " upon the same design; but these " two, having no means ever to hear " the one of the other, the good " work, intended and desired by both " parties, does utterly perish and " come to nothing. But this we " pass over slightly, though very fun- " damental to our business; because " the master-builder thereof himself " has done it so solidly." This in a pamphlet, entitled, The Advice of W. P. to Mr. Hartlib, for the advancement of some particular parts of learning, 4to. 1648. p. 1, 2.

[k] See a translation of don Antonio's letter to the lord treasurer, dated October 23, 1588, in Stype's Annals, tom. 3. fol. 536.

and that by land to sir John Norris, who were probably the most considerable contributors thereto.

But first Ralegh took care for the relief of his plantation in Virginia, which that he might more effectually secure than could be expected from his own single assistance, especially after the many heavy disbursements he had made, and the great disappointment the colony must doubtless have received by missing of the last supplies he sent them, through the losses which his agents too rashly brought thereon; he made an assignment to divers gentlemen and merchants of London, for continuing the plantation of this new discovered country with Englishmen. And this was now no less advisedly done with regard to himself, than affectionately with respect to the people employed therein: whom, though he generously assisted with his advice and interest in some future prosecutions of this undertaking; yet these proving improsperous, through the oblique courses they took at first setting out upon this new foundation, like that in which they lately failed; it was twenty years from this time[l] before even a whole company could make a more successful and advanced progress in this settlement, than sir Walter Ralegh of himself alone had done; it having cost him, as we are assured by one who should best know, no less than 40,000*l*[m]. The particulars of that assignment we may gather from an "indenture made the 7th of March, 31 "Eliz. between sir Walter Ralegh of Coliton in Devon-

His assignment to continue the plantation of Virginia.

[l] See a pamphlet, called, Nova Britannia: or the fruits of planting in Virginia, 4to. 1609. and further of this country in Hakluyt's Virginia, richly valued, &c. printed the same year. Also, A true Declaration of the state of the colony in Virginia, by the council of Virginia, 4to. 1610. Smith's Description of Virginia, Oxford, 4to. 1612. And the New Life of Virginia, declaring the former success and present estate of that plantation, 4to. the same year. Laws for the colony of Virginia, 4to. the same year. Account of the massacre in Virginia, about 1622. Bullock's Description of Virginia, 4to. 1649. Edward Williams's tracts, called, Virgo Triumphans, &c. with the benefit of silk-works there, between the years 1650 and 1658. Nath. Shrigley's Relation of Virginia, &c. 1669. The Dutch usurpations in Virginia, in Edward Cliffe's Brev. of Holland's deliverance by, and ingratitude to the crown of England, &c. 4to. 1665. p. 40, &c. And some of these, or their extracts, in Purchas, Dr. Harris, and Dr. Heylin's Cosmography.

[m] See a brief relation of sir Walter Ralegh's troubles, &c. p. 10. a scarce pamphlet, of further use in this work.

"shire, as he is therein distinguished, chief governor of Vir-
"ginia, and Thomas Smith, with other merchants of Lon-
"don, and adventurers to Virginia, and John White, and
"other gentlemen; reciting, that sir Walter Ralegh (by
"her majesty's letters patents before mentioned) had granted,
"on the seventh of January 1587, to John White and the
"rest, free liberty to carry into Virginia, and inhabit there,
"such of her majesty's subjects as should willingly accom-
"pany them. And that the said Thomas Smith and others
"the said adventurers, purposing to be made free of the
"corporation and company late constituted by sir Walter
"in the city of Ralegh, intended to be built in Virginia,
"had adventured divers sums of money, merchandises,
"shipping, victual, and other commodities, to Virginia:
"wherefore sir Walter Ralegh, by this indenture, grants to
"the said Thomas Smith and others, and to the said John
"White and the rest, their several heirs and assigns, free
"trade and traffick for all manner of merchandise to and
"from Virginia, or any other part of America, where the
"said sir Walter, his heirs or assigns, did, or might claim
"any interest, title, or privilege; free from all rents, cus-
"toms, and other charges, except the fifth part of the ore
"of gold and silver, which he reserves to himself and his
"heirs. And farther, the said sir Walter Ralegh, as well
"for and in especial regard and zeal of planting the Chris-
"tian religion, in and among the said barbarous and hea-
"then countries, and for the advancement and preferment
"of the same, and the common utility and profit of the in-
"habitants therein, as also for the encouragement of the
"said adventurers and other assistants in Virginia, does
"freely and liberally give them the sum of one hundred
"pounds[n]."

City of Ralegh.

His bounty for the propagation of the gospel.

As for the expedition before mentioned, which was set out under Drake and Norris about five weeks after the said as-

[n] See this assignment from sir Walter Ralegh to divers gentlemen and merchants of London, for continuing the action of inhabiting and planting our people in Virginia, more at large in the first edition of Hakluyt's Voyages, fol. 1589. p. 815.

signment, that is on the 14th of April 1589, in which don Antonio was by Ralegh, among the rest, accompanied to Portugal, we need not here be circumstantial thereon; especially as to the action at the Groine, the overthrow of the Spaniards at Puente de Burgos, the taking of Peniche, with the castle of Cascais, the assault of Lisbon, and the burning of Vigo, seeing our historians have not distinguished what part Ralegh had therein; in which perhaps they seem not so grateful to him as he was to his associates[o]: but particularly in not mentioning him at the taking of that great number of easterling hulks and other ships laden with Spanish goods, provisions, and ammunition, for a new invasion of England; which from the 2d of June some or other of the adventurers (none are named) continued to bring into the English fleet, then lying in the road of Cascais, for six days together[p]. This fleet of ours was but thinly manned at first, and having lost some thousands by sickness and intemperance with the new wines of those countries, hands could not be spared to bring home much above a quarter of those vessels and their lading that were thus taken: for sir Roger Williams, who was a colonel in the land-service of this expedition, has said in a letter of his, still extant, "It is well known we had above two hundred "sail of all sorts, of which we could not carry with us above "threescore for the want of men." Hence arose at their return into England a little contention between Williams and Ralegh; for Ralegh having taken some of these prizes, Williams placed in one of them his lieutenant with some of his soldiers, "without which," says Williams, "it could not "have been carried into England:" wherefore he would have laid claim, it seems, both to the ship and its cargo; "this voyage," as he goes on, "having cost him a thousand "pounds," as it did several other of the adventurers no doubt. But his claim not being thought reasonable, the

Accompanies don Antonio in the Portugal expedition.

His contest with sir Roger Williams.

[o] See Ralegh's Observations on the Portugal Voyage. History of the World, book 5. chap. 1. sec. 9.

[p] Sir Anthony Wingfield's true Discourse of the Portugal Voyage, &c. in Hakluyt, vol. 2. fol. 149. Also the Latin tract, entitled, Ephemeris Expeditionis Norresii et Draki in Lusitaniam, 4to. 1589.

earl of Bath, lieutenant of Devonshire, discharged his men from that vessel at Dartmouth. Williams, at this, growing very turbulent, and his clamours reaching the queen's ear, procured her displeasure against him, which occasioned his said letter to three of the privy-council; whence this intelligence is extracted. From this letter we farther collect, the achievements of the English in this voyage so well satisfied the queen, in the disablement of the enemy, especially as to their naval powers, that she honoured the commanders or chief adventurers therein, and sir Walter Ralegh among the rest, with a golden chain; for sir Roger presumed, the earl of Essex, (his great friend, as appears in the histories of this expedition,) with the rest who were in the action, would testify, "That I deserve a chain as well as my fellows," says he q. As for the coarse expression which fol-

Honoured with a gold chain.

q Copy of sir Roger Williams's letter to the lord treasurer, the lord admiral, and Mr. secretary Walsingham, dated July 24, 1589, a MS. in the Harleian library. This copy is made on the outside leaf of the original letter which preserves the direction, probably in sir Roger's own hand, a most wretched one, which might occasion the transcript; and, probably, his own seal; no coat of arms, but a motto; also the ancient manner of sealing, by a paper band. Under the letter there is a note, in the same hand that transcribed it, confirming this expedition, set forth at the charges of Norris, Drake, Ralegh, Williams, with other gentlemen; and the success of it, according to the particulars above mentioned, and the public histories of this time: concluding, "They returned with "great victory and honour to their "country, but not without heart-"burnings and jealousies among "themselves: with the queen's dis-"pleasure against some, and sir "Roger among the rest, occasioned "by some complaint made against "him, in relation to one of those "hulks, which it is probable he plun-"dered of more than fell to his "share." There is also another note, containing a character of sir Roger Williams, out of Camden; from whom, and sir Roger's own writings, I shall only observe, he was born in Wales; but whether bred at Oxford, doubtful; being taken young by the earl of Pembroke for his page, and then went to serve under the prince of Condé in Germany; but, having spent all his crowns before that prince marched to France, was forced to return homeward. At Brabant he was engaged by Julian Romero to serve in the Spanish army, before there was any dispute, to his knowledge, between the crowns of Spain and England. Afterwards he did good service under Norris in Friesland, anno 1581, where he fought a Spanish captain in single duel; which ended in a sociable drinking-bout. In 1586 he boldly forced the enemy's camp as far as the prince of Parma's own tent before Venlo, and was that year knighted. He behaved himself also bravely at Dieppe in France, 1591; but at Noyon lost many English lives through his rashness. He died 1595; and, as Camden observes, having obtained great knowledge in the arts of war, he might perhaps be allowed not inferior to the best soldiers in that age, could he have put bounds to his courage, which ran quite away with his conduct and discretion. However, as he goes on, for a man of no learning

lows, of "Ralegh's belying his hulk, as he had done the "ark of Noah, the best ship that ever was," though it may betray some impoliteness of manners and impetuosity of disposition in sir Roger's civil capacity; yet in the field, and against an enemy, those rougher qualities might invigorate his courage and experience, and illustrate the military character of the man.

In the latter end of June this year, and some weeks before this dispute, the English fleet returned home; but Ralegh appears first to have touched upon the coast of Ireland, probably to make a short visit to his seigniory there, and see some of his acquaintance among the new settlements in the province of Munster. We may be pretty well convinced that Ralegh was in Ireland this year, from his own writings[r]; and that it was upon his return from a long voyage, out of some verses hereafter following in Spenser the poet. For here we may observe, that while Ralegh was a commander in the Irish wars, under the lord Grey, as we have before related, this Edmund Spenser, then famous for those Pastorals he had newly published, going over secretary to that nobleman, had frequent opportunities, by his ingenuous conversation, so to make his learning and other accomplishments known, as engaged the friendship of our worthy so substantially towards him, that none of the great men in

or education, and merely by dint of experience to write such a clear and judicious history of the Low Country wars as he has done, is admired at; as also his having so well maintained the modern discipline, or manner of war, against the antiquated admirers of archery, whereof sir John Smythe wrote in praise, 4to. 1590. Sir Walter Ralegh has also touched upon this military argument in the beginning of his fifth book, and elsewhere, in his History of the World.

[r] Where, speaking of the long lives of the patriarchs, and some of late memory, he says, "I myself knew "the old countess of Desmond of Inchequin in Munster, who lived in "the year 1589, and many years "since; who was married in Edward the Fourth's time, and held "her jointure from all the earls of "Desmond since then; and that this "is true, all the nobility and gentlemen of Munster could witness." History of the World, lib. 1. cap. 5. sect. 5. Of this old lady, see more in lord Bacon's History of Life and Death, and sir William Temple's Essay on Health and long Life, in his Miscellanies, part 3. (published by Jonathan Swift, M. A. prebendary of St. Patrick's,) 8vo. 1701. p. 125, where, telling us she lived "far in "king James's reign," it appears she must have been alive at the time sir Walter Ralegh was writing, that he knew her in Ireland the year aforesaid.

queen Elizabeth's court, after the death of sir Philip Sidney, was so great a patron to that extraordinary genius as sir Walter Ralegh. Indeed the queen herself, in regard that Spenser employed his time so commendably in Ireland, as afterwards more publicly appeared, in the excellent Political View he made of that kingdom, gave him a considerable tract of land out of earl Desmond's capacious forfeitures, amounting, at the lowest computation that has been made, to three thousand acres of ground, lying in the county of Cork; the preservation and improvement whereof engaged Spenser to settle there; and a pleasant seat he had, at Kilcolman, near the river Mulla, which ran through his grounds, and which he has so beautifully described in some of his poems. Here it was in this retirement that Ralegh now paid him a visit, the circumstances whereof Spenser himself has most agreeably celebrated in that poem, which, about two years after this time, he dedicated, "To the "right worthy and noble knight sir Walter Ralegh, &c." In this dedication he has these words; "I make you pre-"sent of this simple pastoral, unworthy of your higher "conceit for the meanness of the style, but agreeable with "the truth, in circumstance and matter: the which I humbly "beseech you to accept in part of payment of the infi-"nite debt in which I acknowledge myself bounden unto "you for your singular favours and sundry good turns "shewed me at my last being in England; and with your "good countenance, protect against the malice of evil "mouths, which are always wide open to carp at, and mis-"construe my simple meaning." In the pastoral itself[s], the poet gives us this description of Ralegh's first accosting him in the said rural retirement.

Visits Spenser the poet.

One day, quoth he, I sat, as was my trade,
Under the foot of Mole, that mountain hore,
Keeping my sheep amongst the cooly shade
Of the green alders by the Mulla's shore;

[s] Entitled, Colin Clout's come home again, (in the last edition of Spenser,) vol. 4. p. 1121.

There a strange shepherd chanc'd to find me out,
Whether allured with my pipe's delight,
Whose pleasing sound yshrilled far about,
Or thither led by chance, I knew not right,
Whom when I asked from what place he came,
And how he hight? himself he did ycleep
The shepherd of the ocean by name,
And said, he came far from the main-sea deep.
He sitting me beside in that same shade,
Provoked me to play some pleasant fit;
And when he heard the musick which I made,
He found himself full greatly pleas'd at it:
Yet æmuling my pipe, he took in hond
My pipe, before that æmuled of many,
And play'd thereon, for well that skill he con'd;
Himself as skilful in that art as any.

It further appears, they now entertained each other with some of their poetical compositions: Spenser rehearsed a pretty tale he had made of the amours between some of his neighbouring rivers; but Ralegh's muse ran upon a more melancholy strain, which, by the transient view it gives of some little cloud he had lately, but undeservedly, been under at court, lets us into a piece of his secret history; where the poet tells us,

His song was all a lamentable lay
Of great unkindness and of usage hard,
Of Cynthia the lady of the sea,
Which from her presence, faultless, him debarr'd:
And ever and anon with singults rife,
He cried out to make his undersong,
Ah! my love's queen, and goddess of my life!
Who shall me pity, when thou dost me wrong?

But it immediately appears to have been soon blown over by some pathetical address of Ralegh's to the queen, whereby he was at this time restored to her favour, as we may fully conclude from these words:

——————— Right well he sure did 'plain,
That could great Cynthia's sore displeasure break,
And move to take him to her grace again.

And this is confirmed a little further, where, through Ralegh's affection for his welfare, and his regret to behold so rare a genius banished to a desert, and buried in such a state of obscurity, he persuades Spenser to go along with him into England, and proffers to introduce him to the queen. The poet, knowing his interest, embraced his offer. Then having given a description of the sea, with Ralegh's great ship, suitable to the simplicity of the character he assumes; and having represented Ralegh's description of the flocks and herds of that royal shepherdess, which were kept upon those watery hills, under the charge of Triton and Proteus, he makes him further say:

And I among the rest, of many least,
Have in the ocean charge to me assign'd;
Where I will live or die at her beheast,
And serve and honour her with faithful mind.

Brings him into England.

He then proceeds to the progress of their voyage, how they passed by the Isle of Lundy, and landed at St. Michael's Mount in Cornwall; so took their journey to the court, where the poet having expatiated on the dazzling presence of the queen, agreeable to the admiration of a spectator, in his pastoral character, we have this further acknowledgment.

Introduces him to the queen's favour.

The shepherd of the ocean, quoth he,
Unto the goddess' grace me first enhanc'd:
And to my oaten pipe inclin'd her ear,
That she thenceforth therein 'gan take delight,
And it desir'd at timely hours to hear;
All were my notes but rude and roughly dight.

This honour the poet further magnifies, as the more wondrous condescension in her majesty, in that she had so many more learned shepherds about her to glorify her

name. Here he takes an opportunity to give a character of the several poets and wits then shining in her court: among the rest,

> And there that shepherd of the ocean is,
> That spends his wit in love's consuming smart;
> Full sweetly temper'd is that muse of his,
> That can impierce a prince's mighty heart.

As to Ralegh's poetical talents, we shall hear more of them very speedily. In this place we must pursue his farther design of bringing Spenser over into England, which was to make him oblige the public with what he had hitherto finished of his capital work, called the Fairy Queen. For though Spenser had begun this grand poem through the encouragement of sir Philip Sidney, before he went over into Ireland; yet it was there he seems to have writ most of what we have in print; and now, by the encouragement of sir Walter Ralegh, that he was brought to publish the three first books which he had completed thereof: it is certain he took his advice in the publication of them, and particularly in drawing up a plan to explain or discover the general intention and meaning of that allegorical poem. This he directed to his said patron, "The right noble and "valorous sir Walter Ralegh, &c." in a letter dated the 23d of January this year 1589; concluding with "an "humble request for the continuance of his honourable fa-"vours, and wishes for the eternal establishment of his "happiness." This letter is printed at the end of the said first three books of that poem, which were published at London the ensuing year. Among the commendatory verses thereto also subjoined, the first two copies are both said to be written by sir Walter Ralegh, and not without great probability, being subscribed with the initial letters of his name. The first of these copies, written in alternate verse, is highly poetical; for our author, correspondent with the visionary manner of his author, fancying himself in the temple of the vestal virgins, where his curiosity led him to the tomb of Laura, which was guarded by Love and Virtue,

Encourages the publication of the Fairy Queen.

he was suddenly attracted from thence by the appearance of the fairy queen, at whose approach the soul of Petrarch wept; seeing those graces desert that mistress of his, to attend upon this royal lady, and oblivion supply their place. The compliment is surely fine, and perhaps the more judiciously expressed, in not being bounded more periodically than it is, according to the doctrine of our modern critics in the structure of versification; for being the recital of one solemn and surprising thought, it may engage our attention more closely to the end of the two or three quadrains it is comprised in, than if the author had affected to divide or bound the sense with a full period at the end of every four lines. But every reader may easily judge for himself, the poem being in most editions of Spenser, and therefore needs not here be recited. His other verses upon this poet are composed in a measure more obsolete to the manner of our age; but what the queen herself imitated, in some poetry still to be seen of her writing, being in lines of six and seven feet long; and it is no more to be objected, that an author did not in this particular apparel his mind to the mode of all ages, than his body. It may be sufficient therefore to observe, there is a distinguished conduct also in this performance; for the induction is writ with great modesty, in regard to himself.

> The praise of meaner wits, this work like profit brings;
> As doth the cuckoo's song delight, when Philomela sings.

And, having advertised the poet that his portraits are to be judged of or improved by the originals of those virtues whereof he has composed his fictitious queen, he very dexterously transfers or appropriates them to the real one then reigning: so concludes with a compliment to him; which though of a very transcendent and absolute nature, yet in regard to the little good English poetry then in being, and the great fame of that poet still surviving among us, is still thought not more expressive of sir Walter Ralegh's affection, than his judgment:

Of me no lines are lov'd, nor letters are of price,
Of all that speak the English tongue, but those of thy device.

We further observe among the copies of verses inscribed by Spenser himself, at the end of his said Fairy Queen, to the several ministers of state and noblemen in queen Elizabeth's court, one to the "noble and valorous sir Walter "Ralegh, &c." as he again styles him: and this, because it not only informs us what a favourite Ralegh was at this time with the queen, but also gives us occasion to dilate upon his own poetical productions a little more copiously than opportunity has before offered, I must here entirely repeat.

To thee that are the summer's nightingale,
Thy soveraign goddesses most dear delight,
Why do I send this rustick madrigal,
That may thy tuneful ear unseason quite?
Thou only fit this argument to write;
In whose high thoughts pleasure hath built her bowre,
And dainty love learn'd sweetly to indite:
My rhimes I know unsav'ry are and sowre,
To taste the streams, which, like a golden showre,
Flow from thy fruitful head, of thy love's praise,
Fitter perhaps to thunder martial stowre,
When so thee list thy lofty muse to raise:
Yet till that thou thy poem wilt make known,
Let thy fair Cynthia's praises be thus rudely shown.

Hence we learn sir Walter Ralegh wrote a poem, called Cynthia; that it was in praise of the queen, and that it was not now published. Spenser, in his letter to Ralegh above cited, also mentions again something of this poem, where he says, "In that Fairy Queen, I mean glory in my "general intention; but in my particular, I conceive the "most excellent and glorious person of our sovereign the "queen, and her kingdom, in Fairy-land. And yet in "some places else, I do otherwise shadow her. For con-"sidering she beareth two persons; the one, of a most "royal queen or empress; the other, of a most virtuous

"and beautiful lady; this latter part, in some places, I do "express in Belphœbe, fashioning her name according to "your own excellent conceit of Cynthia; Phœbe and Cyn-"thia being both names of Diana." This is all I remember to have met with of that poem.

Eminent for his own poetry.

But this very year that Ralegh was in Ireland, there was a book published by a learned and ingenious gentleman; in which others of Ralegh's poems, and perhaps that before mentioned, are quoted with great commendation[e]; as if these few little pieces had before this time rendered him eminent, and advanced his name among the prime wits or leading poets of the age; not that we are sure they were now in common print, or vulgarly known to be his; for the said author, speaking of the most considerable writers in English poetry, says; "In her majesty's time sprung up "another company of courtly poets, who have writ ex-"cellently well, if their doings could be found out and "made public with the rest; of which number is Edward "earl of Oxford, Thomas lord Buckhurst, when young, "Henry lord Paget, sir Philip Sidney, sir Walter Ralegh,

[e] This treatise, now very scarce, is called, The Art of English Poesy, contrived into three books: the first of poets and poesy; the second of proportion; the third of ornament. London, 4to. 1589. I never saw but one of them, and this is in the curious library of that worthy owner James West, esq. of the Middle Temple. There is a wooden print of the queen before it; and, though dedicated to the lord Burghley, the work is addressed directly to the queen. Therefore that passage in the first book, cap. 26. where the author is so luxuriant upon the Epithalamies, or poetical manner of celebrating marriages; and that in the third book, cap. 23, where he makes the imperial ambassador, a Bohemian born, so bluntly express in the French tongue what a gallant horsewoman the empress was, will, among some others, be allowed very remarkable, in a book so publicly and so particularly tendered to the perusal of our virgin-queen. But for the rest, it contains many pretty observations, examples, characters, and fragments of poetry for those times, now nowhere else to be met with; which if some of our modern critics had read, they would have been better acquainted than they were with certain antiquities in the English metre, whereof they have erroneously spoken. The author was educated at Oxford; born about the year 1530, or not long after; and wrote several other books, whereof he gives us the titles himself. So that if his name was Puttenham, one of the queen's gentlemen-pensioners, as Anthony Wood thinks, he was entitled to a more distinct remembrance in his book of Oxford writers. That he was a courtier, is visible; also had been a traveller, and seen the courts of foreign princes; wherefore his illustrations, both historical and political, are drawn so familiarly from thence, that he may be called the court critic of that reign.

"and many others; some of whom he further names[t]." Then proceeding to give his judgment in short characters of them; and having distinguished the earl of Oxford for comedy, Buckhurst for tragedy, sir Philip Sidney, and the other gentleman, who wrote the late Shepherd's Calendar, (meaning Spenser,) for eclogue and pastoral, he adds; "for "ditty and amorous ode, I find sir Walter Ralegh's vein "most lofty, insolent, and passionate[u]." But it is in the chapter of sententious or rhetorical figures that this critic illustrates his observations, by some examples out of sir Walter Ralegh's poems; which, because rare to be met with, and not prolix, nor violating the privileges of particular and personal narrative, I shall here rehearse; the rather, because these fragments may both give further light into the genius as well as history perhaps of their author, and help the inquiries of such readers, as are curious in comparing the monuments of ancient and modern wit, to recover and revive the entire pieces from whence they are extracted. That critic therefore, where he is speaking of some elegant tautologies in poetry, and particularly the excellencies of the anaphora, or figure of report, as he translates it, gives us the following example, written by sir Walter Ralegh; whether in his Cynthia, I cannot yet tell; but, "to his "greatest mistress, in most excellent verses," says that author.

In vain, my eyes, in vain you waste your tears;
In vain my sighs, the smokes of my despairs:
In vain you search the earth and heav'ns above;
In vain you seek, for fortune keeps my love[x].

Further speaking of the epizeuxis, which he englishes the *underlay* or *cuckow-spell*, another sort of repetition, when in one verse we iterate one word without intermission, he

[t] See the said Art of English Poesy, p. 49.

[u] Ib. p. 51. Some modern authors, and among them Edward Philips, as I remember, in his Theatrum Poetarum, 12mo. 1675. but I am sure A. Wood, vol. 1. col. 436, and others from him, have, in the quotation of this character, changed that middle epithet for the word *condolent*; perhaps through an unnecessary tenderness; every word of that character being spoken, and to be understood, in a sense of praise.

[x] Art of English Poesy, p. 165.

brings as an example that of sir Walter Ralegh; "very "sweet," says he.

With wisdom's eyes had but blind fortune seen,
Then had my love, my love for ever been [y].

And in another place, to distinguish that form of repetition, called *ploche*, or the *doubler*, a speedy iteration of one word, but with some little intermission, he exemplifies the two "closing verses of a most excellent ditty," as he calls it, written by sir Walter Ralegh. These two closing verses confirm the genuineness of those which precede them in a transcript of this very ditty I once saw in a nobleman's library, from the copy of a celebrated lady [z], who probably had it out of the family. It is there entitled, The Excuse, written by sir Walter Ralegh, "in his younger years." And because by the foregoing parts of this admired ditty the conclusion will be best understood, I shall here repeat the whole from the aforesaid transcript; not doubting but the modern readers will judge of it by its contemporary writings; or if by their own, after due consideration how they may be judged of near a hundred and fifty years hence; but more especially, that the readers may see with what

[y] Art of English Poesy, p. 167.

[z] Lady Isabella Thynne; the same who is so finely celebrated by Mr. Waller, though her surname is nowhere to be found in any of the printed editions I have seen of his poems: but I have had an old MS. collection, in which one poem is directed to the lady Isabella Thynne cutting trees in paper; which poem is printed among Mr. Waller's, but her name left out. In the print also we have only a fragment; but my copy had it entire. For the poem which follows it, in Mr. Waller's printed collection, is a compliment to the same lady for restoring him this piece, because he desired to print it, though the last thought was torn off and lost; which, to his regret, he never could recollect; so was obliged to print it imperfectly, in his own apprehensions at least, though all the world besides have looked upon what is printed of it as a perfect masterpiece, even of that great hand: and for our consolation it may be observed, if he had not lost this conclusion, we should have lost that fine poem, which was the consequence of it. The sentiment this MS. could have restored him, consisted, as I think, of six lines, but that I cannot repeat them all; yet presume, upon the favour which is due to the fair sex, that it will not be thought an unwelcome digression here to preserve what I can of them, and as well as I can, lest they should be lost again, by not having an opportunity to remember them elsewhere.

A poet, when he would describe his mind,
Is, as in language, so in fame confin'd;
Your works are read wherever there are men;
So far the scissor goes beyond the pen.

artful simplicity the author could reconcile himself to his passion, whether real or feigned, when he found, upon a strict examination, he had not been indirectly betrayed to it.

Calling to mind my eyes went long about,
To cause my heart for to forsake my breast;
All in a rage, I sought to pull them out,
As who had been such traitors to my rest:
What could they say to win again my grace?
Forsooth, that they had seen my mistress' face.

Another time, my heart I call'd to mind,
Thinking that he this woe on me had brought;
Because that he, to love, his force resign'd,
When of such wars my fancy never thought:
What could he say when I would him have slain?
That he was hers—and had foregone my chain.

At last, when I perceiv'd both eyes and heart
Excuse themselves, as guiltless of my ill;
I found myself the cause of all my smart,
And told myself, that I myself would kill:
Yet when I saw myself to you was true;
I lov'd myself, because myself lov'd you.

This poem, I have been told, is printed under sir Walter Ralegh's name, in a modern collection[a], not much to be suspected of having had it from any ancient manuscript, therefore probably from some old copy in print, which I have not yet met with. There is one old collection I never saw, printed about the time we are now upon, with several of sir Philip Sidney's sonnets in it, and therefore I think under his name[b]; which possibly may contain some also of sir Walter Ralegh's. But in that modern collection there is also printed, not over-correctly it seems, another poem of his: this I have likewise seen in manuscript, where it is called

[a] Entitled, Wit's Interpreter, 8vo. printed, one edition of it, about 1671.

[b] England's Helicon, 4to. without date; in which are several of the sonnets, ditties, madrigals, pastoral airs, and such like compositions, which were so much the mode among the noble and illustrious wits of those times.

the Silent Lover; and have heard several lines in it applauded, especially the beginning. But the part which would be most agreeable in this place to an historical reader, is that from which he might fancy he could make some further guesses at the object of Ralegh's address; though, after all, it may be no other than the common object of all poets: however, the lines are these:

> But seeing that I sue to serve
> A saint of such perfection,
> As all desire, and none deserve
> A place in her affection;
> I rather choose to want relief,
> Than venture the revealing;
> Where glory recommends the grief,
> Despair disdains the healing.

And a little further, very persuasively:

> Silence in love betrays more woe
> Than words, though never so witty;
> A beggar that is dumb, you know,
> May challenge double pity.

In short, he has said such handsome things of silence, that it were a pity any words even in its commendation, but his own, should break it. But it will perhaps hereafter be thought he could break it himself with as much success, as now he seems to have commanded the keeping it. All that I have seen more of his juvenile compositions in this kind is a pastoral sonnet, which old Mr. Isaac Walton reciting, tells us was written by sir Walter Ralegh in his younger years[c], in answer to another, famous also in those days, composed by Christopher Marlow; but as both these son-

[c] See Isaac Walton's Complete Angler, 4th edition, 8vo. 1668. p. 76, &c. This Walton was twenty-five years of age at Ralegh's death, and lived ninety years. Besides that book, for which he has been called the *father of anglers*, he wrote five lives of learned and religious men, excellently well, being either from a personal knowledge of them or their intimate friends; for which he deserves a more liberal acknowledgment than this place will admit.

nets are involved in a collection which the booksellers or publishers have called Shakspeare's poems, printed between twenty and thirty years after his death [d], in which I think several pieces are known to have been written by other poets; the reader is left at liberty to judge whether the authority of a writer, who subscribes his name thereto, one of Walton's noted sincerity, and advantages for intelligence by his acquaintance among the men of literature in those times, or that of an anonymous publication in the circumstances aforesaid, is to be preferred; without urging the improbability that Shakspeare should quote a stanza, from that ascribed to Marlow, afterwards in one of his own plays, if he had been the author of that sonnet himself [e].

There is another poet besides Spenser, who writ something of Ralegh relating to these times, though near twenty years after them; and as on a different subject, so with a different disposition towards him. This poet was sir John Harrington, the translator of Orlando Furioso; but that which he is here mentioned for is a little book in prose, yet not clear of poetry [f], though it was intended for a piece of church-history, and as a supply to Dr. Francis Godwin's Catalogue of Bishops. This, at the time that Ralegh was under royal displeasure in the next reign, and in confinement; but growing into favour with the hopeful prince of Wales, sir John Harrington, then a courtier, presented to that prince: it is full of little jests and tales against the married clergy, and against some of the laity who had any controversies with them, the better to insinuate with that young prince, and engage his attention; otherwise the author would doubtless have written it with a gravity suitable to the subject; but he tells the prince, "he took some kind "of pleasure with the pains of writing it, supposing," says

[d] Poems by William Shakspeare, &c. 8vo. 1640.

[e] See Shakspeare's Merry Wives of Windsor, act 3.

[f] A Brief View of the Church of England, as it stood in Queen Elizabeth's and King James's Reign, to the year 1608. being the character and history of the bishops of those times, &c. written by sir John Harrington, of Kelston, near Bath, published by John Chetwind, pastor of the parish of Cutbert's in Wells, 12mo. 1653.

he, "I was all the while telling a story as it were in your "highness's presence and hearings." Among the stories he tells, there is one concerning Dr. Thomas Godwin, bishop of Bath and Wells, and sir Walter Ralegh, it seems[h]; the relation of which, because that bishop died about the latter end of 1590, we shall not longer defer. This bishop, he tells us, came to that see, among his other good qualities, unreprovable for simony, and in the queen's good opinion: if he had held on as clear as he entered, I should have highly extolled him, says our author; but, continues he, see his misfortune, which first lost him the queen's favour, and after forced him to another mischief. For being aged, diseased, and lame of the gout, he married, as some thought, for opinion of wealth, says he, a London widow, his second wife at least: when a chief favourite of that time (whom he had named before in this kind, and therefore thought by some[i], as perhaps it might be, sir Walter Ralegh) had laboured to get the manor of Banwell from this bishopric; but disdaining the repulse, and hearing of this intempestive marriage, he took advantage thereof, caused it to be told the queen, (knowing how much she misliked such matches,) and instantly pursued the bishop with letters and mandates for the manor of Banwell for a hundred years. The good bishop, says he, not expecting such a sudden tempest, was greatly perplexed; yet a while he held out, and endured many sharp messages from the queen, of which myself, says he, carried one, delivered to me by my lord of Leicester, who seemed to favour the bishop, and mislike the knight for molesting him; but they were soon agreed, says he, like Pilot and Herod to condemn Christ. And further tells us, never was harmless man so traduced to his sovereign; as, that he had married a girl, had conveyed half the bishopric to her, and, because he had the gout, that he could not stand to his marriage. The conclusion to the premises, he tells us, was, that to pacify his persecutors,

[g] Sir John Harrington's Brief View, &c. p. 210.
[h] Ibid. p. 111.
[i] Ant. Wood, in Athen. Oxon. vol. 1. col. 710.

and to save Banwell, he was fain to part with Wilscomb for ninety-nine years, and so purchased his peace. We may hence observe this matter was in agitation before Leicester's death, which was two years before this time; but, as the bishop seems to have lingered before he closed, it might be near this time before it was brought to a perfect conclusion. And as he did not hold on so clear as he entered, it might be with reference to the simony before mentioned; the rather, because a bishop who would not scruple at his years to marry for money, might be reasonably thought not impregnable, through the same motive, against a divorcement from his bishopric; which way soever it was, the queen saw it not unreasonable, but espoused the alienation; so that it was her gift. And the bishop's own son, Dr. Francis Godwin, when he was a bishop also, and reviving his Catalogue of Bishops, in the next reign, before Ralegh was out of prison, makes no complaint against him in the account of his father's life; though he might safely, if he could justly, have done it, and Ralegh had been possessed of that for which this author's father had not, according to the custom of those times, received satisfaction [k]. On the contrary, with much modesty, rather laments that his father should take upon him the duties of ecclesiastical government, when his infirmities had rendered him unable to discharge them [l].

His manor of Wilscombe.

If this affair did any ways displease the hierarchy, there was another occurrence fell out about this time, in which Ralegh, by shewing a generous and charitable instance of his power and interest, might give some further umbrage for its displeasure. It was in the case of Mr. John Udall, minister of the gospel, a good scholar, and a man of good

[k] See a tract entitled, "No sacrilege or sin to alienate or purchase cathedral lands as such: or a vindication of not only the late purchasers, but of the ancient nobility and gentry; yea, of the crown itself, &c. 3d edit. with a postscript to Dr. Pearson, by Cornelius Burges, D.D. 4to. 1660." Wherein there are several particularities about the church of Wells.

[l] *O illum felicem, si felix manere maluisset, quam regiminis ecclesiastici laboris tum suscipere, cum laboribus impar fractus senio necessum illi fuerit aliorum uti auxilio, &c.* Vid. Godwin de Præsul. Angl. in vit. Patris.

parts; but very zealous for the reformation of the church, even under the episcopal government; for which he was reckoned among the nonconformists, or rather puritans of those times. He had been bred at Cambridge; was seven years minister of Kingston-upon-Thames; and, through the favour of the earl of Huntington, about a twelvemonth at Newcastle upon Tyne. Here he was silenced, sent for to London by letters from the lord chamberlain Hunsdon in the name of the council [m], and examined about a book he had newly published against the clergy [n]. But because, contrary to the laws, he would not betray himself, says my author, he was committed close prisoner to the Gatehouse; debarred of all communication with his family or others; thence conveyed to Croydon in July, this present year 1590; brought to the bar in fetters, and indicted for publishing a libel against the queen. No evidence *viva voce* produced to attest it, but only depositions taken in the high commission-court, no court of record, and hearsay reports urged against him, his witnesses not being permitted to testify in his behalf, because the court said it was against the queen: the words of the statute being wrested, says my author, by baron Clark and sergeant Puckering, as if the treatise called, The Demonstration of Discipline, for which Udall was now indicted, because written against bishops who exercised their government under the queen, was therefore consequently written against her royal person.

[m] Dated 29 December, 1589.

[n] Entitled, "The Demonstration "of Discipline which Christ hath "prescribed in his word for the go-"vernment of the church in all "times and places until the world's "end."

The horrible treason in this book, it seems, (which was inserted in the indictment,) lay in these words to the bishops: "Who can, without blush-"ing, deny you to be the cause of "all ungodliness, seeing your go-"vernment is that which giveth leave "to a man to be any thing saving "a sound Christian: for certainly it "is more free in these days to be a "papist, an anabaptist, of the family "of love, yea, any wicked one "whatsoever, than that which we "should be: and I could live these "twenty years any such in England, "yea, in a bishop's house, may be, "and never be molested for it. So "true is that which you are charged "with in a dialogue lately come forth "against you, and since burned by "you: 'That you care for nothing "but the maintenance of your digni-"ties, be it to the damnation of your "own souls, and infinite millions "more.'" Strype's Life and Acts of Archbishop Whitgift, fol. 1718. p. 343.

So the said judges directed the jury to find Udall author of the book without legal proof, and to leave the felony to them. The jury did as they were taught, being told it should be no further danger to the author, but tend to his good; of which verdict they afterwards repented. Then he was kept half a year uncondemned in durance; and at the assizes in February following at Southwark, not relinquishing his tenets, he had the sentence of death pronounced against him by Puckering [o]. But it seems before Udall received this sentence, he had procured a friend to solicit sir Walter Ralegh, that the violent and aggravated constructions which had been made of his doctrine and principles might not be his utter destruction, till a more unprejudiced judgment was made of them: and immediately after the sentence was pronounced, the sheriff brought him a reprieve from the queen. Then Dr. Bond, one of her chaplains, came to him in prison with a form of submission for him to subscribe. After two days conference, they agreed upon another. But, says Udall, "at the same time that Dr. "Bond was with me, I received a letter from a friend of "mine that did solicit sir Walter Ralegh for me [p]." This letter he then exhibits; and thereby it appears Ralegh had advised or encouraged Udall to explain himself to him concerning those imputations which had been infused into her majesty, which accused him with maintaining the church of England and its sacraments were no church and no sacraments; that its laws and her government were against the word of God; that all ecclesiastical matters ought to be governed by a presbytery, and that she ought to be subject to the censures thereof; for, says that correspondent, "if

[o] See a New Discovery of old pontifical practices for the maintenance of the prelates' authority and hierarchy, evinced by their persecution of that reverend, learned, pious, and worthy minister of Jesus Christ, Mr. John Udall, in the reign of queen Elizabeth, &c. 4to. 1643. in pref. This pamphlet is Udall's own account of the whole prosecution against him; whether printed in the queen's time I cannot tell, but the same account, I think, that is reprinted in the State-Trials; though the title to this pamphlet is adapted to the time wherein it was now printed, and the preface is a clear abstract of the whole.

[p] See the said pamphlet, p. 37.

"ye will write half a dozen lines to sir Walter Ralegh con-
"cerning these opinions, that he may shew it to her ma-
"jesty, he hopes to obtain your life. I know it is very
"easy for you to answer all those things; therefore do it
"with speed; and in your writing to sir Walter take know-
"ledge that he hath sent you such word." Hereupon Udall wrote a letter, which he also sets forth, directed to the right honourable sir Walter Ralegh, knt. lord-warden of the stannaries, wherein, after the remembrance of his duty and thanks for his great and honourable care over him and for his good, he most humbly beseeches him to be a means to appease her majesty's displeasure for the accusations untruly suggested against him.

"For God is my witness," continues he, "I have never
"had any earthly thing in so precious account as to honour
"her highness, and to draw her subjects to acknowledge
"with all thankfulness the exceeding blessings that God
"bestoweth upon them by her majesty's happy govern-
"ment; whereof I trust my adversaries will be witness
"when I am dead. I have sent unto your lordship (as in
"perplexity I could upon the sudden) what I hold upon
"certain points, declared unto me, as from your lordship,
"praying, that it would please you to make known the
"truth thereof unto her highness: and if neither my sub-
"mission heretofore delivered, nor these things now set
"down, will be accepted to draw her highness of her gra-
"cious compassion to pardon me, that yet it would please
"her majesty, that the land may not be charged with my
"blood, to change my punishment from death to banish-
"ment. Thus trusting your lordship will vouchsafe me
"this favour, and that it will please her majesty thereupon
"graciously to consider me, I humbly take my leave from
"the White Lion, Feb. 22, 1590 q." Herewith he sent the

q We may observe, that Udall, in this letter here quoted from his said narrative, addresses sir Walter Ralegh (as lord-warden) by the title of *his lordship;* but, as Mr. Strype copies it in his Life of Whitgift, fol. 376, that word is changed for *his honour*, as if this author, or those he takes this part of his materials from, had copied the letter out of Udall's narrative, and helped him (in their thoughts) to a title more proper for

tenets he maintained, or articles of his persuasion, which are to be seen immediately following the said letter in his own narrative and elsewhere [r]. After this, he remained, according to his own expression, without great hope of liberty, yet without fear of further extremity [s]. Whence it may be rightly observed by some historians, that sir Walter Ralegh, through his generous intercession, did procure Udall's reprieve, or save him from execution. Till, a few months after, being further pestered with stricter forms of submission by Dr. Andrews, he was forced to make further applications, not only by the earl of Essex, but sir Walter Ralegh again, and dean Nowell, against the menaces of the approaching assizes at Kingston [t]. About the same time the king of Scots also wrote a letter to the queen in behalf of the said Mr. Udall, and other learned nonconformists [u]. But this wrought only so far, when Udall was brought to Kings-

His generous intercession for Mr. Udall.

sir Walter Ralegh. If Mr. Strype had seen this pamphlet, it will make something against the character of his sincerity, in advancing so much his archbishop's Christian mildness; see his Life, fol. 344. and representing him to have been most active in procuring Udall's pardon, by his effectual intercessions with the queen; as if the queen only was inexorable at Udall's endeavour to reform her bishops, which is partially throwing all the cruelty Udall suffered upon her, when it will plainly appear in the sequel of this pamphlet, that Whitgift was the chief author of it; and yet, if Mr. Strype had seen this letter to sir Walter Ralegh in Udall's pamphlet, it is to be thought he would have corrected the date in his own copy by it, which is a whole year too late; not that he is over-correct in other dates, even of this story, (which is unconnectedly told, and confused with repetitions,) for, in two places of the archbishop's life, he tells us Udall died 1593, see fol. 344 and 345; and in a third, fol. 375, that he died, which is most probable, in 1592; and a little further quotes a letter of Udall's to the lord treasurer, dated in 1591, wherein he tells his lordship, he had been in durance above three years.

[r] Strype's Life of Archbishop Whitgift, fol. 375.

[s] New Discovery of the old pontific. Pract. p. 39.

[t] Ibidem, p. 42.

[u] Herein his majesty tells the queen, "That hearing of the apprehension of Mr. Udall, Mr. Cartwright, and certain other learned ministers of the evangel, within your realm," says he, "of whose good erudition and fruitful travels in the church we hear a very credible commendation, howsoever their diversity from the bishops, and others of your clergy, in matters touching them in conscience, hath been a mean, by their dilation, to work them your misliking; at this present, we cannot (weighing the duty we owe to such as are afflicted for their conscience in that profession) but by our most effectual and earnest letter, interpone us at your hands to any harder usage of them for that cause. So requesting her earnestly to let them be released out of their present strait, he concludes, from Edinburgh the 12th of June, 1591." See this letter at length in the said pamphlet, p. 43.

ton, that he was immediately returned to prison before the first day of the trials, and thereupon the unlucky disturbance of Hacket the enthusiast ensuing, Udall was discouraged from making further solicitation till the lord chancellor Hatton died[x]. The Easter after which, he sued for liberty to go to church, which was denied him, being a condemned man: but, by the lord treasurer's means, getting a copy of the indictment, and a pardon framed according to it, he was referred therewith to archbishop Whitgift; "Unto whom," says he, "I both sent divers petitions and "dutiful letters; and also got many of my friends, both "honourable personages and others, to sue to him; yet "could not his good-will be gotten[y]." And when the Turkey merchants applied to his grace, that Udall might go over to Guinea, he would not consent to that, unless they would be bound he should not return till he had her majesty's licence; but to this Udall would not consent. And though sir John Puckering, now lord keeper, was at last moved (who indeed had much reason to be so) to deal with the archbishop, so that both promised to obtain Udall's pardon of her majesty, and liberty for the said voyage[z]; yet Udall never enjoyed one or the other, for he died in prison before they were fully confirmed[a].

Here we may give another instance of Ralegh's friendly and generous exercise of his power and interest for an old officer in the army, since there is no date to it that confines

[x] 20th Nov. 1591.

[y] The pamphlet aforesaid, p. 43.

[z] The pamphlet aforesaid, p. 44.

[a] And was not brought to execution, as Thomas Fuller in one part of his Church History implies, lib. 9. sect. 8. paragr. 31. though he contradicts himself before in another, paragr. 4. where he had said Udall died peaceably in his bed; for Thomas Forde, in his collection of familiar letters, (before mentioned,) p. 135. having one to Dr. Fuller in praise of his said Church History, wishes him therein to review that passage, where he speaks of the execution of Udall; for he died, says he, at the White Lion, just as his pardon was procured, and was buried at St. George's, Southwark; "Of whom," says this Forde, (who was Udall's kinsman,) "we "have this tradition, that he was the "first man king James asked for "when he came into England; and "being answered he was dead, the "king replied, 'By my sal then the "greatest scholar in Europe's dead.'" As for the relation of Udall's trial, censures, and sentence, written by himself, which this Forde further mentions to have had by him, it seems to be no more than the printed narrative we have before used.

us to any particular year; and, if we may guess at the success of his request by the zeal of it, we shall not doubt, but it effectually obliged his petitioner with the fruits thereof. This officer had a sum of money long owing him, it seems, from the treasury, and knowing how well Ralegh was acquainted with the justice of the debt, no less than what influence his applications would be of for procuring it, prevailed on him to write to the lord treasurer's secretary, who was afterwards knighted, and well known by the name of sir Michael Hicks, that he might obtain his lordship's order for the payment of the money. These are the words of his letter: "I am most earnestly to entreat you for this gentle-man, captain Spring; that partly for love, partly for honest consideration, you will further him with my lord treasurer for a debt of three hundred pounds, which her majesty owes him. It hath been long due; and he has got good warrant for it: besides, he has served her majesty very long, and hath received many wounds in her service. These reasons, delivered by a man of your utterance, and having his good angel at your elbow to instruct you, I doubt not but it will take good and speedy effect." Concluding, "I never wrote unto you for any man, or in any matter, wherein you shall more bind me unto you, than for this bearer: and so not doubting of your assured friendliness, I leave you to God; and remain your most assured loving friend." In a postscript he says, "Always remember you must deal conscionably for my sake, and I will requite you[b]." Examples of this kind shew men worthy of the power they enjoy, and shine brighter in their characters than many actions of a more public and magnificent nature; power being so often corrupted with pride and other passions, as frequently render the possessors of it mischievous, rather than beneficial to their fellow-creatures. But Ralegh, in these and many

And for captain Spring.

[b] This letter is printed in the Baronetage of England, by Arthur Collins, esq. 8vo. 1720. vol. 2. p. 58. and, as I have been told by this author, was communicated to him by Mr. Strype, who was favoured with it out of secretary Cecil's papers in the possession of his noble descendants.

other instances, was so far from misusing, that, above the narrow apprehensions of repulse, or laying himself under obligations, he appears to have exerted it in the most strenuous and generous manner, either for preventing or relieving the distress of others, which moved the greater compassion when his own misfortunes brought him to need, and yet to fail of the like liberal and successful mediation for himself. The truth is, Ralegh was so famous in these days for such like good offices, that the queen seems to have distinguished him by a title more honourable, in the proper sense it is to be here taken, than any other she conferred upon him: for one day, having told her he had a favour to beg of her, "When, sir Walter," said she, "will you cease "to be a beggar?" To which he answered, "When your "gracious majesty ceases to be a benefactor [c]." With great justice therefore seems a certain noted author of these times to have adapted his work to a patron, when he dedicated a discourse upon friendship, which he published not long before this time, to sir Walter Ralegh [d].

But friendship made such a rare and lasting impression on him, that it may be said to have extended beyond the life of the object; and he well deserves to be remembered in his grave who could leave us such noble patterns in memory of the dead. But this place requires only our notice of the memorial he wrote, to clear from some Spanish aspersions the fame and conduct of the valiant and renowned sir Richard Grenvill, in that bloody expedition where he made such a glorious, though untimely end. This brave commander was vice-admiral in the lord Thomas Howard's expedition, to intercept the Spanish plate-fleet at the isles of Azores in its return from America. The English squadron consisted of six of the queen's ships, six victuallers of

[c] Apophthegms of the English Nation, MS. Also, with very little variation, in a book called, Miscellanea, or a choice Collection of wise and ingenious sayings of Princes, Poets, Statesmen, Courtiers, and others, out of several ancient and modern authors, &c. by G. M. 8vo. 1694. p. 38.

[d] See a Spark of Friendship and warm Good-will, that sheweth the effect of good affection, &c. By Thomas Churchyard, 4to. 1588.

London, with two or three pinnaces. They set out early in the spring 1591, and waited six months at Flores, one of those islands, in expectation of the said fleet. As there was, besides the English ships before numbered, one also of sir Walter's in this expedition, named Bark Ralegh, commanded by captain Thynne; and as he employed some time in the latter end of this year to describe that memorable engagement they had with the Spaniards; the brief abstract I shall give thereof from his own words cannot be arraigned of prolixity, nor perhaps of digression; since, besides his gratitude for the past services of his heroic kinsman, it so well displays his sentiments at this time of the religious hypocrisies and cruelties of their common enemy. The king of Spain therefore, having had intelligence of their waiting thus for his Indian fleet, sent an armada to the Azores of fifty-three sail to convoy it home, under the command of don Alphonso Baçan. This fleet was just in sight of the English by then they had any warning of it; and they were so unprepared for its reception, that many of their crew were on shore providing ballast, water, and other necessaries; and those who were on board were half of them, through sickness, unfit for service. The Spaniards were now so near at hand, that the English had scarce time to weigh anchor; and Grenvill, in the Revenge, was the last upon the place, being desirous of receiving all his crew aboard from the island, whereof he had no less than ninety who were sick and diseased. So that, unable to recover the wind, and having but one hundred sound men, he was persuaded to cut his main-sail, cast about, and trust to the sailing of the ship; for the squadron of Seville was on his weather-bow: but he, through the greatness of his spirit, utterly refused to turn from the enemy; protesting he would rather die than be guilty of such dishonour to himself, his country, and her majesty's ship; assuring his company he would pass through the two squadrons in spite of them, and force those of Seville to give him way; which he performed upon divers of the foremost, who, as the mariners term it, sprung their loof, and fell under the lee of

His report of the desperate fight at the Azores.

the Revenge: but while he had regard to those who were nearest, the huge San Philip being in the wind of him, and approaching, becalmed his sails in such manner that the ship could neither make way nor feel the helm; so large and high charged was the Spanish galleon, being of fifteen hundred ton, carrying three tire, of eleven pieces in each on a side, and discharging eight foreright from her chase, besides those of her stern ports. After the Revenge was thus entangled with this Philip, four others loofing up also, boarded her, two on the larboard, and two on the starboard. The fight thus beginning at three o'clock in the afternoon, on the last of August the year aforesaid, continued very terrible all that evening. But San Philip having received the lower tire of the Revenge, charged with cross-bar-shot, shifted with all expedition, utterly misliking her first greeting. Some said she foundered hereupon; but this is uncertain. The Spanish ships were filled with soldiers; some having two hundred, besides mariners; some five, others eight hundred men: in the English ship there were only mariners, with the commander's servants, and some gentlemen volunteers. After many exchanges of great and small shot, the Spaniards many times attempted to board the Revenge, but were as often beaten back into their own ships, or into the sea: and when a London victualler, who was under the lee of the Revenge, offered to undertake any service for her assistance, Grenvill bid him "save himself, and leave "him to his fortune." The fight thus continuing while the day lasted, and some hours of the night, many of the English were slain; some of the Spanish ships sunk, and in many others there was great slaughter: Grenvill, though wounded in the beginning of the close fight, was never so disabled as to forsake the upper deck for eight hours together; and then, being shot into the body with a musket, as the wound was dressing, he was again shot into the head, and his surgeon at the same time wounded to death. Still the fight continued, and as fast as the Spaniards were beaten off by the Revenge, others came in their places; so that by morning she had sustained for fifteen hours together the

volleys, boardings, and entries of fifteen several ships of war, and repulsed them all; besides the rest, which battered her loose and at a distance. But with the light increased the discovery of her dismal condition; and the more irksome was the one, in that it would not let her conceal the other from her surrounding enemies [c]. Now was to be seen nothing but the naked hull of a ship, and that almost a skeleton, having received eight hundred shot of great artillery, and some under water; her deck covered with the limbs and carcasses of forty valiant men, the rest all wounded, and weltering in, or covered with their own blood; her masts all beaten overboard, all her tackle cut asunder, her upper works razed, and all in effect levelled with the water; incapable of any further management or motion but what the billows gave her. Grenvill, now finding their distress irreparable, commanded the ship to be sunk, that the Spaniards might not carry a splinter home as a trophy of their dearbought victory; dearbought indeed! the admiral of the Spanish hulks, and another great galleon, called the Ascension, of Seville, being both sunk by the side of the Revenge; another also in the road of St. Michael; and a fourth run herself aground, to save her company. There

[c] As for her friends, the lord Thomas Howard, and the other ships, sir Walter Ralegh further says of them, "If all the rest had entered, all had "been lost; for the very hugeness "of the Spanish fleet, if no other vio-"lence had been offered, would have "crushed them into shivers; of which "the dishonour and loss to the "queen had been far greater than "the spoil or harm that the enemy "could any way have received. Not-"withstanding it is true, that the "lord Thomas would have entered "between the squadrons, but the "rest would not condescend; and "the master of his own ship offered "to leap into the sea, rather than "conduct it with the rest to be a "prey to the enemy, where there was "neither hope nor possibility either "of defence or victory. Which also, in "my opinion," says Ralegh, "had "ill sorted with, or answered the dis-"cretion of a general, to commit him-"self and his charge to assured de-"struction, without hope, or any like-"lihood of prevailing thereby, to di-"minish the strength of her majesty's "navy, and enrich the pride and "glory of the enemy. The Fore-"sight of the queen's," continues he, "commanded by Mr. Thomas "Vavasour, performed a very great "fight, and stayed two hours as near "the Revenge as the weather would "permit, not forsaking the fight till "he was likely to be encompassed "by the squadrons, and with great "difficulty cleared himself. The rest "gave divers volleys of shot, and "entered as far as the place per-"mitted, and their own necessities, "to keep the weather-gauge of the "enemy, until they were parted by "night." Thus in sir Walter Ralegh's said report of this fight.

were besides slain and drowned in this fight two eminent Spanish commanders, and near a thousand of their men, as one of their own officers, who was severed from the fight by the ensuing storm, and taken by a London vessel, confessed. In that storm, as well the whole Indian fleet, which had now joined them, as the rest of the armada, were so dispersed and damaged, that fourteen sail were cast away upon the Isle of St. Michael. On the rest of the islands they also lost fifteen or sixteen more of their ships of war; and of their Indian fleet, which was a hundred and odd sail, there were also above seventy consumed and taken by our ships of London; besides a very rich one which set herself on fire, and five others taken by Mr. Wats's ships. Three thousand carcasses were found two or three days after on the Isle of Tercera; and, by the Spaniards' own confession, no less than ten thousand of their countrymen were lost in this expedition [f]. But to return. Sir Richard exhorted the remainder of his company to trust in God's mercy, and to none else: and, as they had thus long and resolutely repulsed so many enemies, that they would not now lessen the honour of their country by any overtures, to lengthen for a few hours or days their own lives. Several joined in opinion with him; but the majority prevailed, who urged, the Spaniard would be as ready to entertain a composition, as they to offer it; and that there were divers valiant men yet living, who might do their prince acceptable service, and revenge this action upon the enemy; that the ship could be of no use either to one or the other, for upon the first working of the sea she must needs sink, being so crushed, rived, and leaky, having six foot water in the hold, that she could never remove out of the place. Accordingly the Spanish general don Alphonso Baçan did

[f] Linschoten, in the 99th chapter of his Voyages to the East and West Indies, says, that of the whole fleet and armada, being 140 ships, there were but 32 or 33 arrived in Spain and Portugal, and those with such difficulty and dispersion, that not any two arrived together; all the rest were cast away upon the islands, and overwhelmed in the sea by that violent storm: so that for twenty days after it, they did nothing but fish for dead men.

make very honourable concession; yielding that all their lives should be saved, the company sent into England, and the better sort only to pay a reasonable ransom, free from all galleys or imprisonment. Though it may be thought it was not difficult to dissuade men from death to life, the master-gunner would have slain himself, when he found their resolution thus by reason overborne, but that he was by force withheld. Then the general sent many boats aboard the Revenge, and divers of the English suspecting sir Richard's desperate disposition to blow up or sink the ship, stole away to the Spaniards. But the general prevailed upon him to remove out of the Revenge, being very unsavoury, filled as it was, like a slaughterhouse, with the bodies and blood of the dead and wounded. Sir Richard told them, they might do with his body what they pleased, for it was now of no use to him; and, as he was carried out of the ship, he swooned, but revived again, and desired the company to pray for him. The general used him with the utmost humanity, and left nothing unattempted for his recovery; highly respecting, or rather admiring, the wonderful and unconquerable resolution in so rare a spectacle of consummate and approved intrepidity, who could make such resistance for so long time, and such havock upon such an armada, with a single ship and so few men. Sir Richard lingered two or three days, and then died aboard the general, who greatly bewailed his loss[5]; but the Re-

[5] The same Dutch author, though he mistakes in some particulars, as making this engagement to have happened a fortnight later, &c. yet agrees with sir Walter Ralegh that sir Richard made a wonderful opposition; for he mentions "no less than seven "or eight ships boarding the Re-"venge; that she resisted them at "least twelve hours; that the Span-"iards lost above 400 men in the "fight; and that when sir Richard "was conveyed into the Spanish ad-"miral's ship the St. Paul, all the "captains were astonished at his "stout and courageous heart; for he "shewed no sign of faintness, nor "change of colour; but, feeling the "hour of death approach, said in the "Spanish tongue, 'Here die I, Ri-"chard Grenvill, with a joyful and "quiet mind, having ended my life "like a true soldier that has fought "for his country, queen, religion, "and honour, &c.'" He gives us further, as an instance of his bravery, "that while he continued amongst "the Spanish captains, and they "were at dinner or supper with him, "he would carouse three or four "glasses of wine, and take the glasses "between his teeth, and crush them "in pieces, and swallow them down; "so that often the blood would run

venge, with two hundred Spaniards in her, being overtaken by the storms aforesaid, was sunk with the others above mentioned, at St. Michael's Island. In this manner did they honour the burial of that renowned ship; and thus did she to the last make good her name upon them.

Thus have we gathered from sir Walter Ralegh what is here most material of this extraordinary action; but when he further observes the general's former promise was not performed, of setting the prisoners at liberty; so that they petitioned to be landed upon the islands, hoping to be thence transported into England: and also the endeavours that were made to corrupt their loyalty, by Morrice Fitz-John, (son of old John of Desmond before mentioned,) who sent to the English from ship to ship, persuading them to serve the king of Spain, through the motives of trebling their pay, advancing their condition, and improving their faith to the safety of their souls, he is moved to make some sharp and lively reflections upon these topics; on the last whereof he expresses himself in this manner. "For matter of religion, it would require a particular volume to set down how irreligiously they cover their greedy and ambitious practices with that veil of piety: for, sure I am, there is no kingdom or commonwealth in all Europe, but if reformed, they invade it for religion sake: if it be, as they term, catholic, they pretend title; as if the kings of Castile were the natural heirs of all the world: and so, between both, no kingdom is unsought. Where they dare not with their own forces invade, they basely entertain the traitors and vagabonds of all nations; seeking by those and their renegade Jesuits to win parts; and have by that means ruined many noble houses and others in

His reflections on the Spanish pretences of religion.

"out of his mouth, without any other harm to him." Which I can believe without scruple, having seen an officer of the army in a frolic do the like, and swallow the glass he had drank in, all but the solid stem, or that part which is not mandible; but more cautiously than sir Richard seems to have performed it, for he drew not a drop of blood from any part of his mouth. As for Grenvill's pedigree, it may be seen in the late Collection of English Baronets, 12mo. 1728; but the memorials that are attempted of him in H. Holland, Fuller, and Prince, are far short of his actions and deserts.

" this land, and have extinguished both their lives and fa-
" milies. What good, honour, or fortune, ever man yet
" by them achieved, is yet unheard of, or unwritten. And
" if our English papists do but look into Portugal, against
" which they have no pretence of religion; how the no-
" bility are put to death, imprisoned; their rich men made
" a prey, and all sorts of people captived; they shall find
" that the obedience even of the Turk is easy, and a liberty,
" in respect of the slavery and tyranny of Spain. What
" have they done in Sicily, Naples, Milan, and the Low
" Countries? Who hath there been spared for religion at
" all? And it cometh to my remembrance of a certain
" burgher of Antwerp, whose house being entered by a
" company of Spanish soldiers, when they first sacked the
" city, he besought them to spare him and his goods, being
" a good catholic, and one of their own party. The Span-
" iards answered, 'They knew him to be of a good con-
" science for himself; but his money, plate, jewels, and
" goods were all heretical; and therefore lawful prize.' So
" they abused and tormented the foolish Fleming, who
" hoped that an *Agnus Dei* had been a sufficient target
" against all force of that holy and charitable nation. Nei-
" ther have they at any time, as they protest, invaded the
" Indies or Peru, but rather to reduce the people to Chris-
" tianity, than either for gold or empire; whereas in one
" only island, called Hispaniola, they have wasted three
" millions of the natural people, besides many millions else
" in other places of the Indies: a poor and harmless people,
" created of God, and might have been won to his know-
" ledge, as many of them were, and almost as many as ever
" were persuaded thereunto. The story whereof is at large
" written by a bishop of their own nation, called Bartho-
" lomew de las Casas, and translated into English and
" many other languages, entitled, The Spanish Cruelties.
" Who would therefore repose trust in such a nation of
" ravenous strangers; and especially in those Spaniards,
" who more greedily thirst after English blood, than after
" the lives of any other people in Europe? For the many

"overthrows and dishonours they have received at our "hands, whose weakness we have discovered to the world, "and whose forces at home, abroad, in Europe, in India, "by sea and land, we have, even with handfuls of men and "ships, overthrown and dishonoured. Let not therefore any "Englishman, of what religion soever, have other opinion "of the Spaniard, but that those whom he seeketh to win "in our nation he esteemeth base and traitorous, unworthy "persons, or unconstant fools: and that he useth his pre-"tence of religion for no other purpose, but to bewitch us "from the obedience of our natural prince; thereby hoping "in time to bring us to slavery and subjection. And then "none shall be unto them so odious and disdained as the "traitors themselves, who have sold their country to a "stranger, and forsaken their faith and obedience, contrary "to nature and religion; and even contrary to that human "and general humour, not only of Christians, but of heathen "and irreligious nations, who have always sustained what "labour soever, and embraced even death itself, for their "country, prince, or commonwealth. To conclude: it hath "ever to this day pleased God to prosper and defend her "majesty, to break the purposes of malicious enemies, of "forsworn traitors, and of unjust practices and invasions. "She hath ever been honoured of the worthiest kings; "served by faithful subjects; and shall, by the favour of "God, resist, repel, and confound all whatsoever attempts "against her sacred person or kingdom. In the mean "time, let the Spaniards and traitors vaunt of their suc-"cess; and we her true and obedient vassals, guided by the "shining light of her virtues, shall always love her, serve "her, and obey her to the end of our lives[h]."

Ralegh had no sooner done with his pen, but he took up arms against the Spaniards, intending to seek reparation of them for the losses aforesaid. He had formed an enterprise

[h] See a report of the truth of the fight about the isles of Azores, this last summer, betwixt the Revenge, one of her majesty's ships, commanded by sir Richard Grenvill, and an armada of the king of Spain: 4to. 1591. reprinted, fol. in Hakluyt, vol. 2. 1599. part 2. p. 169. where it is said to be penned by the honourable sir Walter Ralegh.

upon Panama, with a design also of meeting the Spanish Plate-fleet; was at great expense in fitting out a maritime force for that purpose, and used his utmost interest and diligence to engage many worthy friends in the adventure. The scheme he laid down appeared so feasible to her majesty, having provided no less than thirteen ships of his own and his associates, all well manned, and plentifully furnished with arms, provisions, and all other necessaries, that she added to them two of her own men of war, named the Garland and Foresight; and gave him a commission, constituting him general of the fleet[i]. The honour of lieutenant-general was given to sir John Burgh, a gentleman altogether worthy of the command. And indeed all his consorts, officers, soldiers, and sailors, were men of notable resolution; such as had given sufficient proof of their valour in divers services; and, to give them their right, says my author, so well qualified in courage, experience, and discretion, that the greatest prince might repute himself happy to be served by the like. With these ships thus equipped, Ralegh departed in February, the year aforesaid, to the west of England, there to store himself with such further conveniences as he thought he should need; but the westerly winds blowing for a long time contrary to his course, bound him to keep harbour so many weeks, that the fittest season for his purpose was expired, and much of his provisions consumed. The queen, understanding how unluckily he was detained, it being the sixth of May following, that is, in the year 1592, before Ralegh could put to sea, she sent sir Martin Frobisher after him, who overtook him the very next day, with letters of revocation. But Ralegh finding his honour so far engaged in the undertaking of this voyage,

General of an expedition to Panama.

Recalled.

[i] Sir William Monson, in his Naval Tracts, observes upon this enterprise, "that sir Walter Ralegh, who had "tasted abundantly of the queen's "love, finding it now begin to de-"cline, resolved to undertake an ex-"pedition to sea; and engaged se-"veral of his friends, of great qua-"lity, to be concerned with him." It is pity but this author had satisfied us more expressly about that declension of the queen's love. For, I think, that her lending Ralegh her ships of war, and the honourable commission she gave him, to be general in this expedition, seem rather to contradict, than any ways confirm that insinuation.

that, without proceeding, he saw no remedy either to salve his reputation, or satisfy his friends, who had contributed so largely to this adventure; and interpreting the queen's letters, as if her commands had been propounded in terms of latitude, either to advance or retire at his own discretion, would by no means consent to leave the fleet, now under sail. So he continued his course upon the seas, till he met with a ship belonging to monsieur Gourdon, governor of Calais, in which was one Mr. Nevel Davies, who was returned from a twelve years captivity in Spain, and who assured him, there was little hopes of any success this year in the West Indies; for the king of Spain had sent express orders to all the ports, both of the islands and Terra Firma, that no ships should stir that year, nor any treasure be laid aboard for Spain. But neither this disagreeable news nor the other discouragements could deter him from proceeding; till on the eleventh of May, when he was off Cape Finister, a most raging tempest arising, so scattered the greater part of the fleet, and sunk his boats and pinnaces, that, as the rest were driven and divided, Ralegh himself, in the Garland, was in great danger of being swallowed up in the sea. Hereupon, considering the season was too far gone for his enterprise upon Panama, and his victuals too much consumed; that the same consumption might further disable him from lying upon the Spanish coast, or at the islands, to meet with the Indian fleet, for which he had received such little encouragement to wait, Ralegh made a division of his fleet into two squadrons, committing one under the charge of sir John Burgh, and the other to sir Martin Frobisher; and gave his instructions for sir Martin, in the Garland, with captain George Gifford, captain Henry Thynne, captain Grenvill, and others, to lie off the south cape, to terrify and keep the Spaniards on their own coast; while sir John Burgh, with captain Robert Cross, Thomson, and others, should lie at the Azores for the caracks from India. The success of these directions was answerable to the excellent judgment that contrived them. For the Spanish admiral, receiving intelligence that the English

In a dangerous storm.

His instructions to his fleet.

fleet was cruising upon their coast, gathered all his naval power to watch Frobisher, and defend the southern parts of Spain; while the caracks, unguarded, were left a prey to sir John Burgh. Before the fleet separated, they met on the Spanish coast with a great Biscayan, called Sancta Clara, a ship of six hundred ton; which, after a fight for some time, they mastered, and found freighted with all sorts of little iron-work, valued by the English at six or seven thousand pounds; but of treble the value to the Spaniards. This, having cleared, they sent to England. Then sir John Burgh, in a ship of sir Walter Ralegh's, named the Roebuck, coasting along towards the south cape of St. Vincent, and by the way spying a sail, gave her chase; which being a flyboat and good sailer, drew him far southward before he could fetch her; at last she came under his lee, and struck sail. The master confessed a great fleet was prepared at St. Lucar and Cadiz; for the rumour of Ralegh's putting out strong for the West Indies had so alarmed the king of Spain, that he raised this fleet to oppose and encounter him; though looking for the arrival of his East-India caracks, he first ordered those ships to convoy them from the Azores; but persuading himself, if Ralegh's fleet did make for the West Indies, that then the islands would be infested only by some small men of war, which the caracks of themselves would be able to cope with, his order was to don Alphonso de Baçan to pursue Ralegh's fleet and engage him, what course soever he held: and the English soon found this information true. For sir John Burgh, not long after his having taken that flyboat, as he returned to his company, descried the Spanish fleet to seaward of him; which having likewise discovered him, made full account to bring him into the Spanish harbour; but he dexterously escaped them, and shaped his course to the Azores, according to Ralegh's directions. Here he took several small caravels; but learnt little intelligence from them. Arriving at Flores on the 21st of June, and making to the shore of a village there, called Santa Cruz, he found them all in arms; but, shewing signs of amity by a white

A prize.

flag, he was accommodated by the inhabitants with whatever he wanted. Here he learnt news of the East-Indian caracks, one whereof had lately passed by for Lisbon, and that four more were behind. He made after, and soon discovered the foremost, named the Santa Cruz; which was pressed so close upon by the English, that she fired herself; but they took, besides some spoil, certain prisoners out of her, who confessed, that within fifteen days three other greater caracks would arrive at the same island. Sir John, having taken counsel with his officers, departed six or seven leagues to the west of Flores, causing the ships in his company to spread themselves north and south two leagues distant from each other, by which extension they could discover two whole degrees. Thus they lay till the third of August, when captain Thomson first saw that prodigious great carack, called the *Madre de Dios*, or Mother of God, one of the greatest burden belonging to the crown of Portugal. Captain Thomson first attacked her, but with the loss of several men; then sir John Burgh, in the Roebuck aforesaid, entangled her; and sir Robert Cross fastened himself to her at the same instant: but sir John was forced to disengage a while, for fear of sinking, being shot under water. At last Cross fell athwart her all alone, prevented her running ashore to fire herself, as the other had done, and gave the rest time to come up to his succour; which, after he had fought with her three hours, he received by the lord Cumberland's ships: and then, having made a great slaughter of the Spaniards, they boarded and possessed themselves of her with little difficulty.

Another of great value.

This prize was reckoned the greatest and richest that ever had been brought into England; and when the news of her being taken arrived, Ralegh was no less diligent to have her safely conducted home, than the officers aforesaid had been in the taking of her. For, after consultation with sir John Hawkins, his chief partner in this enterprise, they wrote a letter to the lord admiral, in these words; "Our "very good lord, we have conferred together about the "East-Indian ship to be brought to Plymouth by sir John

"Burgh; and, in our opinions, she can be no less worth "than five hundred thousand pounds; being a ship of so "great burden, and laden with so rich commodities as ap-"peareth she is: wherefore we have considered, that the "Spanish men of war, lying upon the coast of Bretagne, "hearing of so great a prize taken from the king, or the "merchants of the country, and envying that such a be-"nefit should grow to us, to their hinderance and disho-"nour, will endeavour by all possible means, being distant "but a day or night's sailing, either to recover the ship "again, or to burn her and all her lading, rather than she "shall be delivered here; seeing that the places of defence "where the ship may remain are not able to resist their "power: in our opinion therefore we think fit, and do pray "your lordship, that the three ships of her majesty's which "are appointed to keep the narrow seas, may, by your "lordship's letter and directions, be appointed to go west-"ward, and there to guard the Indian ship for a time, "until the Garland and some of the same fleet be re-"turned, whose arrival cannot be any long time expected; "or till some order may be taken for the unlading or keep-"ing of her otherwise; which we pray your lordship "may be done with some expedition. And so we humbly "take our leave, this 27th of August 1592. Your lord-"ship's humbly at commandment, W. Ralegh, (and under-"neath) John Hawkins[k]." By this means probably such care was taken, that this mighty ship was brought safe into Dartmouth on the 7th of September following, where it daily drew vast numbers of spectators from all parts to admire at the hugeness of it, being far beyond the model of the biggest shipping then known among us either for war or

[k] This, from the original, among the inestimable treasures in the Harleian library; though written neither by Ralegh nor Hawkins, but perhaps by some secretary, or other person belonging to one of them; for it is signed by their own hands, as above. It has also a seal (on soft yellow wax) of Ralegh's coat of arms (hereafter mentioned) in a triangular escutcheon; but the crest (a stag, or other like horned animal) is different from what he afterwards bore, as will be also observed in the sequel of this work.

burden [l]. But as to the lading, though sir John Burgh did prudently seize upon the whole to her majesty's use, to prevent all licentious spoil, whereby the treasure brought home was sufficient to recompense the adventurers' cost and the sailors' peril, however the dividends are not known, more than that her majesty had the largest share; and though, through the varieties thereof, our nation was let into the discovery of those merchandises, whereof we had before but an imperfect knowledge; yet the whole cargo, when it came to be landed and valued in England, fell short above two-thirds of the computation which had been made by Ralegh and Hawkins, as above [m]. For it seems there were a large quantity of jewels, and of great value, which were never brought to light; and so much of her other goods was also purloined by the sailors, soldiers, and offi-

[l] This carack was in burden no less than 1600 ton, whereof 900 were merchandise: she carried thirty-two pieces of brass ordnance, and between six and seven hundred passengers; was built with decks seven story, one main orlop, three close decks, one forecastle, and a spare deck of two floors apiece. According to the observations of Mr. Robert Adams, an excellent geometrician, she was in length from the beak-head to the stern 165 foot; in breadth near 47 foot; the length of her keel 100 foot; of the mainmast 121 foot; its circuit at the partners near 11 foot, and her mainyard 106 foot.

[m] As to her lading, according to the catalogue taken at Leadenhall the 15th of September this year, the principal wares consisted of spices, drugs, silks, calicoes, carpets, quilts, cloth of the rind of trees, ivory, porcelain, or china ware, ebony; besides pearl, musk, civet, and ambergris; with many other commodities of inferior value. The cargason freighted ten of our ships for London, and was, by moderate computation, valued at 150,000*l.* sterling. See a true report of the honourable service at sea, performed by sir John Burrough, lieutenant-general of the fleet, prepared by the honourable sir Walter Ralegh, lord-warden, &c. in Hakluyt, vol. 2. part 2. page 194. There was also printed another account of this great ship, while it lay in the port aforesaid, in quarto, under this title, The Seaman's Triumph; declaring the honourable actions of such gentlemen, captains, &c. as were at the taking of the great carack lately brought to Dartmouth, with her burden and commodities: also the manner of the fight with and burning of another at the Isle of Flowers, of the burden of 900 ton, written for truth, to a gentleman of great worship in London. This gentleman, though his name is not prefixed to the dedication, was sir Walter Ralegh, as may plainly appear to those who have read it, and are acquainted with the history of this action. I never saw but one of these pamphlets, which is in the possession of a nobleman, curious in collections of this kind; and remember to have read in it, that some jars of civet were, through unadvisedness of the sailors, thrown overboard; they not knowing what it was. But in the whole, this tract, as I remember, is not so particular and accurately written, as that account in Hakluyt aforesaid.

cers, that at her arrival in England, she drew five foot less water than she did when she was first freighted at Cochin in the East Indies. And indeed the sailors themselves, whom neither order, oath, nor proclamation could restrain, boldly confessed, "They had rather trust their souls to a "merciful God by perjury, than their fortunes to the hands "of unmerciful men [n]."

The latter end of this year, and beginning of next, we meet with sir Walter Ralegh in the parliament-house, whether returned for a county or a borough, and for which, does not at present particularly occur; but much engaged we find him there throughout this short session [o], among the ablest heads both in committees, and as a public speaker. A late author of his life observes, "that his speeches were "full of reason and eloquence, no man in his days being "more a master of language than himself [p];" and matter too, he might have added; none more satisfactorily confirming his arguments with facts and experience than he did, even in his unpremeditated speeches, no less than in the more deliberate compositions of his pen; so full of observation he was upon all times and countries, and so readily he could apply it upon all occasions; which now won him great regard, as a speaker in the house, and afterwards as an author, to the whole world. Soon after the opening of the session, we find him upon the committee for the liberties and privileges of the members, to examine and make report of all such cases touching the elections and returns of any the knights, citizens, burgesses, or barons of the house, as should arise during the said session of parliament: also in another against popish recusants. And when *the bill for certain subsidies* to be granted her majesty was in debate, and some members were for having it expressly distinguished in the bill, that the said subsidies should be for maintaining a war impulsive and defensive against the Spaniard, that the conquests we made over them might be legal and warrant-

In parliament.

His character as a speaker.

[n] Camden's Annals, 1592.

[o] It begun Feb. 19, 1592. and was dissolved April 9, 1593.

[p] The Life of sir Walter Ralegh in Lives English and Foreign, vol. 1. p. 95.

able; sir Walter Ralegh seconded those speeches, and said, "He knew many, who held it not lawful in conscience, as "the time was, to take prizes from the Spaniard; and he "knew, that if it might be lawful and open war, there "would be more voluntary hands to fight against the "Spaniard than the queen should stand in need of to send "to sea." Accordingly he was appointed of the committee for drawing the articles and preamble of the said bill[q]. Further, when the necessity of the said subsidy came to be enforced, Ralegh spake for it, "not only (as he protested) "to please the queen, to whom he was infinitely bound above "his deserts; but for the necessity he both saw and knew." He very well discovered the great strength of the king of Spain; and, to shew his mightiness, he told how he possessed all the world; as also that his malice and ill purpose was evident to this realm, he shewed how on every side he had beleaguered us. "That in Denmark, the king being "young, had corrupted the council and nobility; so as it "was very likely he would speed himself of shipping from "thence. In the marine towns of the Low Countries, and "in Norway, he laid in great store of shipping. In France, "he had the parliament-towns at his command; in Britany, "he had all the best havens; and in Scotland had so cor-"rupted the nobility, that he had promised them forces to "assist the papists; that they were ready to join with any "foreign forces that would make them strong, to be by "themselves and resist others; for, as he thought, there "were not six gentlemen of that country of one religion. "In his own country, there is all possible preparing; and "he is coming with sixty galleys, besides other shipping, "with purpose to annoy us. We must then have no ships, "if he invade us, riding at anchor; all will be little enough "to withstand him. At his coming, he fully resolveth to "get Plymouth, or at least to possess some of the havens "this summer within our land; and Plymouth is a place of "most danger, for no ordnance can be carried thither to re-

Argues for a lawful and open war against the Spaniard.

His speech for the subsidy against the Spaniards.

[q] Sir Simon D'Ewes' Journal of queen Elizabeth's Parliaments, fol. 1708. p. 478.

"move him, the passages will not give leave. Now the "way to defeat him, is to send a royal army to supplant "him in Britany, and to possess ourselves there; and to "send a strong navy to sea, and to lie upon the Cape and "at Lambuck; to which places come all his ships with "riches from all parts, and then they may set upon all that "come. This we are able to do, and undoubtedly with "fortunate success, if we undertake it[r]." But some division arising upon the question how they should make the motion for this supply to the lords, Ralegh made so judicious a distinction of the cause thereof, and so clearly demonstrated the erroneous manner in which it had been propounded, that it appears plainly, the successful turn which followed thereupon was owing to him alone. For, said Ralegh, "had the question but been put, whether they should "only yield to a conference in general with the lords? the "house would not have been against it;" therefore desired the speaker to put it to the question, whether they should confer with the lords generally or not, without naming the subsidy? This motion was so well liked, that Ralegh was desired by the house to repeat it over again, that it might be better heard by them all. Thereupon he said, "that as "it had been lately received in the negative, he would not "make it a question again, for by the order of the house "he could not;" but propounded it as a new question, "Whether the house would be pleased to have a general "conference with the lords, touching the great and immi-"nent dangers of the realm and state, and the present ne-"cessary supply of treasure to be provided speedily for the "same, according to the proportion of the necessity?" Being stated in this manner, it was assented to by the whole house, without one negative voice[s]. But one of the members, Mr. Oliver St. John, making some misconstruction of the vice-chamberlain's speech upon this occasion, sir Walter Ralegh further explained the matter agreed upon by the house to him in these words. "If we confer generally, it must

[r] Sir Simon D'Ewes, fol. 484. and Heywood Townshend's Hist. Coll. fol. 65.

[s] D'Ewes' Journ. fol. 488.

"be of our dangers, and of the remedies, which must be by "means; if of means, it must be of money and aid. So "our conference must needs be of subsidy, or rather aid: "but to agree upon this with any resolution either in the "matter or substance, it is not our meaning[1]." After this conference, several forms of provision were proposed by way of treble subsidies, and like proportionable fifteenths and tenths, with other kinds of benevolence: and many excellent speeches passed upon that part of this important affair. Sir Thomas Cecil was for three subsidies, to be paid in four years, and to be charged upon men of ten pounds and upwards, to spare those who were under. Sir Henry Knivet alleged the poverty of our country against the reasons used, and imputed that poverty to the bringing in more foreign wares than we vented commodities, whereby our money was carried out of our country, which was thus become like a pond that was fed with a spring, but having a breach, through which more passed away than came in: thereupon moved for a survey to be taken of all men's lands and goods in England, and so much to be yearly levied as might maintain the queen's wars, the proportion being set a hundred thousand pounds yearly; or, if that was misliked, every man on his word should deliver in, to his power, the profits of his lands and goods; so a proportion to be cessed accordingly. To him who argued of the poverty of the land, from the multitude of beggars, Ralegh gave these reasons: "That the broken companies in Normandy and the Low "Countries, who returned maimed hither, never went back "again to the towns from whence they came: for a multi-"tude of clothiers, taking their looms into their hands, spun "their wool themselves; and except we would work for "them cheaper than they can make themselves, they will "set none to work. This engrossing of so many trades "into their own hands, beggars so many as usually lived by "the trade." As for the surveying of so many men's estates, he thought it inconvenient. "For many, being esteemed

[1] D'Ewes' Journal, fol. 490.

"richer than they are, would be found beggars, and in-
"crease the opinion of their number, by losing their credit,
"which is now their wealth. He further reported, of his
"own knowledge, that the west country, since the parlia-
"ment begun, had taken from them the worth of four
"hundred and forty thousand pounds; and that those of
"Newcastle lay still for fear, because the Bourdeaux fleet
"was taken this year by the enemy. For the enemy ap-
"proaching us, and being become our neighbour, our
"trades will decay every day, and so our poverty increases.
"Thus it is most certain, the longer we defer aid, the less
"able we shall be to yield it; yet in the end, the greater
"aid will be required; so, sparing them now, we shall
"charge them when they shall be less able to bear it: for
"it is most true, one hundred thousand pounds would have
"done the last year that which three will not now do; and
"three will do this year that which six will not do here-
"after." In the conclusion, he agreed to three subsidies; in them, the three pound men to be spared; the sum which came from them to be levied upon those of ten pound and upwards; and the payment to be speedy[u]. Mr. Francis Bacon assented to three subsidies; but not to the payments under six years. But to his reasons of difficulty and danger in a speedier levy, which might hazard a double peril, by making it four shillings in the pound, a double payment, Ralegh answered, "I see no reason that the suspicion of
"discontentment should cross the provision for the present
"danger. The time is now more dangerous than it was in
"eighty-eight; for then the Spaniard coming from Spain
"was to pass dangerous seas, and had no place of retreat or
"relief, if he failed: but now he has in Britany great store
"of shipping; a landing-place in Scotland; and men and
"horses there as good as any we have. But for the diffi-
"culty in getting this subsidy, I think it seems more diffi-
"cult by speaking than it would be in gathering[x]." In the end, it was carried agreeable to his propositions; the

[u] D'Ewes' Journal, fol. 492. [x] Id. 493.

grant of a triple subsidy being agreed to, and of six fifteenths and tenths, to be levied and paid in four years, by a certain form which they had set down in articles; that is to say, one entire subsidy, and two fifteenths and tenths, at one payment in the first year; and one other entire subsidy, with two fifteenths and tenths, at another payment in the second year; and one entire subsidy, and two fifteenths and tenths, at two payments in the third and fourth years [y].

Soon after, there was a bill read in the house *against counterfeiting the hands of counsellors or principal officers*; and upon the second reading, it was committed to sir John Woolley and sir Walter Ralegh, with others. But after a meeting in the Middle Temple hall, sir John made report to the house, that himself, and the residue of the committee, upon the end of their examination and travel therein, did all of them think it a very dangerous bill, and not fit, in their opinion, to pass the house; to whose consideration they further thought proper to leave it. And because it was a bill which came from the lords, they thought good, with the said report first made, to deliver the said bill again into this house, and there to leave it as it is, and not otherwise. But the bill *against aliens selling foreign wares among us by retail* produced several weighty arguments and speeches in the house, which have been transmitted to us. These foreigners, it seems, were Dutchmen, who had nestled themselves in St. Martin's, anciently allowed for a sanctuary, and therefore still had this privilege: here they practised spinning and weaving, to the great detriment and complaint of merchants and regular dealers in our own city; insomuch that threescore English retailers had been ruined by them since the last parliament, to the diminution, besides their own private substance, of the queen's subsidy and the public treasure of the kingdom; twenty thousand pounds a year at least having been carried out of the realm by them. They had indeed some learned counsel, who pleaded for them at the bar, and some of the members

[y] D'Ewes' Journal, fol. 495.

spoke in their behalf. One of them said, this bill was thrust into the house by our mercantile engrossers; that their beggaring the domestic retailers might be imputed to the strangers retailing. But he was answered by another with arguments to prove that engrossing was sufferable among merchants. Others again ran upon the more universal topics of charity, in giving shelter and means of getting livelihood to poor destitute strangers, who fly to us for religion and relief: that we have been strangers, and allowed the liberty we deny; that now they are strangers, and we may be so hereafter: again, that it was an honour for one country to be hospitable to another; would extend its renown; increase its riches; strengthen its interest; and induce them to a mutual return of favours: lastly, that their example is profitable, through the patterns of piety and industry they disperse among us. Other arguments were used; but against these, Ralegh concurred with those who thought that denization ought not to circumvent birthright; and that to behave ourselves like citizens to foreigners, was but making ourselves strangers to our neighbours. "Whereas it is pretended," says he, "that for "strangers, it is against charity, against honour, against "profit, to expel them; in my opinion, it is no matter of "charity to relieve them. For first, such as fly hither "have forsaken their own king; and religion is no pretext "for them; for we have no Dutchmen here, but such as "come from those princes where the gospel is preached; "yet here they live, disliking our church. For honour; it "is honour to use strangers as we be used among strangers; "and it is a lightness in a commonwealth, yea, a baseness in "a nation, to give a liberty to another nation which we "cannot receive again. In Antwerp, where our intercourse "was most, we were never suffered to have a tailor or a "shoemaker to dwell. Nay, at Milan, where there are "three hundred pound Englishmen, they cannot so much "as have a barber among them. And for profit; they are "all of the house of Almoigne, who pay nothing; yea, eat "out our profits, and supplant our own nation. Custom

His speech against foreign retailers.

"indeed they pay, paying fifteen pence where we pay "twelve pence; but they are discharged of subsidies. The "nature of the Dutchman is to fly to no man but for his "profit; and they will obey no man long; now under "Spain; now under Mountfort; now under the prince of "Orange; but under no governor long. The Dutchman, "by his policy, hath gotten trading with all the world into "his hands; yea, he is now entering into the trade of Scar-"borough-fishing, and the fishing of the Newfoundlands, "which is the stay of the west countries. They are the "people that maintain the king of Spain in his greatness; "were it not for them, he were never able to make out such "armies and navies by sea; it cost her majesty sixteen "thousand pounds a year the maintaining of these coun-"tries; and for all this, they arm her enemies against her. "Therefore I see no reason that such respect should be "given to them: and, to conclude, in the whole, no matter "of honour, no matter of charity, no profit in relieving "them [z]." This speech we may meet with in some modern writings, quoted in sir Walter Ralegh's praise, both for his knowledge in the interest of his country, and his unbiassed affection in exerting it. As for the bill, he was one to whom it was committed, and who, after the travels of the said committee upon it, offered it again to the house with the addition of a proviso. On the 27th of March following, that is to say, in the year 1593, it was read the third time; and, after many long speeches, which are not specified, passed upon the question, by the division of the house, with the difference of fourscore voices; the yeas being a hundred and sixty-two, the noes eighty-two. About a week afterwards, there was a bill for explaining a branch in *an act to retain the queen's subjects in due obedience* read, and many speeches passed in the house before it was committed, through the many imperfections in the preamble and body of the said bill. For it pretended a punishment only of the Brownists and other sectaries; but, alleging nothing

[z] D'Ewes' Journal, fol. 509.

against them in particular, contained some ensnaring clauses that might comprehend more innocent persons. As the speeches before sir Walter Ralegh's, on this occasion, are not rehearsed, we can only guess at them by what is preserved of his; who said, "In my conceit, the Brownists are "worthy to be rooted out of a commonwealth[a]: but what

And upon the bill against the Brownists.

[a] This sect was so called from Robert Brown, son of Anthony Brown, esq. of Tolethorp in Rutlandshire, and grandson of Francis Brown, whom king Henry VIII. anno regn. 18. privileged by charter to wear his cap in presence of himself, his heirs, or any of his nobles, and not to uncover but at his own pleasure. This Robert studied divinity in Cambridge, and was soon discovered by Dr. Still, master of Trinity college, to have somewhat extraordinary in him, that would prove a great disturbance to the church. He travelled to Zealand, and returned, as we are told, confirmed in error and obstinacy, which he first preached at Norwich, anno 1581, and wrote a book to justify his doctrine, for which bishop Phreak of that diocese confined him: but being related to the lord Burghley, and he rather imputing it to zeal than malice, interceded to have him charitably persuaded out of his opinions, and released. The latter being done, he was sent home in 1585, but remained incorrigible; wherefore his good old father would own him for his son no longer than his son owned the church of England for his mother; but he chose rather to part with his aged sire than his new schism: so, with Richard Harrison a schoolmaster, he set up for an orator against bishops and all ecclesiastical authority. When gentleness was found ineffectual, severity was so long, and upon so many occasions exercised, that this Brown used to boast he had been committed to thirty-two prisons, and in some could not see his hand at noon-day; yet did he to the last save his life and living, which was Achurch in Northamptonshire. This favour is conceived to proceed from the promises he made of conformity, together with the interest of his powerful kindred. He allowed a salary for one to discharge his cure; and though he opposed his parishioners in judgment, yet agreed in taking their tithes. He was of a nature uncontrollable, so far from the sabbatarian strictness afterwards espoused by some of his followers, that he seemed rather a libertine therein. In a word, he had (says my author) a wife with whom he never lived, and a church in which he never preached, though he received the profits thereof; and as all the other scenes of his life were stormy and turbulent, so was his end; for the constable of his parish requiring somewhat roughly the payment of certain rates, his passion moved him to blows, whereof complaint being made to justice St. John, he rather inclined to pity than punish him; but Brown, at fair words also disgusted, ceased not till he was sent to Northampton gaol on a bed in a cart, being very infirm, and aged above eighty years; where soon after he sickened and died anno 1630. Thus the church historians have painted out this story, but in larger dimensions. See Fuller, &c. As for Brown's tenets, it is said one Bolton first broached them among us, and that they are only revived from the ancient Donatists; but those who think it worth while to hunt more distinctly after them, may read Dr. Fulk; Rogers on the Sixteenth Article; Dayrel against the Brownists; Bredwell's Detection of Glover the Brownist; Gifford's Treatise of English Donatists, with his Reply to Barrow and Greenwood; and Stow's Chronicle; where it appears the Brownists' books were prohibited by authority, and that some were hanged for dispersing them, with such like writings. There is a volume (containing some ingenious remarks) ascribed to the earl of Anglesea, and

"danger may grow to ourselves, if this law pass, were fit to "be considered. For it is to be feared that men not guilty "will be included in it: and that law is hard, that taketh "life, and sendeth into banishment, where men's intentions "shall be judged by a jury, and they shall be judges what "another means. But that law which is against a fact is "but just; and punish the fact as severely as you will. "If two or three thousand Brownists meet at the sea, at "whose charge shall they be transported, or whither will "you send them? I am sorry for it, but I am afraid there "are near twenty thousand of them in England; and when "they are gone, who shall maintain their wives and chil-"dren[b]?" A committee was therefore appointed to revise and correct this bill, among whom Ralegh is the foremost named; who, after many substractions, alterations, and debates, moved it might be read to the house for their approbation: and, after many arguments and conferences, being read the third time, as were also the additions and amendments, it passed upon the question. Ralegh was frequently in committees upon other bills during this session, till it was dissolved on the 10th of April following; but as his arguments upon them are not preserved, we shall refer to the titles of these bills in the Journals of Parliament, whence we have extracted his speeches upon those before mentioned.

This year we met with a notable libel in print, set forth by a *lover of his country*, as he calls himself, to expose and scandalize certain ministers and counsellors of state, who had been instrumental in framing that searching proclamation against the seminaries which was published about two years before[c]. For the king of Spain having lately founded an English cloister at Valladolid, as a nursery to supply us

named, The happy future State of England; which, fol. 280, quotes from this speech of sir Walter Ralegh's his observation above, to what number the Brownists were so early multiplied; yet, as he adds, the name of these schismatics is now evaporated, and their tenets almost universally unknown.

[b] Townshend's Historical Collections, fol. 76. and D'Ewes' Journal, fol. 517.

[c] Elizabethæ Reginæ Angliæ Edictum, promulg. Lond. Nov. 29, 1591. et Andr. Philopatris ad idem Responsio. 8vo. Lugd. ap. J. Didier. 1593.

with treason and rebellion; so many hopeful stocks of that species were soon transplanted into England, as occasioned the said proclamation to extirpate them. Now this answer was published to calumniate the supposed authors of it; and as Ralegh appears, among other very good company, to have his share of the slander therein, so he might probably have had a hand in those wholesome articles for the safety of the realm which occasioned it. For, to the great honour of his knowledge in the constitution of his country, and his constant zeal for its security and welfare, he was, though no counsellor of state, often called to the council-table; where no small deference was paid to his arguments and observations in the various debates that arose upon matters in church or state, in war or peace. After this libel has reviled the greatest and wisest ministers of the nation, it seems to have reserved the quintessence for him, who had the ability so many ways to crush the pernicious purposes which were daily hatching by the viperous brood which brought it forth; though, after all, by embarking his character in such an old and shattered bottom of detraction, it is much they could so long keep its weatherbeaten credit afloat: and indeed how they came to launch first out into such an improbable contumely seems a mystery comprehensible only to the patron of their iniquity. For Ralegh had given such proofs of his sound and sincere affection to religion, some of which have in the foregoing pages been noted, that his sentiments were made use of to reform or regulate even the professors of it; yet now his head must be turned so excessively to its detriment, as to provoke this libeller's pious spleen against nothing less than sir Walter Ralegh's *school of atheism;* compendiously insinuating, as if truly he was not satisfied with being a disciple, but set up for a doctor in his faculty, and won young "gentlemen "into his said school; wherein the Old and New Testa-"ment were jested at, and scholars taught to spell God "backwards." Then he complains, "what a miserable "thing it is, that her majesty should make laws and procla-

Aspersed with atheism.

" mations according to these men's senses and opinions[d]." But there may need little pains to blunt the point of this dart, when we shall further consider that it came out of a jesuitical quiver; for by whom should it be levelled against him but Robert Parsons, the notorious traitor and incendiary! however deeply he disguised himself into a *lover of his country*. So that, till we shall find a more credible father for the aspersion, we may safely enough believe it no genuine issue of truth: nevertheless, some ten years after, when Ralegh was trampled down by the court, and there was a turn of state to serve, this might be a good serviceable obloquy enough to upbraid him with, and depreciate him in the eye of the populace. But these prejudiced representations will probably be thought of so little authority, that the reasons and matter of fact which have been produced in a poetical performance, may be sufficient to make those stains even befriend his reputation, and brighten it in clearing them away[e].

[d] See the said Respons. ad Elizab. Reg. Edictum contra Catholicos, under that name of Andr. Philopater; also an extract or abbreviation of the same in English, printed at London in 8vo. near the same time: and the same extract, or another of it, in a late collection, named Miscellanies Historical and Philological, &c. found in a nobleman's study, 8vo. 1703. p. 171. It is in this book called, "An advertisement to a secretary of the lord treasurer's, by an English intelligencer, &c. concerning a book writ in Latin, and published in divers languages, against her majesty's late proclamation for search and apprehension of seminary priests and their receivers." That intelligencer gives this character of it; "I assure you, it is the most sharp, bitter, and odious thing that ever, I think, was written by the papists." See the said Miscellanies, p. 164. Will. Watson the secular priest, speaking of Blackwell the arch-priest's inhibition against certain catholic books, says, "Among other errors committed by him therein, it was one, that he would suffer all Parsons's seditious books to pass current; as his Philopater, speaking most rebellionaly against her majesty and the whole state and nobles of the land." See his Quodlibets of Religion and State, 4to. 1602. p. 107. There was also the like extract of this Philopater made in some collections of poetry, history, &c. by John Heyward, of Gray's Inn, esq. which I have seen in a quarto volume among the MSS. of the late curious Thomas Granger, esq. which collections are likewise mentioned in the Catalogue of the remaining part of his MSS. p. 6. N°. 18.

[e] The late Dr. George Sewell, in his tragedy of sir Walter Ralegh, 8vo. 1719. act I. scene 1. makes the following reflection on the attorney general's starting from the question in debate at Ralegh's trial, to upbraid him with this imputation of atheism.

Sir Julius Cæsar. When prejudice
and strong aversions work,
All whose opinions we dislike are
atheists:

Indeed there is a traditional author who accounts for the grounds of this aspersion in the following words; "Sir "Walter Ralegh was the first (as I have heard) who ven- "tured to tack about, and sail aloof from the beaten tract "of the schools; and who, upon the discovery of so ap- "parent an error as a torrid zone, intended to proceed in "an inquisition after more solid truths: till the mediation "of some, whose livelihood lay in hammering shrines for "this superannuated study, possessed queen Elizabeth that "such doctrine was against God, no less than her father's "honour; whose faith (if he owned any) was grounded "upon school divinity: whereupon she chid him; who "was (by his own confession) ever after branded with the "title of an atheist, though a known assertor of God and "providence[f]." That he was such assertor seems to be affirmed by an author of his acquaintance, who introduces the apparition of sir Walter speaking to him in this manner: "Thou well knowest that the world hath, at sundry times,

Now 'tis a term of art, a bugbear word,
The villain's engine, and the vulgar's terror.
The man who thinks and judges for himself,
Unsway'd by aged follies, rev'rend errors,
Grown holy by traditionary dullness
Of school-authority; he is an atheist!
The man who, hating idle noise, preserves
A pure religion seated in his soul;
He is a silent, dumb, dissembling atheist!

Lord Howard. I had forgot it—yes, the base-tongu'd gownsman
Did call him atheist—so men judge at home,
Who never trac'd a Providence at sea,
And saw his wonders in the mighty deep.
The atheist-sailor were a monstrous thing,
More wonderful than all old ocean breeds!
But I will witness for my Ralegh's faith;
Yes, I have seen him when the tempest rag'd,
When from the precipice of mountain-waves
All hearts have trembled at the gulf below,
He, with a steady, supplicating look,
Display'd his trust in that tremendous Pow'r,
Who curbs the billows, and cuts short the wings
Of the rude whirlwind in its midway course,
And bids the madness of the waves to cease.
O, fellow soldier! were that folly thine,
Though thou wert dearer than the love of honour
To this old bosom, I would pluck thee hence,
Though my heart crack'd ——

[f] Francis Osborne's Miscellany of sundry essays, paradoxes, &c. in preface to the reader, among his works, the last edition, vol. 1. 12mo. 1722.

"cast a foul and most unjust aspersion upon me for my "presumed denial of a Deity, from which abominable and "horrible crime I was ever most free, and not any man "now living better knows the same than thyself; in whose "presence I was often accustomed highly to praise and "esteem the book of Lessius, written in proof of the being "of a Deity." So requests, that he would translate the same into English, "which I myself," says the ghost, "had "done, if cruel fate had not untimely cut off the thread of "my mortality; and let the title bear my name; that so "the readers may acknowledge it was done by my solici-"tation." Then the said translator of that book says in his own person to the reader, "It is well known that sir Wal-"ter was a man of great natural parts, and yet was sus-"pected of the most foul and execrable crime of atheism; "how truly, God and himself only knows; *yet I have rea-"son to think it a false aspersion* [g]." If thus much is said of Ralegh by an author who knew him, what credit shall we pay to another who wrote many years later; never knew him, produces no authority for the principles he charges upon him, yet pretends to give us the tutor's name from whom he imbibed them; and that, a man of no less learning and merit than the famous Mr. Thomas Hariot [h]? This was that English philosopher from whose illustrious discoveries, he, who was the glory of the French philosophers, is not denied to have borrowed much of the light wherewith he shone [i]: this was that excellent mathematician, who, says

[g] Sir Walter Ralegh's Ghost: or his apparition to an intimate friend, willing him to translate into English the learned book of Leonard Lessius, entitled, De Providentia Numinis, et Animi Immortalitate, &c. 8vo. 1651. with sir Walter Ralegh's picture before it, graved by R. Vaughan.

[h] Ant. Wood, Ath. Oxon. vol. 1. col. 460.

[i] This assertion will further appear to any who shall have the curiosity to consult the late learned Dr. John Wallis, in his treatise of Algebra, where he compares the improvements which Hariot made with what Descartes has advanced as his own, without mentioning the name of this Englishman in his geometry; and gives it clearly on Hariot's side. Nay, this plagiarism was so well known, as to have been objected against monsieur Descartes in his own country; and the Frenchman, who has paid the singular honours to his memory of writing his life, having confessed it was the opinion of some, that he stole his method of algebra from one Hariot, an Englishman, does not go about to contradict it. See the Life of monsieur Descartes, translated from the French by S. R. 8vo. Lond. 1693. p. 283.

our author Wood aforesaid, "coming to the knowledge of "this heroic knight, sir Walter Ralegh, was entertained by "him in his family, who allowed him a yearly pension[k], "and was instructed by him at leisure hours in that "science[l]." This was that virtuous and religious man, who, being sent over by sir Walter Ralegh with his first colony to Virginia, but did not bear him company, as the said author mistakes, to survey the bounds of the English discoveries, with the commodities and customs of the country, did first communicate the gospel to those heathen inhabitants; and, "in every town where he came, explained to "them the contents of the Bible; declaring, that therein "was set forth the true and only God, and his mighty "works; that therein was contained the true doctrine of "salvation through Christ; with many particulars of mira-"cles and chief points of religion, as I was able then to "utter," continues he, "and thought fit for the time. And "though I told them the book, materially and of itself, "was not of such virtue as I thought they did conceive, "but only the doctrine therein contained; yet would many "be glad to touch it, to embrace it, to kiss it, to hold it to "their breasts and heads, and stroke over all their bodies "with it, to shew their hungry desire of that knowledge "which was spoken of[m]." Yet this is the man whom the above cited Anthony Wood charges with having had strange thoughts of the scripture; with undervaluing the old story of the creation; with never believing that trite position, *Ex nihilo nihil fit;* with making a philosophical theology, wherein he cast off the Old Testament; so that consequently the New would have no foundation. Further, with being a Deist, and imparting his doctrine to the earl of Northumberland, into whose service Ralegh had recom-

[k] Vid. Pref. R. Hakluyt ad Orbem Novum, scriptum per Pet. Martyr. Angl. 8vo. Paris, 1587. of which I have met with this note:

Editor dicat Gualtero Raleghe, quem impense laudat: Bibliopola vero chartam geographicam Ricardo Hakluyto dicat.

[l] Athen. Oxon. ubi supra.

[m] See Mr. Hariot's brief and true report of the Newfoundland of Virginia, &c. in Hakluyt, vol. 3. p. 277, 278.

mended him, and of whom he also received a yearly pension of a hundred and twenty pounds. Lastly, with infusing those principles likewise into sir Walter Ralegh himself, when he was compiling his History of the World. This last insinuation, and probably all the rest, is surely a manifest slander, as Wood himself must have owned, if he had sufficiently read that History of the World; where sir Walter Ralegh has in many places given stronger evidences of his Christian faith, than any of his detractors ever did of theirs. And however Hariot might controvert certain theological matters with some divines of those times, which made them have no good opinion of him, (says Wood,) and look upon the manner of his death as a judgment; not unlike the charity of some divines in all times; yet enough of his religious character [n] might be said, as there has been of

[n] For would Dr. Richard Corbet, as orthodox a divine as any of them, and afterwards a bishop of the church, tell sir Thomas Aylesbury, that "Hariot's deep mine was without dross," if it had any such allay? See his Poems, 8vo. 3d edit. 1672. p. 56. Would another as grave and virtuous an author as any in those times, Mr. George Chapman, his contemporary, tell all who knew him, in the preface to his Homer's Iliad, "That some places he had shewn to his worthy and most learned friend Mr. Hariot; whose judgment and knowledge in all kinds I know," says he, "to be incomparable and bottomless; yea, to be admired as much as *his most blameless life, and the right sacred expense of his time, is to be honoured and reverenced:*" if this were not his true character? Nor is it likely the earl of Northumberland would also have made such a man a domestic, and allowed him so handsome a salary, to have infected his sons with atheistical principles: neither would Hariot's noble executors, sir Thomas Aylesbury and Robert Sidney, viscount Lisle, have bestowed on him, in St. Christopher's church, London, where he was buried in July 1621, a monument, since destroyed by the great fire, with an inscription that might have been contradicted by all the town, if it had been false; beginning as follows: *Omnes scientias calluit, et in omnibus excelluit; mathematicis, philosophicis, theologicis, veritatis indagator studiosissimus, Dei trinunius cultor piissimus*, &c. As to the manner of his death, Dr. Alex. Rhead, in his works, Lond. 1650. treatise 2. lect. 26. speaking of the lip, says, "That cancerous ulcers often seize on that part; and that this grief hastened the end of that famous mathematician Mr. Hariot, with whom I was acquainted," says he, "but a short time before his death." He adds none of those scandalous reflections aforesaid; and whether it begun first in his lip, seems not to have known; though possibly the brass instruments which mathematicians are so familiar with, and, for readiness, often hold in their mouths, might occasion such a disease. But I have seen an epigram in MS. as old as the time of his death, which makes an allusion or comparison between the ulcer in Mr. Hariot's nose, and that in count Gondomar's posteriors, (who had a fistula;) and my reader may see that epigram too, if he pleases; for it is lately printed by Mr. Morgan, in his Phœnix Britannicus, or Revival of scarce Tracts, 4to. 1731. p. 368. As

his patron sir Walter Ralegh's, to clear them both from this common and threadbare calumny.

As for Ralegh, what might not a little sharpen these detractions against him, was perhaps a grant about this time made him from the crown of some church-lands; a course of reward usual with queen Elizabeth towards such as had performed any considerable services for the state. The story, as we are forced to gather it from those authors, by whom it has not been over-favourably told, is, that about the year 1594[o] the bishop of Salisbury, Dr. John Coldwell, who had been bred a physician, gave his see a strong purge, by alienating the manor of Sherborne to sir Walter Ralegh. Sir John Harrington, before quoted, speaks of an ominous presage, to make his tale as affecting as he can to prince Henry, and insinuate the displeasure even of Heaven against sir Walter Ralegh; where he observes, "That sir Walter, "using often to ride post in these days, upon no small em-"ployments, between Plymouth and the court, when Sher-"borne castle being right in the way, he cast such an eye "upon it, as Ahab did," says he, "upon Naboth's vineyard; "and once above the rest being talking of it, of the com-"modiousness of the place, of the strength of the seat, "and how easily it might be got from the bishopric; "suddenly, over and over came his horse, that his very "face, which was then thought a very good face, ploughed "up the earth where he fell. This fall was ominous, I "make no question," says he, "as the like was observed in "the lord Hastings, &c. but his brother Adrian would "needs have him interpret that, not as a courtier, but as a "conqueror, it presaged the quiet possession thereof. And "this, through the queen's favour, came to pass[p]." For after Dr. John Piers was translated to York, this Dr. Coldwell was elected to succeed him in the see of Salisbury; but

to his learned writings, they are mentioned by Ant. Wood; but not all of them, for he wrote a chronicle of Virginia, besides the Brief Report thereof before quoted; and mentions the particulars of that chronicle in the said Brief Report. See Hakluyt, vol. 3. fol. 280.

[o] Richard Izacke's Antiquities of Exeter, 8vo. 1681. p. 141.

[p] Harrington's Brief View of the State of the Church of England, &c. p. 92.

it lay vacant three years: in which dangerous juncture for denial, all the doctor's church-preferments being disposed of, yet before his election was confirmed, sir Walter Ralegh (as the church-historians have coloured it out) assaulted his consent; importuned him to pass Sherborne to the crown, and effected it; so shot the good old man (as one of them phrases it) *between wind and water;* though indeed (confesses) a good round rent was reserved to the bishopric. Then sir Walter begged the same of the queen, and obtained it; much after the same method sir William Killigrew got the manor of Crediton (a bough almost as big as the rest of the body) from the church of Exeter, by the consent of bishop Babington [q]. We shall leave it for Harrington to determine whether Ralegh, who was now so high in the queen's favour, might with less suit than he was fain to make to her before he could perfect this purchase, (as he perhaps at last justly calls it,) and with less money than he bestowed afterwards on Sherborne, in buying out leases and in drawing the river through rocks into his garden, have compassed a better, without giving umbrage to church or state: while from others we observe, that Ralegh embellished his sovereign's bounty with great magnificence and commendation; not that he was in danger thereby of falling under the remark he has made on common builders of sumptuous seats, *That men are rather known by their houses, than their houses by them* [r]; it not being easy for him, who had been such a solid architect in the temple of fame, to make his habitation more considerable than its inhabitant, or raise any edifice with his fortune, which should be more

His manor of Sherborne.

[q] Fuller's Church History, lib. 10. p. 27. Where he also observes, that among the acts passed in king James the First's parliament, none were more beneficial for the church, than that which made the king himself and his successors incapable of any such church-land to be conveyed to them; yet some, adds he, were so bold as to conceive this law void in the very making of it, and that all the obligations thereof consisted, not in the strength of the law, but only in the king's and his successors' voluntary obedience thereunto: accounting it injurious for any prince in parliament to tie up his successors, who neither can nor will be concluded thereby further than it stands with their own convenience: however, it was to stand in force till the same power should be pleased to rescind it.

[r] History of the World, lib. 5. sect. 4. cap. 1.

illustrious than what he had already founded by his virtue. Yet his elegant taste in building is sufficiently attested by an author who surveyed the improvements he made upon this estate when they were fresh and in their splendour, and who tells us, "That the queen having granted the fee-farm "of Sherborne to sir Walter Ralegh, he began to build the "castle very fairly; but altering his purpose, he built in "the park adjoining a most fine house, which he beautified "with orchards, gardens, and groves of much variety and "great delight: so that, whether you consider the pleasant-"ness of the seat, the goodness of the soil, or the other deli-"cacies belonging to it, it rests," says he, "unparalleled by "any in these parts[s]." How he came afterwards to be juggled out of it may also sufficiently appear, when we arrive at the latter part of his life. But here, since we have touched something upon gardening, we may take an opportunity of remembering a plantation of his, which is somewhat observable. A late author mentions it with respect to him, but in a distant manner; where, telling us "that "Beddington, near Croydon in Surrey, is a neat curious "seat, built by sir Francis Carew[t];" he further adds, "The orchards and gardens are very pleasant, and espe-"cially famous for the orange-trees, which have now grown "there above these hundred years; being planted in the "open ground, under a moveable covert, during the winter "months: they were the first that were brought into Eng-"land, by a knight of that noble family; who deserves no "less commendation than Lucullus met with for bringing "cherry and filbert-trees out of Pontus into Italy; for "which he is celebrated by Pliny and others[u]." Now it

And buildings there.

[s] See Coker's Survey of Dorsetshire, fol. 1732. p. 124.

[t] Fuller, in his Worthies of Surrey, says, it was sir Nicholas Carew, (put to death by king Henry VIII. for retorting some sharp words upon him, with more truth than discretion,) who built the fair house, or palace rather, at Beddington, which, by the advantage of the water, is a paradise of pleasure. However sir Francis, who was a curious and polite gentleman, and lived very nobly here the latter end of queen Elizabeth's reign, did enrich it with considerable improvements.

[u] Addit. to Camden's Britan. translated by the present bishop of London, fol. 1695. p. 166. Upon which we may observe, though the English have not been so grateful as the Romans were in celebrating those

has been a constant tradition at Beddington, that this knight of that noble family was sir Walter Ralegh, who was allied thereto, if not otherwise, by the last of that surname's adopting his near kinsman, a Throgmorton, to be his heir, on condition that he would assume the name and arms of Carew[x]: and how Ralegh became related to the Throgmortons will in a little space appear. But that we might not here want such further confirmation as the place will afford of the first planter of that famous orangery, whereof there are several trees still flourishing of the original plantation, which are the stateliest and most perfect bearers of this fruit in England, I have been obliged with the gentleman's answer to the inquiry who now dwells at the seat; and his words are, "It is the common opinion of this family, "that sir Walter Ralegh, who was related to it, brought "over and planted the old orange-trees here[y]." But in the house they preserved a fine cabin-bed which was his, having furniture of green silk, and legs carved like dolphins, gilt with gold. In short, the seat was now so frequented, that not only Ralegh and other courtiers, but the queen received here many agreeable entertainments[z]; for some of

His orangery at Beddington.

worthy persons who have made the like beneficial importations to the lasting ornament and fertility of their country; yet that we have had some authors not altogether silent in these vegetable antiquities, from whom we learn, that Dr. Linacre first brought into this land that prince of flowers the damask rose; that the Perdigwen plum, with two kinds more, were first made natives of this soil by Thomas lord Cromwell, when he returned from his travels; and the apricock, by a priest named Wolfe, gardener to king Henry VIII. In this reign were also first propagated among us hops and artichokes; and then were cherry orchards first planted here, about Sittingborne in Kent, with a more improved kind of that fruit, brought from Flanders by one Harris, another of that king's gardeners: but what effect Cardan's recommendation of olive-trees had with king Edward VI. I find not. In the reign of queen Elizabeth, when Edmund Grindal, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, returned from exile, he first transported the tamarisk, so useful in medicine against diseases of the spleen. Then also, after our opening a trade with Zant, the shrub which bears the currants was first transplanted hither. In 1578, the tulip first shewed her gaudy garment in English ground; and, lastly, not to extend further on this subject now, as for the profitable plant tobacco, and that princely one the orange-tree, enough is said above in the body of this work, to the honour of sir Walter Ralegh.

[x] Fuller's Worthies, as before.

[y] Extract of a letter from Beddington, dated Dec. 19, 1733.

[z] Sir Hugh Plat informs us, "That "delicate knight, sir Francis Carew, "once making a splendid entertain-"ment for queen Elizabeth, at Bed-"dington, led her majesty after din-

which she could not escape the censure of her jesuited enemies.

Of the other places of residence which Ralegh might have, besides what is before mentioned, to compass a perfect knowledge, would need more time and pains than at last perhaps might be thought necessary here to bestow. As to the seat at West Horsley in Surry, there is good authority that it was in the possession of his son, as will be further observed, if not his own; and in the hall of that house there are in several places of the walls and ceiling the arms of Ralegh still visible[a]. But there is a house no further

" ner, to a cherry-tree in his garden, " which had on it fruit in their prime, " then above a month after all cher- " ries had taken their farewell of " England. This retardation he per- " formed by straining a tent or can- " vass cover over the whole tree, and " wetting it as the weather required " with a scoop; so by obstructing " the sunbeams, they grew both " great, and were very long before " they gained their perfect cherry- " colour; and when he was assured " of the time her majesty would " come, he removed the tent, and a " few sunny days brought them to " their full maturity." See his Garden of Eden, 12mo. 1655. p. 165.

[a] With a draught whereof having been obliged (among many other useful particulars) by the ingenious Mr. George Vertue, I find that coat agree with the arms upon sir Walter Ralegh's seal in yellow wax to the letter before exhibited; and also with the draught represented before his life, in Prince's Worthies of Devon; where, as this author blazons it, he " bears gules, five fusils in bend ar- " gent." But Prince further adds, " a " label of three points azure;" which the draught from Horsley-hall does not specify: neither do I remember to have observed this distinction in the impression of sir Walter Ralegh's said seal. Nor is it in that seal, of which a fair impression remains, upon another letter he wrote about this time to the lord treasurer's secretary Hext, or Hicks, also before mentioned, and lately communicated to me by the obliging James West, esq. where the crest is the same with that in the other seal; but in the dexterchief of the shield, that other family distinction of a martlet, as I take it. As for his crest, it appears in those seals, as I before remarked, to have been a stag, or other like animal; but at Horsley, and under the sculpture of sir Walter Ralegh, before his History of the World, it is, I think, a cap of honour; to which possibly it might afterwards be changed for his further merits of it. And as for the motto, it is at Horsley, *Amore et virtute;* as also to his arms before the History aforesaid. Hooker, in his dedication of the Irish Chronicles, often before quoted, explaining or mythologizing the signatures of Ralegh's arms, shews us at the same time what they were. For telling him he is taught to be careful in restoring the house of his decayed forefathers, not only by their good examples, but also by the ensigns of their and his own nobility; he adds, " the fusils, being an " instrument of travel and labour, " advertise you that you are one of " the sons of Adam, born to walk in " a vocation, and therein to be a " profitable member of the church of " God, and in maintenance of the " common society. The white co- " lour, or silver metal, doth teach " you virtue, sincerity, and godli- " ness, &c. And therewith also, " which by the gulie colour is meant " —you be bold and valiant for the " defence of your country, and for " the safety thereof to spend both life

His house at Islington.

from London than Islington, about a bow's-shot on this side the church, which, though I think it has no such evidences remaining upon its walls, ceilings, or windows, that will prove him to have been its owner, the arms that are seen there, above a hundred years old, being of a succeeding inhabitant, is yet popularly reported to have been a villa of his. For the present tenant affirms, "his landlord[b] "was possessed of some old account books, by which it ap- "pears beyond all doubt this house and fourteen acres of "land, now let at about seventy pounds per ann. did be- "long to sir Walter Ralegh; and that the oldest man in "the parish[c] would often declare his father had told him, "sir Walter purposed to wall in that ground, with inten- "tion to keep some of his horses therein; further, that "some husbandmen ploughing up the same a few years "since, found several pieces of queen Elizabeth's money, "whereof they brought, whatever they might reserve to "themselves, about fourscore shillings to their master, the "said tenant," in whose hands I have seen of the said coin. As for the house, it is, and has been for many years, an inn; so that what it was is not clearly to be judged from its present outward appearance, it being much impaired, or very coarsely repaired, and diminished perhaps from what it might be when persons of distinction lived in it. For there is now to be seen but a narrow front, which soon coming to an angle, shoots down backwards only one range of buildings; as if another part of the front was wanting on this side, for the gateway to appear in the middle, and such another range of buildings where the new parsonage-house now stands, to make the whole uniform. However, there are withinside some handsome spacious rooms; the parlour was painted round the uppermost part of the wainscot, in about a dozen pannels, with scripture histories; but now so old and decayed, as to be scarcely distinguishable. There is

"and goods: such were your an- "cestors, and so it shall be with "you," &c. which, by the way, was a perfect prophecy.

[b] Justice Milner, late of Hatton-Garden.

[c] Mr. Whitford, as I remember, lately deceased.

also a noble dining-room, the ceiling whereof is all over wrought in plastic or fret work, with representations of the five senses; and the chimney-piece, with the three principal Christian virtues. But the arms in the window, as well as in that of the hall, are by the present inhabitants erroneously called sir Walter Ralegh's; there being a date under one of the coats, which shews it was annealed six years after his death. So that we are not sure the decorations aforesaid were done by his direction, or that others more rich and elegant were not in their stead before them. As for his dwellings in London, we have read before, that he had apartments in the court at Somerset-house, and shall read hereafter of some acquaintance resorting to him at Durham-house in the Strand; that he had a house by the Thames' side, which might be the same; and another at St. James's, or apartments also in the court there: but to be distinct and particular in these would be a task perhaps more difficult than profitable to attempt.

The truth is, sir Walter Ralegh did not live so long at court, and so much about the dazzling beauties in it, without having the wings of his glory, at last, somewhat singed in the flames thereof: yet love, which in some other great courtiers of those times was the grand business of their life, seemed only an interlude in his. And though a gratification of this passion is usually thought lighter of in martial men, and those embarrassed with the weight of public action, as a convenient relaxation of their cares, or reward of their toils and perils; yet a more severe construction was made of a little indulgence Ralegh might about this time take of that kind, than was in some others, who more frequently and notoriously made a practice thereof. Whether it was that his greater merits, in other parts of his conduct, made malice more poignant in this; or that little failings are not thought such in those where we commonly see, and therefore constantly expect, great virtues; whereby men of superior qualifications undergo greater discredit than their inferiors for the same misdeeds; as any disproportion or disfigurement in a statue of gold or alabaster gives us

more displeasure than one in stone or common clay; and we look with regret upon the flaws in a diamond, while even greater in the flint do not affect us: but this seems to have been Ralegh's case. For there was among the queen's maids of honour a beautiful young lady, (as her picture represents her,) named Elizabeth, daughter of sir Nicholas Throgmorton, an able statesman and ambassador, whose negotiations and character are recorded both by the French and Scotch, as well as English historians of those times [d]. With this lady Ralegh had, it seems, an amour; and, as he was a man of nervous address, won her heart even to the last favour (if we may use the phrase of a polite author) inclusive. This intimacy came at last to the queen's knowledge; whether enviously betrayed by any female confident, as some might apprehend, from a character Ralegh would bestow upon the ladies of the privy-chamber and bedchamber; being wont to say, "They were like witches, who "could do hurt, but could do no good [e];" or whether the intrigue could not be long concealed for the fruits of it, as some, who manifestly slander Ralegh in other particulars, have not scrupled to suggest, the reader has it in his choice to believe. But in such colours this matter of devirginating a maid of honour was heightened, that Ralegh was out of favour again; also in confinement for several months; and when enlarged, forbidden the court [f]: whence the lady also was dismissed from her attendance. Yet, as heinous as this misdemeanour was in Ralegh, her majesty did not punish it in Leicester, Essex, and other courtiers, noted in their days for such intrigues; especially the former, who turned off Douglas Sheffield, by whom he had a son, to marry the earl of Essex's mother. But Ralegh very readily made the most honourable reparation he could, and cemented this flaw in their conduct, by marrying the object of his affection. It appears they lived

Married.

[d] Vide Thuanus, Wicquefort, Melvin, Camden's Annals, the Cabala, and Leicester's Commonwealth.

[e] Lord Bacon's Apophthegms, New and Old, 8vo. 1625. p. 45.

[f] Camden's Annals, 1595.

together ever after in the most exemplary degree of conjugal harmony; and when he was in his greatest troubles, there are testimonies from one, who was otherwise none of his greatest friends, of her extraordinary diligence and fidelity in making interest and applications to assuage them [g]. What his thoughts were of a married life, in comparison with a single one, may somewhat appear in that observation he made upon a certain nobleman's growing plump after matrimony, who was meagre before: for another person in company remarking thereupon, that it fared with him contrary to what it did with other married men, who usually at first became lean after it; Ralegh very pleasantly obviated the rarity, by saying, "Why there is no beast, that, "if you take him from the common, and put him into the "several, but he will grow fat [h]." Many years afterwards, when Ralegh wrote his Instructions to his son, he sufficiently explained this sentiment in the grave and paternal manner he is then writing, among others there laid down for his conduct in the choice of a wife; which topic he concludes with advising him "to bestow his youth so, that he "may have comfort to remember it when it has forsaken "him." And further, amongst the judicious precepts he there gives, one of them is; "That his son would ever-"more care to be beloved by his wife, than be besotted on "her." That in regard to the alterations of youthful affection, "If he cannot forbear to love, yet forbear to link." However, approves of a mature and settled choice at last, even while he is upon the stage of his virility. "For, be-"lieve it, the young wife betrayeth the old husband; and "she that had thee not in thy flower, will despise thee in "thy fall." But not to marry for beauty only, "lest "thou bind thyself for life to that which perchance will "never last or please one year." Nor yet an uncomely woman: "as much regard being due at least to our own issue "as to any other race of creatures; and comeliness in chil-

[g] Sir John Harrington, in his Brief View aforesaid.

[h] Lord Bacon's Apophthegms New and Old, p. 295.

"dren is riches, if nothing else be left them." He remains perhaps pretty safe in this opinion from many censures by the hard-favoured part of the sex, because he knew that few ladies would be positive upon this head in their right to reprove him; nor will widows believe he has treated them with rigour, while they remain in that state, since he has said, "Leave not thy wife to be a shame unto thee after "thou art dead; but that she may live according to thy "estate; especially if thou hast few children, and those "provided for." Though he does also further say, "Leave "her no more than of necessity thou must, but only during "her widowhood; for if she love again, let her not enjoy "her second love in the same bed wherein she loved thee; "nor fly to future pleasures with those feathers which death "hath pulled from thy wings[i]." Not that he was averse to second marriages, for he advised his own wife to marry again when he was in expectation of being suddenly divided for ever from her[k]. Many other weighty admonitions may be found relating to that sex among his writings, some of which we meet with, quoted by our most accomplished humanists and critics in the manners and passions of life, as from an author who had read their hearts through all their veils and disguises: but one of those writers, though he allows him all the advantageous views of life through such a variety of scenes, as "having lived in courts and "camps; travelled through many countries; seen many "men under several climates, and of as various com-"plexions;" yet thinks (in which every body will not agree) "he speaks of our impotence to resist the wiles of "women in very severe terms[l];" where Ralegh has upon the solid ground of the greatest examples admonished us, to what fatal inconveniences mankind is allured by their restless curiosity of knowing what is unfit for their know-

[i] Sir Walter Ralegh's Remains, 12mo. 1726. p. 62.

[k] The arraignment of sir Walter Ralegh, copied by sir Thomas Overbury, 4to. 1648. p. ult. and Ralegh's Remains aforesaid, p. 195.

[l] See the Spectator, vol. 7. N°. 510.

ledge, and the prevailing expedients to gratify it of dissimulate sorrow and unquietness [m].

While Ralegh was under the displeasure aforesaid, and in retirement, he projected a further removal from the court; the better by that distance, and some memorable exploit, to allay the malice of his enemies, and recover his sovereign's love. Some thought this an impolitic course; as if his foreign actions could not work so effectually to his advantage, as the applications of his adversaries to his disparagement [n]. And hereupon sir Robert Naunton says, "That finding his favour declining, and falling into a re-"cess, he undertook a new peregrination to leave that *terra* "*infirma* of the court for that of the wars, and by declin-"ing himself, and by absence, to expel his and the passion "of his enemies; which in court (says he) was a strange "device of recovery, but that he knew there was some ill "office done him, that he durst not attempt to mind any "other ways than by going aside, thereby to teach envy a "new way of forgetfulness, and not so much as to think of "him: howsoever, he had it always in mind never to forget "himself; and his device took so well, that at his return he "came in, as rams do by going backwards, with the greater "strength; and so continued to the last great in her "grace [o]." Thus also says another author; "His enemies "of greater rank kept him under; sometimes in, sometimes "out; and then he would wisely decline himself out of the "court road: and then you found him not but by fame; "in voyages to the West Indies, Guiana, new plantations, "Virginia, or in some expeditions against the Spaniard [p]." And thus writes a third to the same purpose: "It is ob-"servable, that sir Walter Ralegh was in and out at court "so often, that he was commonly called the tennis-ball of "fortune which she delighted to sport with. His enemies "perpetually brought him into disgrace with his mistress,

[m] Sir Walter Ralegh's History of the World, lib. 1. cap. 4. sect. 4.

[n] Lloyd's Observations on the Statesmen and Favourites of England, 8vo. 1665. p. 488.

[o] Fragmenta Regalia, p. 29.

[p] Aulicus Coquinariæ, p. 78.

"and his merit in a little time restored him again to her "favour: and as she always grew cold to the earl of Essex "after absence, so she ever received Ralegh with greater "marks of her esteem; and he was too hard for his rivals "by the very means which they intended for his destruc-"tion[q]." Certainly he deserved such good fortune, beyond all others, of a restitution to royal favour, who could so much more hazardously and heroically than any of them aspire to earn it; as now he abundantly manifested, in that grand and gallant undertaking to discover and conquer the large, rich, and beautiful empire of Guiana; an enterprise which had baffled the repeated efforts of some of the ablest and most renowned captains and cavaliers in Spain for near a hundred years past: for, in one of their own authors, we may read the names of many brave commanders, and their commendations for the miseries they endured, who within that space had trod this maze, and lost themselves, with some five hundred, some a thousand men apiece, in finding out this country[r]. And yet none of all their own authors have more nobly and liberally celebrated these, and other such like adventurers of the Spanish nation, than Ralegh himself has done[s]. How justly therefore his painful and

[q] Life of sir Walter Ralegh, in Lives English and Foreign, vol. 1. p. 98.

[r] Juan de Castellanos clerigo, in his book entitled, Primera parte de las Elegias de Varones illustres de Indias.

[s] Sir Walter Ralegh expressly points at the Spanish attempts upon Guiana, as any one may perceive who has read Castellano's Elogies, just before quoted, where he says, "Here I cannot forbear to commend "the patient virtue of the Spaniards. "We seldom or never find that any "nation hath endured so many mis-"adventures and miseries as the "Spaniards have done in their In-"dian discoveries; yet persisting in "their enterprises with an invincible "constancy, they have annexed to "their kingdoms so many goodly pro-"vinces, as bury the remembrance "of all dangers past. Tempests, "shipwreck, famine, overthrows, "mutinies, heat and cold, pesti-"lence, and all manner of diseases, "both old and new; together with "extreme poverty and want of all "things needful, have been the ene-"mies wherewith every one of their "most noble discoverers, at one time "or other, hath encountered. Many "years have passed over some of "their heads in the search of not so "many leagues; yea, more than "one or two have spent their labour, "their wealth, and their lives, in "search of a golden kingdom, with-"out getting further notice of it "than what they had at their first set-"ting forth. All which notwithstand-"ing, the third, fourth, and fifth, "have not been disheartened. Surely "they are worthily rewarded with "those treasuries and paradises

perilous enterprise for the same discovery will entitle him to praises equal with the most worthy of them, may soon appear, now that we are launching forth into the spacious and meandrous channels thereof.

For Ralegh, industrious in diving into the causes of so many failures, having informed himself what ambient courses the preceding adventurers had taken to arrive at the heart of the country they sought, and which was the shortest way to make a successful discovery, found that most of the Spanish attempts in these parts had failed through the mutinies and discords which they had fomented among themselves; as most of their conquests in others were much owing to the like factions among the Americans: and if "there was not an expert soldier or seaman but he "consulted," as one author observes upon his character in general, "nor a printed or manuscript discourse but he per-"used; whereby it came to pass, there were not exacter "rules or principles for both services than he drew[t];" much more may we believe he now particularly made use of these helps and lights to draw those rules and directions by, which this year (last mentioned, 1594) he gave to an old officer, captain Whiddon, whose experience he had before tried, for a voyage to the country aforesaid: and this same year that captain also returned from thence, with several inducing confirmations of the grandeur and opulency of Guiana, having learnt the same from some of the grand casiques, or principal rulers, upon the borders thereof; but not without complaints of some barbarous treachery from the Spanish governor, who had then got some footing there; and, after promises of suffering the Englishmen to furnish themselves with what supplies they wanted, decoyed several of them to their destruction. Ralegh had thus more spurs than one, inciting him to visit these regions in person;

"which they enjoy; and well they "deserve to hold them quietly, if "they hinder not the like virtues in "others, which (perhaps) will not be "found." History of the World, lib. 5. cap. 1. sect. 10.

[t] Lloyd's Observations on the Statesmen and Favourites of England, p. 486.

and the scheme he formed upon an answerable return, might, according to the probability of his own propositions, which will not be passed over, being founded upon the testimonies of the best informed writers, and intelligence of travellers into the country, have subjugated not only the Spanish West Indies, but Spain itself, to the crown of England: for if we could but compass golden territories in America, as the Spaniards had done, he doubted not to extend the empire of his royal mistress as far beyond the dominion of other European princes, as she surpassed them in her magnanimous virtues. And now this golden country made such invitations, being then no less, if not more confidently described and attested for such, than any other in those parts of the world [u], at least before they were perfectly discovered; he cheerfully determined, in quest there-

[u] The empire of Guiana is directly east from Peru towards the sea, and lies under the equinoctial line; was then governed by the same laws, and under the same religion. There are many attestations of the wonderful riches in these parts, especially the imperial city, which they called Manoa, where, Francisco Lopez, speaking of the magnificence of the emperor's court, says, "That all the "vessels of his house, table and "kitchen, were of gold and silver; "that in his wardrobe were hollow "statues of gold, which seemed "giants; and the figures, in pro-"portion and bigness, of all the "beasts, birds, trees, and herbs that "the earth brings forth, and of all "the fishes that the sea or waters of "his kingdom breeds. Finally, there "was nothing in his country whereof "he had not the counterfeit in gold." Vid. Franc. Lopez de Gomara, Hist. Gen. de las Ind. cap. 120. Further, that city of Manoa was by Juan Martinez, the first Christian who saw it, called El Dorado, or the Golden City, upon seeing the Guianians there, and all about the borders, in their drunken revels, anoint themselves with a glutinous balsam, and powder their naked bodies over with gold-dust, till they all glittered from head to foot. The substance of which report is at the end of the navigation of the great river of Marannon, written by Gonzalo Fernando de Oviedo to cardinal Bembo, and printed in the Raccolta delle Navigazioni, &c. da Giovanni Battista Ramusio, vol. 3. fol. 416. We may read also in Martin Fernandez de Encica's Discourse of the ports, creeks, and havens of the West Indies, dedicated to Charles the emperor, ann. 1518. in Lopez Vaz, and several other authors, repeated assurances of the mountains and rivers in this country abounding with gold. And this very year, that Ralegh sent for intelligence thither, there were Spanish letters taken at sea by captain Popham, (who laid them before the council,) wherein were many testimonies of gold and jewels found there in vast plenty; and a great idol weighing forty-seven quintals, with a bark brought from thence to Madeira, containing two millions of gold. Confirming also the natives besprinkling themselves over with the powder of gold when they entered their borracheras, or bacchanalian feasts, which the honourable Mr. Rob. Duddely, in his Voyage to the Isle of Trinidad, also mentions. See Hakluyt, vol. 3. fol. 634, 699, 778, 576, &c.

of, though through an ocean of difficulties, to wash away the malice of his adversaries at court, and render his character more impenetrable against the little censures which swarm in that theatre of circumvention to sting and fester superior merit: as if he thought no foreign expedition could be more hazardous to the brave, or such as cannot live without distinguishing themselves, than the busy factions and parties which are daily undermining them at home; but that, like Chabrias, and others of the greatest Athenians in his time, he should be removed from envy, as far as he was distant from his native country. With such like views Ralegh very speedily fitted out a fleet, and at a great expense; though the lord admiral Howard and sir Robert Cecil were at the further charge of augmenting it; such opinion they also had of this enterprise. We may distinguish five ships under him, besides barges, wherries, and other necessary tenders, in his own excellent narrative of this voyage, though he names them not at first setting out; because he seems not to have been then accompanied with more than one of them: but, as they afterwards joined him, he mentions them. Whence we understand the ship himself went in was his own, which he does not name; but the Lion's-Whelp, which was the lord admiral's, was commanded by captain George Gifford; captain Keymis had the command of a galego, besides a bark, which was committed to captain Cross, and another to captain Calfield. The whole number of men in this fleet is not mentioned; but the select company of officers, gentlemen, and soldiers, he used in his discoveries, exceeded not one hundred. Thus prepared, he departed from Plymouth on the sixth of February following, and made to the Grand Canaries, and so to Teneriffe, where he waited a while for the Lion's-Whelp, and for captain Amias Preston. But this captain disappointed him, and went upon another adventure, which proved some disadvantage in the prosecution of his discoveries. After seven or eight days, not seeing them, he proceeded for Trinidad with his own ship and captain Cross's only, (for the galego which set out with them lingered behind on the coast of

His voyage for the discovery of Guiana.

Spain.) They reached that isle on the 22d of March, and cast anchor at Point Curiapan, which the Spaniards called Punta de Gallo, situate in eight degrees, or thereabouts. In the four or five days he continued here, he came not to the speech of any Indian or Spaniard. On the coast he saw a fire, but for fear of the Spaniards none of the Indians dared to approach him. Then Ralegh, in his barge, coasted close along the shore, and landed in every cove, the better to know the island, while his ships kept the channel. From hence he removed in a few days up north-east, to recover that place the Spaniards call Puerto de los Espannoles, but the inhabitants, Conquerabia; and as before, (revictualling his barge,) he left the ships, and kept by the shore, that he might better speak with the inhabitants, and observe the rivers, watering-places, and ports in the island; of all which he took draughts as he passed along, which he reduced at last to one general map. At Parico he found a fresh-water river, and at Terra de Brea another port, called by the natives Piche, great quantities of very good oysters growing upon the branches of certain trees, here so numerous, that he travelled for a dozen miles together under them; which enabled him afterwards to rectify the ancient accounts of this tree, and the fond conceits of some moderns, that it was the tree of knowledge [x]. In short, he coasted three parts of the Isle of Trinidad, in the month he stayed there for captain Preston, the more exactly to make his draught thereof aforesaid [y]. At Puerto de los Espannoles he met with his

[x] It is the Indian fig, which he has curiously described; and how it bears oysters, by planting itself into the sea; so that one stem soon becomes a grove. See Hist. of the World, lib. 1. cap. 4. sect. 2.

[y] Martin Fernandez de Encica, before quoted, says, this island of Trinidad is twenty-five leagues in length, and as many in breadth; but Ralegh, who knew it much better, says, it is but narrow, and in the form of a sheep-hook; that the north part is mountainous, the soil excellent, and will bear sugar, ginger, or any other commodities the Indies yield; has store of deer, wild porks, fruits, fish, and fowl. Mr. Duddely, in his voyage thither before mentioned, called the bay under the point of Curiapan, Pelican's Bay, from the abundance of those birds there; says, they had also parrots in great number and variety; and, according to sir Walter Ralegh's account, divers beasts which the Indies have not, who adds, the Spaniards confessed they had found grains of gold in some of the rivers; but he tarried not in search thereof, through his desire of entering Guiana.

ships, and found a company of Spaniards keeping guard at the descent, who, in doubt of their own strength [z], offered signs of peace. He sent captain Whiddon to parley with them, whom he afterwards left buried in the island to his great grief, being a man, says Ralegh, most honest and valiant. From some of the Spanish soldiers, whom he found means to make free of their tongue by the help of wine, and from one of the Indian rulers, named Cantyman, whom captain Whiddon had been acquainted with, he gathered what strength the Spaniards were of, and how far it was to the city they had built under their governor don Antonio de Berreo. Here he found occasion of staying a while, both to have some reckoning with Berreo for his treacherous dealings with the English under Whiddon; and to learn also the strength, riches, and passages to several other parts of the country. But when Ralegh was credibly informed that the Spanish governor had sent for a recruit of soldiers, and how lamentably the natives suffered under his cruelties; that the very lords of the country were made his slaves; that he had put one of them, named Morequito, to death; that several others were then lying in chains, and languishing under the most exquisite tortures, he found sufficient occasion, not only to revenge the loss of his countrymen, but a good opportunity to gain the hearts of the Indians, by attempting to rescue them from this yoke of tyranny: and indeed without this attempt, in vain had any other been towards his intended discoveries. For, considering he was to enter Guiana in small boats, and to leave his ships some hundred miles behind, he was not unapprehensive how indiscreet he should be thought by all men, if he left also a garrison of enemies at his back, interested in the same enterprise, and in daily expectation of reinforcements from Spain: therefore, taking his advantage, he boldly set upon the corps du garde in the dusk of the evening; and having

[z] And yet the Spaniards had now gotten some three hundred soldiers there, as Mr. Duddely, in his Voyage above cited, informs us, which was the reason he could not attempt to displant them. Hakluyt, vol. 3. fol. 575.

put them to the sword, advanced with a hundred men, and by break of day took their new city, called San Joseph, which, at the entreaty of the Indians, he set on fire. Then were the natives in confinement set at liberty. Among them were five casiques, or petty kings in those parts[a]. These, all bound together in one chain, almost dead with famine, and wasted with torments, having had their naked bodies basted or dropped over with burning bacon, Ralegh also, to his great reputation, delivered from their captivity: and several years after, when this, with Ralegh's other noble acts among these Indians, was mentioned by some of our English adventurers to Guiana, it was freshly retained and gratefully acknowledged by them to his honour: when also one of their bravest princes, who had been in England, and christened Leonard Ragapo, came above a hundred miles to visit them, for the great love he bore to Ralegh; manifestly shewing how durably he had engaged their affection and desires for his return to be their ruler and protector[b]. But for the governor, who had imprisoned so many of them, he was now become a prisoner himself; and Ralegh, by his courteous treatment of him, reaped the fruit of that knowledge and experience he had gathered in the many years he had consumed, with great sums of money, upon the discovery of Guiana[c]. The same day that Ralegh made this conquest arrived captain Gifford and captain Keymis, and in their ships divers gentlemen and others, which to his little army was a great succour and solace. Then proceeding upon his discovery, Ralegh first

Fires the city of San Joseph.

Delivers five Indian princes from Spanish bondage.

Takes Berreo prisoner.

[a] Their names were Wannawanare, Carroaori, Maquarima, Tarroopanama, and Alterima.

[b] See captain Rob. Harcourt's Voyage to Guiana, 1608, in Purchas's Pilgrims, vol. 4. 1625. fol. 1268 and 1271.

[c] This Berreo was a man of great honour, and of a great heart, as Ralegh acknowledges, (at least while he was his prisoner) though otherwise unfit for his undertaking, as well for his cruelty, for which he would have been expelled, as being utterly unlearned, and not knowing the east from the west; therefore, no ways curious after the intelligence he should have procured: for though he had been eleven years upon this discovery, had lost above a thousand men; and, as he swore to Ralegh, had spent three hundred thousand ducats; yet never could he enter so far into the land as myself, (says Ralegh,) with that poor troop, or rather handful of men.

called all the chiefs of the island together, who were enemies to the Spaniards; for some of them Berreo had brought out of other countries, and planted there, to eat out and waste the natives; then by his Indian interpreter, whom he carried out of England, he made them understand "he was the servant of a queen, who was the greatest "casique of the north, and a virgin, who had more casiqui "under her than there were trees in that island: that she "was an enemy to the Castellani, in regard of their ty-"ranny and oppression; and having freed all the coasts of "the northern world from their servitude, had sent him to "free them also; and withal to defend the country of "Guiana from their invasion and conquest." Then he shewed them her majesty's picture, which they so admired and honoured, that it had been easy for him to have made them idolatrous thereof. The like and larger speeches he made in solemn manner to the rest of the nations, both in his passage to Guiana and to those of the borders: so as in that part of the world the queen of England's fame was diffused with great admiration. This done, Ralegh returned to Curiapan, and though he had learnt of Berreo that Guiana was some hundred miles further than the accounts he received of captain Whiddon had represented it, he kept the knowledge thereof from his company, whom he feared would have been discouraged thereby from prosecuting the discovery. When Ralegh had further gathered from Berreo the proceedings of the past adventurers and his own, of all which he gives us a succinct and curious history, he told him he was come upon the same design, and was resolved to see Guiana. Berreo used many arguments to dissuade him; as that he must venture in very light and small boats to pass so many dangerous shallows, and could not carry victuals enough above half the way; that none of the country would speak with him; and, if he followed them, would burn their towns; besides, the way was long, the winter at hand, and the rivers beginning to swell; but above all, that the kings and lords, who bordered upon Guiana, had decreed, that none of them should trade with any Chris-

His speech to the chiefs of Trinidad.

Discouragements.

tians for gold, because the same would be their own overthrow. Ralegh, resolving however to make trial, directed his vice-admiral, captain Gifford, and captain Calfield, to turn eastward against the mouth of the river Capuri, and gave them instructions to anchor at the edge of the shoal, and upon the best of the flood to thrust over; but they laboured in vain: nor did the flood continue so long, but the water fell before they could have passed the sands. Then Ralegh sent one King, master of the Lion's-Whelp, to try another branch, called the Amana, if either of the small ships would enter; but when he came to the mouth, he found it as the rest. After him went John Dowglass, who discovered four goodly entrances; but all shoaled and shallow in the bays leading to them. In the mean time Ralegh, fearing the worst, caused his carpenters to cut down an old galego boat, to fit her with banks for oars, and so as she might draw but five foot; in this went Ralegh, with gentlemen and officers to the number of threescore. In the Lion's-Whelp boat and wherry they carried twenty; captain Calfield, in his wherry, carried ten; and a barge of Ralegh's ten more. This was all the means they had, having left their ships at Curiapan, to carry a hundred men, with weapons and provisions for a month, exposed to all the extremes of the weather, all the hazards of the water; to lie open to the air, and upon hard boards by night; in storms of rain, or under the burning sun by day; to smell the wet clothes of so many crowded together, the dressing of their food, and that mostly stale fish, in the same place; to be in such a labyrinth of rivers, in such a remote and unknown region; what prison could be more loathsome and unhealthy? what prospect more fearful and desolate? At first setting out, they had twenty miles of a high sea to cross in these scanty boats; so that they were driven before the wind into the bottom of the bay of Guanipa, inhabited by inhuman cannibals, who shot poisoned arrows: and from thence to enter one of the rivers of which Dowglass had brought tidings. After four days they were past ebbing and flowing, and might have wandered a whole year about,

Yet leaves his ships at Curiapan.

Driven into the bay of Guanipa.

and never been able to extricate themselves, in such a general confluence or rendezvous of streams were they now bewildered; and so resembling one another, as not to be distinguished; but imperceptibly circulating and driving them about into the same places where they had been before; passing between many islands and straits, whose borders were so thickly arched and overshadowed with trees, as bounded their sight to the breadth of the river and length of the avenue, while the gloominess of the prospect added horror to the lonesomeness of the place. At length, on the 22d of May 1595, they fell into a river; which, because it had no name, they called the Red-cross river, these being the first Christians who ever entered the same. When they drew into the creek, which led to a town upon this river, their Indian pilot, named Ferdinando, landing, was set upon by his countrymen, who hunted him with dogs; whereupon Ralegh seized an old man passing that way, and threatened to cut off his head, if he would not procure his pilot's liberty: but he, by his agility, soon escaped them, and swam to Ralegh's barge: however, they kept the old man, and used him kindly, assuring themselves of useful information from a native so long conversant in those parts. And indeed, but for this accident, they had never found their way forward to the country they sought, nor back to that where their ships lay; the old man himself being often in the utmost perplexity which river to take, so numerous and intricate they were. Those people who dwell in the flooded lands of this insular and broken world, or in all the tracts towards Guiana, which the eight branches of the Orenoque fashion into islands, are generally called Tivitivas, but distinguished into two tribes, a hardy and valiant generation; who, though they inhabited houses on the ground in summer, yet in winter were forced to ascend and reside in the trees, where they built themselves artificial towns, and whole families were to be seen lodged in an arm or branch of those aerial or vegetable tenements; as it is written in the Spanish history of the West Indies, those people also did in the low lands near the gulf of Uraba;

And into the Red-cross river.

Among the Tivitivas.

for between May and September those islands are overflowed in some places twenty foot high by the said grand river of Orenoque.

Departing from this quarter of the Tivitivas, which was under the division or tribe called Ciawani, he kept passing up the river with the flood, and anchoring in the ebb; yet the third day of his entering the river aforesaid his galley ran aground, and stuck so fast, they all thought their discovery was at an end, and that the greatest number of them must live like rooks, and build them nests in the boughs; but, after emptying her ballast, and much labour, they got her afloat at the end of the fourth day, and struck into another river called the Great Amana, spacious and without winding, being one of the fairest branches of the grand Orenoque: but here the flood of the sea left them, and every man, from the highest to the lowest, was forced to tug by turns at the oar for several days, against a rapid current, and in a most sultry clime; for they were now in five degrees of the line. Many goodly rivulets they passed on either side, which Ralegh named in his map, and shewed their rise and descent. When three days more were passed over, his company began as well to despair at the length of the way, as to languish through excessive heat; and well might their courage, now their provision also began to fail; yet now had they most need of strength and vigour, when the current of the river grew most boisterous and violent against them. Here Ralegh had a great task to keep up the spirits of his disconsolate companions, which could not be done by exhortations, without example; without being ever foremost to endure labour, and the last who gratified himself with refreshment. He also strictly commanded his pilots to promise an end every next day; which honest deceit he used so often, they were forced to assure it would be at every reach. Thus while he was giving them hopes of attaining the land where their patience should be rewarded with plenty; while he was wringing out every man's thoughts of returning, by the strongest arguments which could be opposed; as, that they were now got so far, and

Enters the Great Amana.

In five degrees.

In great distress.

reduced to such slender accommodations, they could not avoid perishing if they returned, but might find relief in proceeding: Providence seems to have rewarded his trust in her by happily shifting the scene, and presenting the most beautiful landscape they had ever beheld. For here mountains, crowned with garlands of fruitful trees, invited one sense; and verdant plains of many miles extent, enamelled with groups of odorous flowers, regaled another. Birds of such sorts and colours as they had never seen[c] tempted them to supply themselves by their fowlingpieces; and fishes of various kinds, by their nets; without which, having little or no bread, and less drink, only the thick and troubled water of the river, they had been in the greatest extremity. Now the old Ciawanian they had taken, (as before mentioned,) persuading them he would lead them to a town up the branch of a river on the right hand, where they might be supplied with all conveniences, and return before night; Ralegh, leaving his galley, took eight musketeers in his barge, and with Gifford and Calfield in their wherries, having eight musketeers more, entered the mouth of that river; but rowed till sunset, and saw no sign of the town, even till they were forty miles distant from the galley, and the rowers were ready to give up the ghost. They had certainly hanged this pilot, but that their necessities were his security; for it was quite dark, and they knew not their way back again; but as they proceeded, the river grew so narrow, and was so overspread with trees from side to side, that they were all forced with their swords to cut a way for their oars, being still in hopes of a supper that would make amends for their breakfast. About one o'clock after midnight they discerned a light, and heard the barking of dogs; soon after, they found the village, and there they were stored with provisions, according to the promises of the old pilot.

Relieved.

[c] Sir Walter Ralegh afterwards made some very judicious philosophical observations on the birds and beasts that have been discovered in strange lands; tending to prove that the difference of colour or magnitude in many of them made not a difference of species. See his Hist. of the World, lib. 1. cap. 7. sect. 9.

In the mean time, the company in the galley manned out a boat in search of them; but next day they returned, and continued their course, after they had made this hungry and hazardous voyage for fourscore miles in that river; which, besides other strange fishes of marvellous bigness, abounded with those ugly serpents called crocodiles; whence the people named it the river of Lagartos. Ralegh had a very proper young negro attending upon him in his galley, who, leaping out to swim in the mouth of this river, was, in the sight of them all, instantly devoured by one of these amphibious animals. Not long after, being again in want of victuals, they took two canoes laden with excellent bread, being run ashore by the Indians in them, called Arwacas, who fled to hide themselves in the woods; fearing, through the prepossessions of the Spaniards, that Ralegh and his company were cannibals. Ralegh pursuing them, in hopes of some intelligence, found, as he was creeping through the bushes, a refiner's basket, there being in it quicksilver, saltpetre, and divers other materials for the trial of metals; and also the dust of some ore that had been refined: but in two other canoes which escaped them, they heard of a good quantity of ore and gold. Ralegh then landed more men, and offered five hundred pounds to any of his soldiers who should take one of the Spaniards, whom they thought to have also landed in these last canoes, but they escaped while he was pursuing the former: however, while he was in search of the Spaniards, he found the Arwacas hidden in the woods, who had been pilots for the Spaniards; of which Ralegh kept the chief for his pilot, and carried him to Guiana; by whom he understood in what parts the Spaniards laboured for gold, which he divulged to few of his company, knowing both the season of the year and other conveniences would be wanting to work any mine himself. Therefore he hasted away from this place, his purpose being at that time rather to discover what he could of the country, and win over the people to subjection. Here Ralegh's own words are: "To stay and dig "out gold with our nails had been *opus laboris*, but not

In the river of Crocodiles.

"*ingenii.* Such a quantity as would have served our turns "we could not have had; but a discovery of the mines to "our infinite disadvantage we had made; for those mines "(defended with rocks of hard stone, which we call white "spar) are not easily broken or opened in haste; and I "could have returned a good quantity of gold ready cast, "if I had not shot at another mark than present profit." Besides this restraint from all greediness after their gold, there was another virtue he no less strictly observed, which highly advanced him in the esteem of all those Indians. For whereas the Spaniards were wont to satisfy their lusts without control upon their wives and daughters, Ralegh suffered not a man of his so much as to touch any of their women. "I protest," says he, "before the majesty of the "living God, that I neither knew, nor believe that any of "our company, one or other, by violence or otherwise, "ever knew any of their women; and yet we saw many "hundreds, and had many in our power, and of those very "young and excellently favoured, which came among us "without deceit, stark naked." And because he found it a very troublesome work to keep the meaner sort from pilfering and spoil, when they went to any of the Indians' houses, Ralegh caused his interpreter at every place, when they departed, to inquire after, and know the losses or wrongs that had been done; and if he found any thing had been stolen or taken by violence, either the same was restored, and the party punished in their sight, or else it was paid for to their utmost demand.

His continence.

And justice.

After he was recruited as aforesaid with bread and other provisions, which greatly encouraged his men, who now cried out, "Let us go on, we care not how far;" Ralegh sent back in one of the canoes the old Ciawan, and Ferdinando, his first pilot; giving them such things as they desired for their voyage, and wrote a letter to his ships, which they delivered, and then he went on under the pilotage of one of those Arwacas he had taken, whom the Spaniards had christened Martin. But the next or second day after, they run aground again with their galley, and she was very

near being cast away with their new store of victuals: they lay on the sand one whole night, and were in far greater despair of disengaging her than before, because they had no tide of flood to help them. In the midst of their fears, they bethought them of fastening an anchor upon the land, and with main strength drew her off. So the fifteenth day (of their absence from their ships) they discovered at a distance, to their great joy, the mountains of Guiana; and towards the evening were brought by a northerly gale in sight of the great Orenoque[d], which they soon after entered; a river of vast extent and magnitude, lying mostly east and west, even from the sea to Quito in Peru, thought to be three hundred miles wide at the mouth, a thousand miles navigable for ships, two thousand for lesser vessels, and discharging itself by sixteen arms into the sea, whereby many parts of the Spanish Indies might most easily be invaded. From other observations, it appears in many places of the channel to be twenty fathom deep; and in few that are shoally, less than two and a half. It was called by the succeeding voyagers to this place, in honour of sir Walter, after his name. One of them gives his reason for it in these words: "Of the worthiness of this river, because I cannot say "enough, I will speak nothing; we have presumed to call "it by the name of Raleana, because yourself was the first "of our nation who ever entered the same[e]." Now when Ralegh had procured of one of the bordering princes, named Toparimaca, a skilful old pilot, who was his brother, and who perfectly knew this river, he sailed up a branch thereof, having on the left hand a great island which they call Assapana; and thence along the banks of several other islands, which they chose rather to anchor at than by the main land, because of the tortoise's eggs, which they found there in abundance, to their great relief; and for the convenience of casting their nets from the rocks, of a blue me-

Enters the grand Orenoque.

Called Raleana.

[d] In the language of Trinidad, Oronuie signifies water. See Mr. Duddely's Voyage, in Hakluyt, vol. 3. fol. 578.

[e] Relation of the second Voyage to Guiana, by captain Laurence Keymis. Vid. Hakluyt, vol. 3. fol. 681, 682.

talline colour, which looked like steel ore. So keeping always westward up the river, there opened after a while a land on the right side, which appeared a spacious champaign, and the banks perfectly red. Ralegh sent captain Gifford, Thynn, Calfield, his cousins Grenvill and Butshead Gorges; also his nephew John Gilbert, and some others, with a guard of soldiers, to march over the banks, and discover what prospect it afforded; and finding it a level of an unbounded space, it proved, as their pilot informed them, the plains of Saima, reaching to Cumana and Caraccas in the West Indies, which are a hundred and twenty leagues to the north, and inhabited by four principal nations, whereof one were the Aroras, as black as negroes, but of smooth hair; a desperate people, using the strongest and most deadly poison of all others on their arrows. Ralegh was most curious to know the composition of this poison, and what remedies could be had against the dreadful effects of it. For, besides the mortality of the wound, the patient is afflicted with most insufferable torment, and accompanied with such irksome symptoms, that the physician cannot abide the cure. None of the Spaniards could ever extort this secret, either by kindness or cruelty; and indeed but few of the Indians, besides their priests and soothsayers, knew it[f]. Ralegh was therefore more beholden to the Guianians than any body; for Antonio de Berreo told him, that he could never attain to the knowledge thereof. "And yet they taught me," says Ralegh, "the best way of healing as well this, as all "other poisons." Then he tells us, those medicines which are vulgar, and serve for the ordinary poison, are made of the juice of a root called Tupara[g], which also marvellously

His skill in the cure of poisons.

[f] Whether the poison they used in Guiana was the same with that in some other parts of the West Indies, Ralegh has not told us; but sir John Hawkins informs us, that about Cumana, where they are very expert archers, "their poison is of such "force, that a man being struck "therewith dies in twenty-four "hours: and that, in his judgment, "there can be no stronger; using "thereunto apples, which are fair "and red of colour, but are a strong "poison, (perhaps the manchineel,) "of which, with venomous bats, vi-"pers, adders, and other serpents, "they make a medley, and anoint "their arrows." See Hawkins's Voyage to Guinea and the Indies of Nova Hispania, in Hakluyt, vol. 3. fol. 508.

[g] Captain Robert Harcourt, in his

quenches the heat of burning fevers, and heals inward wounds; and that those of common poisoned arrows were wont to be healed by some of the Spaniards with the juice of garlick. But this he communicates as a general rule for all men that shall hereafter travel the Indies where poisoned arrows are used, that they abstain from drink; for if they take any liquor into their body, whereunto they will be exceedingly provoked by drought, and drink before the wound is dressed, or immediately upon it, there is no relief but present death.

After having passed the mountain Aio, and a great island, which he mentions, he reached, on the fifth day of his entering the great river aforesaid, as high as the province of Aromaia; and anchoring at the port of Morequito, which is some three hundred miles within the land, upon the said great river Orenoque, he sent a messenger to the old king of Aromaia, named Topiowary, who came the next day before noon on foot from his house, and returned the same evening, being twenty-eight miles backwards and forwards, though himself was one hundred and ten years of age. He had many attendants of both sexes, who came also to wonder at the English, and brought them great plenty of flesh, fowl, and fish, with divers sorts of fruits, and among them abundance of pinas, the most excellent of all kinds [h], especially those of Guiana; besides bread, wine, and a sort of parroquites no bigger than wrens. And one of them pre-

Voyage to Guiana before quoted, says, the juice of the leaf Uppee cures the wounds of their poisoned arrows. See Purchas's Pilgrims, vol. 4. fol. 1276.

[h] Whether Ralegh, at his return, brought of this fruit into England, which is otherwise called the ananas, and vulgarly the pine-apple, from some resemblance it bears in shape to the cones of the pine-tree, or any of that most delicious wine made thereof, which he there also tasted, has rather been suggested than confirmed; but afterwards, when, by a speedy voyage some of the fruit was brought over and presented to king James, in greater perfection than we can conceive from tasting what is forced out of hotbeds here, he discovered one of the noble maxims in his king-craft, by declaring, "It was a fruit too delicious for "a subject to taste of." See a book called, Advice to the Planters of both Indies, 8vo. without date. But had he known the profuseness which the English have since been at to eat them, how imperfectly soever of their own raising, he might perhaps have more justly said, "It was "a fruit too extravagant for a sub-"ject to taste of."

sented Ralegh with a little beast, which the Spaniards call armadillo, having his body scaled or plated over like the rhinoceros, with a white horn growing in his hinder parts as big as a hunting horn. This horn is recommended in medicine[1], and the flesh for food, since Ralegh soon after made a feast of it.

His conference with the king of Aromaia.

When the old king had rested himself a while in a tent which Ralegh had caused to be pitched for him, they entered, by the interpreter, into discourse about the murder of Morequito, his predecessor, and the other violations of the Spaniards. Then Ralegh acquainted him with the cause of his coming thither, whose servant he was, and that it was his queen's pleasure he should undertake this voyage for their defence, and to deliver them from the tyranny of the Spaniards; dilating at large (as he had done before at Trinidad) on her majesty's power, her justice, and her clemency towards all oppressed nations: all which, being with great reverence and attention received, he began to sound the old man touching Guiana; as, what sort of commonwealth it was, how governed, of what strength and policy, of what extent, with whom in alliance or enmity; lastly, the distance and way to enter the heart of the country. The king gave such ample and perfect account of these particulars, that Ralegh wondered to find a man of such gravity, judgment, and good discourse, without the help of learning or breeding. After his departure, Ralegh sailed westward, to view the famous river Caroli, both because it was so wonderful in itself, and led to the strongest nations of all the frontiers, who were enemies to the Epuremei, subjects to the Inga, or emperor of Guiana and Manoa. Even when he was short of it, or lower down than the port of Morequito, he heard the roaring falls of this river; but when he entered it with his barge and wherries, thinking to

[1] Monardus writes, that a little of the powder of that horn put into the ear cures deafness. See his treatise of the virtues of herbs, trees, animals, &c. in the West Indies, translated by I. Frampton, and called, Joyful News from the New World, 4to. 1577, and 1596.

have gone up some forty miles to the Cassipagotos, he was not able with a barge of eight oars to row one stone's throw in an hour; and yet the river is as broad as the Thames at Woolwich. Therefore encamping on the banks, he sent off an Indian to acquaint the nations upon the river of his arrival, and his purpose; and that he desired to see the lords of Canuria, who dwelt in that province. Then one of the princes came down, named Wanuretona, with many of his people, and brought great store of provisions, as the rest had done. By him Ralegh found the Carolians were not only enemies to the Spaniards, but most of all to the Epuremei, who abounded in gold; and that there were three mighty nations at the head of that river which would join him against them. He was further informed by one captain George, whom he had taken with Berreo, that near the banks of this river there was a great silver mine; but the rivers were all now so risen, that it was not possible for the strength of man with any boat to row against the stream. Therefore he despatched a party, between thirty and forty, to coast the river by land, while himself, with two or three officers and half a dozen shot, marched overland to view the strange and wonderful overfalls of the said river Caroli, which roared at such a distance, and the plains adjoining, with the rest of the province of Canuri. When they had got to the top of the first hills overlooking the river, they beheld that prodigious breach of waters which poured down Caroli, and how it ran in three streams for twenty miles together. No less than ten or a dozen of these steep cataracts appeared in sight, each as high above the other as a church-tower; which rushed down with such violence, that the very rebound of the waters made the place seem as if it had been all over covered with a great shower of rain; and in some places they took it at first for a thick smoke which had risen out of some great town, till they drew nearer down in the valley to this thunder of waters, where they better discerned and distinguished the effects of it. And here Ralegh says he never saw a more

And with Wanuretona.

Views the wonderful cataracts of Caroli.

beautiful country, nor more lively prospects; the hills so raised up and down about the valleys; the waters winding into such various branches; the plains so clear of bush and stubble, and covered all with fair green grass; the ground of hard sand, and easy for the march either of horse or foot; the deer crossing in every path; the birds, towards the evening, singing on every tree a thousand several tunes, with cranes and herons of white, crimson, and carnation, perched along the river banks; the air refreshed with gentle easterly breezes; and every stone they stooped to take up promising either gold or silver by its complexion. His company, at their return, brought several of these stones home; which they rather found coloured outwardly like gold, than any of that metal fixed in them; for those who had least judgment or experience, kept only such as glittered, and would not be persuaded but they were rich, because they shone, thereby bred an opinion that all the rest were no better. Yet some of these stones Ralegh shewed afterwards to a Spaniard of the Caraccas, who told him it was El madre del oro, that is, the mother of gold; and that the mine was further in the ground.

And the beautiful plains of Canuri.

Among the goodly rivers beyond the Caroli, there is one named Caora. Upon this branch, it was attested to Ralegh by the most intelligent and credible chiefs of the adjacent parts, there dwelt a nation of people whose heads appear not above their shoulders; which, because every body in the provinces of Aromaia and Canuri also affirmed, he was inclined to believe. They are called Ewaipanoma, and reported to have their eyes in their shoulders, and mouths in their breasts, (or in a level with them.) It was further avouched to him, they used bows, arrows, and clubs, thrice as big as any of the Guianians; and that one being taken prisoner the year before, was brought into Aromaia. When Ralegh doubted of such a race to the prince, hereafter mentioned, who came with him into England, he answered, it was no wonder among them; for they had lately slain many hundreds of his father's people. Ralegh observes, "That Mandevill had before written of such a na-

His report of the Ewaipanoma.

"tion[k]; and that, since the East Indian discoveries, we "find many of his relations true, which were before held "incredible." Further, that when he afterwards arrived at Cumana, he spoke with a Spaniard, eminent for his travels, and withal for his credit and veracity; who, hearing that Ralegh had been as far in Guiana as Caroli, immediately asked him if he had seen those people, and declared he had seen many of them. Then Ralegh names some French merchants of London, who were there present, and heard what this Spaniard had thus asserted. "Whether it "is true or no," says he, "the matter is not great, neither "can there be any profit in the imagination: for my own "part, I saw them not; but am resolved, that so many peo-"ple did not all combine or forethink to make the report." After all, whether the observation of any garment loosely rising above the shoulders of these people, or the crouching posture in which they were so much seen, by their constant exercise of archery, might not first give some rise to this report, I leave for others more largely to explain[l]; and how far

[k] Sir John Mandevill's words, according to the old Latin copy of his travels, are, (speaking of some southern islands,) *Alia insula habet homines aspectu deformes, nihil autem colli aut capitis ostendentes; unde et Acephali nuncupantur: oculos autem habent ante ad scapulas, et in loco pectoris os apertum, ad formam ferri quo nostri caballi frænantur.* See also the late English edition of his Voyage and Travel, &c. 8vo. 1727. printed from a MS. in the Cotton library three hundred years old; where it plainly appears, his description of these headless people, p. 243. is copied out of Pliny's Nat. Hist. lib. 7. cap. 2. and lib. 5. cap. 8. But the notion of such a people did now so prevail, captain Keymis bringing fresh assurances of men with mouths in their breasts, exceeding wide, from Guiana the year after, that Shakspeare, in his Tempest, tells us, every adventurer would now bring good warrant of them. He repeats the description again of those people, where Othello relates the wonders of his travels, to charm the attention and concern of his Desdemona: and this, as it is thought, in compliment to sir Walter Ralegh's authority; for Shakspeare had certainly read his discovery of Guiana, as by other passages in his plays might be proved.

[l] Mr. Theobald thinks we may be able to account, in a few lines, for the mystery of these supposed headless people: for Olearius, speaking, says he, of the manner of clothing of the Samojeds, a people of north Muscovy, says, "Their garments are "made like those called cossaques, "open only at the necks. When the "cold is extraordinary, they put "their cossaques over their heads, "and let the sleeves hang down, "their faces being not to be seen but "at the cleft, which is at the neck; "whence some have taken occasion "to write, that in these northern "countries there are people without "heads, having their faces in their "breasts." Theobald's Shakspeare, 8vo. 1733. vol. 7. p. 393.

the same person should here be condemned for an implicit faith, who was, as we have read, censured for the want of it. This consideration may be further offered for what Ralegh also repeats, not only from the writers of all nations, concerning the modern Amazons in these parts [m], but from their very neighbours. For having told us, that Orellana first discovered Maraunon, which is called the river of Amazons [n], and also after the said discoverer's own name, Ralegh was inquisitive to know whether there were any of those warlike women, from whom this river should be so called, in these American parts, who are so famed in ancient histories to have been in Asia and Africa; and was assured by an ancient casique, that there was such a nation of women on the south of the said river, in the provinces of Topago, whose manners and customs, as they described to him, did somewhat conform with what is recorded of the ancient Amazons: as, that they cohabited with men but one month in the year; sent them the male children, and kept only the females; "but that they cut off their right breast," says he, "I do not find to be true." He was further told, they scrupled not to accompany with the prisoners they took in war at any time; but in the end constantly put them to death: and that, as others of the bordering nations, these women wore certain plates of gold, which they had sometimes exchanged with other countries for spleen-stones,

And of the Amazons.

[m] Vid. Fran. Lopez Hist. de las Ind. par. 1. cap. 28. Also Andrew Thevet, in his Antarctick, translated by J. Hacket, 4to. 1568, and dedicated to sir H. Sidney, cap. 63. Also Lopez Vaz, in his discourse of the West Indies and the South Sea; where he confirms the account of these Indian women, who fought in the wars with bows and arrows to aid their husbands, but not without them; and who, shewing themselves more valiant than their husbands against the Spaniards, they therefore called the river, upon parts whereof these women dwelt, the river of Amazons.

[n] Of this river, see the accounts in Mart. Fern. de Enciza, before mentioned. Also Joseph de Acosta, in his Nat. and Mor. Hist. of the West Indies, lib. 3. cap. 20, and 25. Also an Historical and Geographical Description of the great country and river of the Amazons, Lond. 8vo. 1661. Which book, however set down by A. Wood in the list of sir W. Ralegh's writings, perhaps because said in the title-page to be the place he intended to conquer, was written originally in French by the count of Pagan, who dedicated it to cardinal Mazarine; and this translation is made by W. Hamilton. At the 129th page of this book there is a chapter on the Amazons of America.

which are of a green colour; and whereof (says Ralegh) I saw divers in Guiana; for every king, or casique, commonly has one, which their wives chiefly wear, and esteem as great jewels. These strange reports, however difficultly digested by those who had only travelled at home; which made Ralegh afterwards produce many learned authorities, both ancient and modern, to justify himself from imposing any inventions of his own [o]; foreigners, it seems, thought not so extravagant, being more familiar and current among them: and Hugo Grotius intimates, as if Ralegh shewed no more regard to these accounts than any other traveller would have done; where, mentioning this his discovery of Guiana, he says, "That as to the Amazons, and those who "had their faces in their breasts, having only heard talk of "them, he left it for others to find them out [p]." But to return.

While Ralegh, with his company, lay at anchor on the coast of Canuri, and had taken knowledge of all the nations upon the head and branches of the Caroli; had found out many tribes who were enemies to the Epuremei and the new conquerors, having now sailed and wandered for the space of near a month, distant from his ships above four hundred miles; besides the long digressions up many arms and branches on every side by the way, they found the winter season advance apace [q], and the Orenoque threaten them with greater fury every day than other; the time they spent at Trinidad, and the company they there in vain waited for, being both wanted here to complete their enterprise. For the most violent storms of thunder and lightning which now

[o] See sir Walter Ralegh's History of the World, lib. 4. cap. 2. sect. 15.

[p] Hugo Grotius, having spoken of sir Francis Drake's death, says, *Quo tempore Anglus alter Walterus Raleigus, reginæ satellitio præpositus, Orenocum flumen ingressus, Guianam nunquam Hispanis perdomitam adiit, ac notitiæ tradidit, ex vero quæ vidit: de Amazonibus, et his queis vultus in pectore, audita tantum et aliis plenius indagandu.* Histor. de Rebus Belgicis, lib. 4.

[q] "The winter and summer here, "as touching cold and heat," says Ralegh, "differ not; neither do the "trees ever sensibly lose their leaves, "but have always fruit either ripe or "green; and most of them, both "blossoms, leaves, ripe fruit, and "green at one time: but their win-"ter consists of terrible rains and "overflowing of the rivers, with "many great storms and gusts, "thunder and lightnings; of which "we had our fill ere we returned."

so frequently broke out, poured down such floods of rain, as made all the rivers rise and rage most fearfully; so that if they waded them over shoes in the morning outward, homeward they could not come, even the same day, without wading to their necks, or swimming before they could reach their boats. Besides, they all grew very uneasy to themselves and one another for want of shifting, no man having room to bestow any other apparel than what he wore on his back; and that was washed through to his skin often ten times a day. These inconveniences, with those of having no instruments to try any mines, or men sufficient to secure them against the guarded nations nearer the imperial city of Manoa, captain Preston having failed them, as was before said, made Ralegh conclude there was now no advancing thither, or staying longer here; but that he might well content himself for this voyage with the various discoveries of the situation, products, and riches of the country, which he had thus far made; with the interest and friendship he had thus spaciously procured; and which no adventurer to those regions ever had, in a much larger space of time, with much greater aids and provisions, the diligence and dexterity to equal.

As he returned therefore to the east, he spent some time in discovering the river towards the sea which he had not surveyed, and which he thought also necessary to do. In a day's time he arrived again at the port of Morequito; for, gliding down the stream, he went without labour, though against the wind, little less than a hundred miles a day. When he came to anchor, he was very desirous of some further conference with old Topiowari, who soon, upon notice, came, with a multitude of his people, flocking down to Ralegh's tent upon the shore, every one loaded with presents. When the old king was refreshed, and the crowd retired, Ralegh, by his interpreter, entered into a long conference with him, telling him, that as both the Epuremei and the Spaniards were his enemies, the one having conquered Guiana already, and the other endeavoured to get it from both, he desired to be instructed both in the best ways

His last conference with the king of Aromaia.

to the golden parts of Guiana, and the civilized towns, or apparelled people of Inga. The king answered, he could not perceive Ralegh meant to proceed to the great city of Manoa, because neither the season of the year nor the strength of his company would enable him; for he remembered that in the plains of Maqureguarai, the first civil town of Guiana, where all the gold plates were made which were scattered over the neighbouring nations, and about four days' journey from his own, three hundred Spaniards were destroyed, who had no friends among the borderers; therefore advised Ralegh never to invade the strong parts of Guiana, without the help of all those nations which were their enemies. Ralegh asked, if he thought the company he had with him were sufficient to take that town: the king thought they were, and proffered to assist him with all his borderers, if he would leave him a guard of fifty men upon his departure; but Ralegh, knowing if they should escape the Guianians, the Spaniards, expecting supplies, would repay upon them his treatment at Trinidad, very plausibly excused himself. Hereupon the king desired he would forbear him and his country at this time; for if the Epuremei should know he had given Ralegh any aid or intelligence, he should soon be overrun by them; nor could he avoid the Spaniards, if they should return, who had before led him seventeen days in a chain like a dog, till he paid a hundred plates of gold and several chains of spleen-stones for his ransom: but if Ralegh would return in due season next year, he would engage all the borderers in the enterprise; for that he could not more desire to make himself master of Guiana, than they to assist him; having been plundered in their wars by the Epuremei of their women, whom to recover they would willingly renew the war, without hopes of further profit; for the old king complained of it as a matter of grievous restraint, that now they were confined to three or four wives apiece, who were wont to enjoy ten or a dozen; while the lords of their enemies had no less than fifty or a hundred. But they seem to have had a political reason for this recovery, to strengthen their alliance and increase

their forces, these frontiers having been much depopulated between the subjects of Inga and the Spaniards. Ralegh, after further consultation, finding it absolutely improper either to leave any of his company, or attempt war upon the Epuremei till the next year, applied himself now only to learn how these people wrought those plates of gold which were dispersed about, and how they divided it from the stone. The king told him, that most of their plates and images were not severed from the stone; but that on the lake of Manoa, and many other rivers thereabouts, they gathered the perfect grains of gold, and mingling a proportion of copper, the better to work it, put it in a great earthen pot, under which they increased the fire by the breath of men, through long canes fastened to the holes round the said pot, till the metal dissolved, which then they cast into moulds of stone and clay, and so made those plates and images; whereof Ralegh brought two sorts into England, more to shew the manner of them than their value: for he gave more pieces of gold of the twenty shilling coin, with the queen's effigies upon them, among these people, to wear in honour of her majesty, and to engage them in her service, than he received; so little did he make his desire of gold known to them. He also brought over some gold ore of their mines, "whereof I know some is as rich," says he, "as any the earth yields, and of which I know there is "sufficient, if nothing else were to be hoped for;" but they wanted time, hands, and instruments, to break the ground, without which there could be no working of mines. "We "saw," adds he, "all the hills with stones of the colour of "gold and silver, and we tried them to be no marcasite, "and therefore such as the Spaniards call *el madre del oro*, "or, the mother of gold, which is an undoubted assurance "of the general abundance thereof; and myself saw the "outside of many mines of the Sparre, which I know to be "the same that all covet in this world; and of those, more "than I will speak of." Now Ralegh, besides having learned the riches of the country, having also won the affections of the people, and received a faithful promise of

Discovers the gold mines.

the chiefs in those provinces of Aromaia and Canuri to become servants to her majesty, took his leave of old Topiowari, and received his son prince Cayworaco as a pledge betwixt them, whom he brought into England, where he was christened Gualtero with great solemnity, leaving with the old king two of his own people in exchange; the one named Francis Sparrow, who, being a good draughtsman, and could describe a country with his pen, desired to be left for that purpose, whom Ralegh instructed to travel as far as he could to Manoa with such merchandise as he committed to his care; the other was a boy, who waited upon him, named Hugh Goodwin, for whom he left orders to be taught the language of the country. This done, he weighed anchor, and coasted the river on Guiana side, because he came towards it on the north side by the lawns of Saima.

Brings the king's son into England.

There was a powerful casique named Putijma, who accompanied Ralegh and his men from Aromaia, with promises to lead them to a mountain called Iconuri, which contained a mine of gold; and which, says Ralegh, he performed. Ralegh travelled a great way towards it himself along the river Mana, till, through weariness, he was forced with some of his attendants to rest on the banks of a lake in the delightful valley of Oiana; where one of his guides kindling a fire with two sticks[r], they stayed a while to dry their shirts, which, with excessive heat, were very wet and heavy upon them; sending captain Keymis the while with a party under that casique to take cognizance of the said mine, and promised to meet him at the river Cumaca, in his way to Emeria, the province of Carapana, one of the greatest lords of the Orenoqueponi, with whom he sought to establish a league. And as Ralegh returned by the river Mana to-

[r] Succeeding voyagers have observed of the karaguata guacu, a Brasilian tree about fourteen or fifteen foot high, with yellow flowers on the top, and large long thick leaves, which yield an unctuous liquor serving for soap, and strings for fishing-nets; that with the wood thereof, and of another called imbaiba, the inhabitants kindle their fires by striking them together, as we by a flint and steel. See Nieuhoff's Voyages, vol. 2. fol. 141; also Sir Tho. Brown's Vulgar Errors, fol. 131.

wards the said province, he saw himself many rocks like gold ore, and on the left hand a round mountain of mineral stone. From hence returning down the stream, he coasted the province of Parino; but the branches of the rivers he here passed, with Aio and other mountains, he reserved to the representation in his map; which, for the numerous and distant rivers and countries therein occasionally referred to, appears to have been a very accurate and comprehensive performance[3]. In the river of Winicapora he saw what they called the mountain of crystal, which looked at a distance like a white church-tower of exceeding height, over the top of which a mighty river rushed down with prodigious noise. Berreo told him, there were diamonds and other stones of great value thereon, which blazed at a great distance. Upon this river Ralegh rested a while, and marched to a town of the same name, where he found the natives all as drunk as beggars, it being the time of their festival. Here Ralegh refreshed himself with the provisions of the place, and the delicate wine of Pinas, which the people brought him and his company in great plenty. But understanding that Carapana was retired from Emeria; and imagining, because he was an old subtle prince, it was to wait till he should return next year, then join him, if the English were strong enough to tempt his alliance; if not, that he might excuse his retirement to the Spaniards, as though it were in fear of these new visitors, Ralegh spent no more time in seeking after him; but making to the river Cumaca, he met with Keymis, and took his leave of Pu-

Draws a general map of the country.

[3] This large and general map of Guiana and the neighbouring countries Ralegh often mentions; and where he is speaking of the Orenoque, how far it is navigable, what considerable parts of the Spanish West Indies are to be invaded thereby, to what other regions it leads, the descent of its branches, and where it falls into the sea, he tells us, these particulars, that he may not be tedious, shall better be perceived in the general description of Guiana, Peru, Nuevo Reyno, the kingdom of Popayan and Roidas, with the province of Venecuela, to the bay of Uraba, behind Carthagena westward, and to Amazones southward. Whether the little map, which I think is prefixed to the Latin edition of Ralegh's Discovery of Guiana, hereafter mentioned, is a contraction of this large and general map, I do not remember, when I had that tract in my hand, to have observed by any inscription there may be thereon.

tijma, who, of all others, most lamented his departure; for the Orenoque was now swollen most dreadfully, so that it was impossible to return by the way he entered, for the river of Amana could not be sailed back by any means, the breeze and current of the sea were so outrageous: therefore he followed the branch of Capuri, which entered into the sea eastward of his ships, that he might bear with them before the wind; and great need there was so to do, having by that way as much to cross of the main sea, in their little boats, after they came to the river's mouth, as between Gravelin and Dover. But when they arrived at the seaside, and anchored in the mouth of Capuri, they were in a most desperate condition; for there arose a mighty storm, and the river's mouth was at least a league broad, so that they run before night close under the land with their boats, and brought the galley as near as they could, which had much ado to live, and was often near sinking with all her men. Ralegh was in the utmost doubt what course to take; either to venture in the galley through six foot water on the sands for two leagues together, and that in the channel, when she drew five; or trust in such a raging wind and sea to cross over in his barge. At last, seeing the tempest increase the longer he tarried, he took Gifford, Calfield, and Grenvill, in his barge, and about midnight thrust into the sea, leaving the galley to come by daylight. "Thus faintly cheering one another in show of courage," says Ralegh, "it pleased God by nine o'clock the next "morning we discovered the Isle of Trinidad." So they kept along the shore to Curiapan, where they found their ships at anchor; "than which," says he, "there was never "to us a more joyful sight;" especially when they found, upon meeting together, they had lost but one man (before mentioned) through so many extremes of wet, heat, hunger, want of rest, sleep, lodging, and such like violent hardships in this toilsome and dangerous adventure, as drove them to many unusual and unhealthy shifts, especially in their diet; such as feeding upon many strange and corrupted fruits,

In a dreadful storm.

upon fresh fish without seasoning; crocodiles, sea-cows [t], anta's, and armed hogs, upon all sorts, of the land or water, good and bad, without order or measure: and yet no calenture befel them, or other pestilent diseases which are wont to infect all regions so near the line; so wholesome was the country, or so happily suited to their constitutions. The many praises which Ralegh further bestows upon the plenty and other felicities of Guiana, I must leave to the noble description he has writ of it, having here only extracted such parts as more chiefly respect our present endeavour at the personal history of its author.

In his return homewards he touched at Cumana, to store and refresh himself with such provisions as he wanted; but the Spaniards refused to supply him, at which he threatened the town; and upon their refusing also to save it by such reasonable ransom as they had just before offered captain Preston, he set it on fire: the like he did at St. Mary, and at Rio de la Hach, as we are informed by Camden and others; some of whom affirm, he got not only great glory hereby, but riches; the latter of which will be thought doubtful to those who have read the Spaniards had removed their effects to the mountains, before they entered into a capitulation with Preston. On the 13th of July, when the said captain Preston, with the rest of his company, were under cape St. Anthony, the westernmost part of the Isle of Cuba, "we met," says the writer of his voyage, "with the "honourable knight sir Walter Ralegh, returning from his "painful and happy discovery of Guiana, and his surprise "of the Isle of Trinidad: so with glad hearts we kept him "and his fleet of three ships company," for he mentions no more, "till the twentieth day at night, at which time we "lost them [u]."

Fires some Spanish towns.

[t] Of these sea-monsters, otherwise called *manati* by the Spaniards, Ralegh says he had seen as big as a wine-pipe: others describe its flesh to be like beef, and to yield an excellent oil; the hide, being dressed, makes good buff, and dried, good targets or armour; wherefore, we are told, sir Walter Ralegh brought several of these hides into England. See captain Harcourt's Voyage in Purchas, (before mentioned,) fol. 1275.

[u] See Robert Davie's vict. voyage of captain Amias Preston, and captain George Sommers to the West

Writes a discourse of his Guianian discoveries.

When Ralegh was arrived in England, he soon applied himself to digest the observations he had made in his discoveries, and they were, not many months after, committed to the press [x]. Several authors have bestowed characters in praise of this discourse, which manifests such a wonderful genius in compassing the knowledge of so many places, productions, and people, with so small a power, and in so short a time. The honourable Mr. Duddely, natural son of the earl of Leicester, and afterwards a knight also of great renown for his writings and adventures, speaking of a discovery into Guiana, which had been communicated to him, says, it was in the selfsame manner almost "such as sir "Walter Ralegh hath very discreetly written [y]." Camden refers those who would know more of this enterprise to an ingenious book of Ralegh's writing, wherein he gives "a "most accurate description of the countries, as if he had "been born and bred there [z]." And a later author mentions this treatise as one of those written by Ralegh, which is "full of proper, clear, and courtly graces of speech [a]." The action itself has also had many just encomiums bestowed upon it by Mr. Hakluyt, captain Harcourt, and others; the latter of whom, speaking of the great Orenoque, (at a time wherein he will not be suspected guilty of flattery to the first of our nation who explored that river,) adds, "wherein sir Walter Ralegh performed his worthy and "memorable discovery [b]." Nor could the Muses forbear to celebrate such a glorious exploit, as well by the pens of

Indies, begun March 1595, in Hakluyt, vol. 3. fol. 582.

[x] Under the title of, "The Dis-"covery of the large, rich, and beau-"tiful empire of Guiana; with a "relation of the great and golden "city of Manoa, called by the Spa-"niards El Dorado, &c. performed "in the year 1595. by sir W. Ra-"legh, knt. captain of her ma-"jesty's guard, lord-warden of the "stanneries, and her highness's lieu-"tenant-general of the county of "Cornwall." Imprinted at London by Robert Robinson, 4to. 1596, reprinted in Hakluyt, vol. 3. fol. 627. consisting of about nine sheets. It was also translated into Latin, (and perhaps other languages,) with the title of "Brevis et admiranda De-"scriptio regni Guianæ, &c. per Dn. "Gualt. Ralegh Equit. Angl. delectæ; "Tabula Geographica Jodoc. Hondii, "&c." Norimb. impens. 4to. 1599.

[y] See his Voyage to Trinidad, in Hakluyt, vol. 3. fol. 576.

[z] Annal. Eliz. anno 1595.

[a] Athen. Oxon. vol. 1. col. 438.

[b] Captain Harcourt in Purchas, (as before,) fol. 1270.

those who were eyewitnesses of his toils and travel, as those who were no ways concerned in them: for captain Keymis, who bore him company, as we have observed, wrote this year a Latin copy of verses in praise of the Guianian expedition, describing the situation of the country, with its riches, and Ralegh's unparalleled dexterity for performing that discovery in a month, which so many brave Spaniards had in vain attempted many years[c]. And another learned poet, whom I take to have been Mr. George Chapman, wrote at the same time a heroic poem in English upon the same subject. Those who have read this whole poem attentively, which contains near two hundred lines, and observed what lofty strokes of praise the author bestows upon this enterprise, as well as the cordial instigations wherewith he animates his country to persevere in it, may conceive I have had some constraint upon myself, through a regard to that proportion which is here necessary, in transcribing no more from it than those parts wherein Ralegh is directly mentioned, when the whole redounds so much to his glory. And first, the poet, after having invoked his muse to sing the achievement of that hero's sword, which is consecrated to his queen; and told us, the subject of his song is riches with honour, and conquest without blood, enough to seat universal monarchy, like the bird of Jove, upon Eliza's hand; and described the wealthy Guiana bowing her mighty breast, and making every sign of submission to become both the sister and the daughter of that sacred maid; he goes on thus:

Then most admir'd sovereign, let your breath
Go forth upon the waters, and create
A golden world in this our iron age;
And be the prosp'rous fore-wind to a fleet,
That seconding your last, may go before it
In all success of profit and renown.
Doubt not but your election was divine;

[c] Ad Thomam Hariotum Matheseos, et universæ philosophiæ peritissimum, de Guiana carmen. Dat. anno 1595. Vid. Hakluyt, vol. 3. fol. 672.

As well by fate, as your high judgment order'd,
To raise him with choice bounties who could add
Height to his height; and, like a liberal vine,
Not only bear his virtuous fruit aloft,
Free from the press of squint-ey'd envy's feet,
But deck his gracious prop with golden bunches;
And shroud it with broad leaves of rule o'ergrown,
From all black tempests of invasion.

Then having exhorted the queen not to let the course of her reign be like those great winds, which in the morning of their power tear up forests by the roots, raise the seas to the skies, and make the earth tremble, yet bury their wasteful bravery in the evening; but rather like a river that flows from the mountains, and grows greater the further it runs, till, mixing with the main, it takes his titles and command: having also exposed those politicians, who would be wise in spite of wisdom; who think nothing can be right but certainty, and place their faith in incredulity; that coward's castle, sluggard's cradle, and only wit of fools, which slovenly defaces all things fair: and, lastly, having bewailed the corruptions of nature in our greatest nobility, whose bodies have choked their minds, which are bereft of sense through excessive sensualities, till the effects of their lusts have like lightning wounded her soul through her flesh unwounded, so that she must need incitements to her recovery even from the part she hurts; the poet finely continues in these words:

———O how most like
Art thou, heroic author of this act,
To this wrong'd soul of nature! that sustain'st
Pain, charge, and peril, for thy country's good;
And she, much like a body numb'd with surfeits,
Feels not thy gentle applications
For the health, use, and honour of her powers!
Yet shall my verse through all her ease-lock'd ears
Trumpet the nobless of thy high intent;
And if it cannot into act proceed,
The fault, and bitter penance of the fault,

Make red some others eyes with penitence,
For thine are clear—and what more nimble spirits,
Apter to bite at such unhooked baits,
Gain by our loss, that, must we needs confess,
Thy princely valour would have purchas'd us;
Which shall be fame eternal to thy name,
Though thy contentment, in thy grave desires
Of our advancement, fail deserved effect.
O how I fear thy glory which I love,
Lest it should dearly grow by our decrease!
Natures, that stick in golden-gravel'd springs,
In muck-pits, cannot scape their swallowings.

Yet the poet, confiding in the patrician spirits of the nation to encourage this sublime endeavour at such imperial enlargements of the British dominion, and especially in the temptations of the country itself, gold, like fate, giving life and law to all our actions, presages they should all go to Guiana; that British colonies should be planted, churches and palaces built there, and that the whole world, by this heroic conquest, should pay homage to the queen of England: but it cannot be so justly described as in the lines themselves.

Then in the Thespiads bright prophetic font,
Methinks I see our liege rise from her throne,
Her ears and thoughts in steep amaze erect,
At the most rare endeavour of her power.
And now she blesses with her wonted graces
Th' industrious knight, the soul of this exploit;
Dismissing him to convoy of his stars.
And now for love and honour of his worth,
Our twice-born nobles bring him bridegroom-like,
That is espous'd for virtue to his love,
With feasts and music ravishing the air,
To his Argolian fleet; where round about
His bating colours English valour swarms
In haste, as if Guianian Orenoque
With his full waters fell upon our shore.
And now a wind as forward as their spirits,

Sets their glad feet on smooth Guiana's breast;
Where, as if each man were an Orpheus,
A world of savages fall tame before them,
Storing their thrift-free treasuries with gold.
And there doth plenty crown their wealthy fields;
There, learning eats no more his thriftless books;
Nor valour, ostrich-like, his iron arms:
There, beauty is no strumpet to her wants,
Nor Gallic humours putrefy her blood;
But all our youth take Hymen's lights in hand,
And fill each roof with honour'd progeny:
There, makes society adamantine chains,
And joins their hearts with wealth, whom wealth disjoin'd:
There healthful recreations strew the meads,
And make their mansions dance with neighbourhood,
Which here were drown'd in churlish avarice:
And there do palaces and temples rise
Out of the earth, and kiss th' enamour'd skies;
Where New Britannia humbly kneels to heaven,
The world to her, and both at her blest feet,
In whom the circles of all empire meet [d].

But the poet was no prophet in this respect; for Ralegh, with all his zeal and assiduity for the honour and advantage of his country, of which he could not give more sincere proofs than he did, by his continual forwardness to venture his fortune and his life therein, could never induce the state to proceed in the plantation of Guiana; not so much through any real incredulity of the emoluments that would accrue from it, the superficial cause of its neglect; as through that malignant jealousy which so eternally biassed the domestic competitors for royal favour, to curb the foreign services of enterprising men, lest the achievements of the one should outshine the administrations of the other: and this reason we may have further occasion hereafter more expressly to confirm out of Ralegh's own words; whence we may here observe, that he, whose engaging qualities had gained him such influence, such an ascendency

[d] De Guiana carmen epicum, authore G. C. in Hakluyt. vol. 3. fol. 668.

over the most savage and uncivilized nations, found no dispositions so barbarous and intractable among those strangers, as he did in his own country; like Hercules himself, who having, by his glorious labours, shewed his power of subduing and taming all other monsters, found envy and detraction invincible at last. That Ralegh's labours were attended with the same fate, himself has sufficiently discovered in that dedication, which, with so much eloquence, modesty, and generosity, he made of his discourse upon Guiana aforesaid, to the lord-admiral Howard, and sir Robert Cecil. For notwithstanding the difficulties and dangers of the voyage, "it appears," says Ralegh therein, "that I "made no other bravado of going to sea than was meant, "and that I was never hidden in Cornwall, or elsewhere, as "was supposed. They have grossly belied me, that fore- Traduced. "judged I would rather become a servant to the Spanish "king than return; and the rest were much mistaken, who "would have persuaded that I was too easeful and sensual "to undertake a journey of so great travel: but," as he generously continues, "if what I have done receive the gra- "cious construction of a painful pilgrimage, and purchase "the least remission, I shall think all too little, and that "there were wanting to the rest many miseries." And as he had just before observed, in a delicate reflection upon the ungrateful custom of making one failing eclipse the merit of many virtuous actions, where he says, "If ought "might have been deserved in former times to have coun- "terpoised any part of offences, the fruit thereof, as it "seems, was long before fallen from the tree, and the dead "stock only remained." So here he goes on: "But if "both the times past, the present, and what may be in the "future, do all by one grain of gall continue in eternal dis- "taste; I do not then know whether I should bewail my- "self either for my too much travel and expense, or con- "demn myself for doing less than that which can deserve "nothing. From myself I have deserved no thanks, for I "am returned a beggar, and withered; but that I might "have bettered my poor estate, it shall appear by the fol-

"lowing discourse, if I had not respected only her ma-"jesty's future honour and riches. It became not the "former fortune in which I once lived, to go journeys of "picory; and it had sorted ill with the offices of honour "which by her majesty's grace I hold this day in England, "to run from cape to cape, and from place to place, for the "pillage of ordinary prizes." The insignificancy of these pursuits also in our other English adventurers to distress the king of Spain, he lays open a little further, in the following manner: "This undertaking hath another ground "and assurance of riches and glory than the voyages of the "West Indies; an easier way to invade the best parts "thereof than by the common course. The king of Spain "is not so impoverished by taking three or four port-towns "in America, as we suppose; neither are the riches of Peru "or Nueva Espanna so left by the sea-side, as to be easily "washed away with a great flood or spring-tide, or left dry "upon the sands at a low ebb. The port-towns are few "and poor in respect of those within the land; are of little "defence, and only rich when the fleets are to receive the "treasure for Spain: and we might think the Spaniards "very simple, having so many horses and slaves, if they "could not upon two days' warning carry all the gold they "have into the land, and far enough from the reach of our "footmen, especially the Indies being so mountainous, so "full of woods, rivers, and marshes." Here he goes on to give a large variety of examples, naming, besides the ports of Camana and St. Josepho, which he took himself, and found not therein one rial of plate, many other towns and cities which are wealthy, but of difficult access through our want of good footing in the neighbourhood of them. And leaves many more islands, ports, cities, and mines in Peru and other parts unnamed with the rest, both that the grandeur of those territories might not seem incredible, and for this further reason; "Of all which," says he, "because "I have written a particular treatise of the West Indies[e],

His treatise of the West Indies.

[e] This treatise was, I think, never printed, at least under sir Walter's name; nor has it ever been taken notice of by any of those writers of

"I will omit the repetition at this time, seeing that in the "said treatise I have anatomized the rest of the sea-towns, "as well as of Nicaragua, Jucatan, Nueva Espanna, and "the islands, as those of the inland; and by what means "they may be best invaded, as far as any mean judgment "can comprehend." But Ralegh was in hopes it would appear there was now a way found out to answer every man's longing; a richer Indies than any the king of Spain enjoyed, which if the queen would patronise, he was willing to end the remainder of his days in reducing it to a total subjection. Whatever he further advanced of this kind, diffidence and detraction were so predominant, that because some of Ralegh's company brought over marcasite for gold, as he informs us a little further[f], there were some who would not believe the real gold ore which he brought, and which he had helped to dig out of the rocks with his own dagger, was of greater value; nay, when many trials had been made of this ore[g], wherein some quantities were proved by one Westwood, a refiner in Wood-street, to hold after the rate of twelve or thirteen thousand pounds a ton. Other parcels, by Mr. Bulmar, and Dimock, assay-master, found also to hold after the rate of twenty-three thousand pounds the ton; and a third sort tried by Mr. Palmer, comptroller of the mint, and Mr. Dimock in Goldsmith's-hall, holding after the rate of twenty-six thousand nine hundred pounds the ton; who tried also some gold-dust of the same mine, which held eight pound six ounces weight of gold in the hundred, and an image of copper made in Guiana, which held a third part of gold: when all this was proved, there were those who would not yet believe it gold of Guiana; but that Ralegh purchased it upon the African coast, and carried it over thither. "Surely, the singularity of that

His trial of the Guianian ore.

Discredited.

his life, who have attempted to give us a catalogue of his writings.

[f] Sir Walter Ralegh's Preface to the Discovery of Guiana.

[g] Some of the ore which sir Walter Ralegh brought from Guiana, and probably of this which he brought at this time, has been so carefully preserved in his family, that it is now in the possession of captain William Elwes; who, among other communications relating to sir Walter Ralegh, has courteously obliged me with a sight thereof.

"device," says Ralegh, "I do not well comprehend: for "my own part, I am not so much in love with these long "voyages, as to devise thereby to cozen myself; to lie hard, "to fare worse, to be subject to perils, to diseases, to ill "savours, to be parched and withered, and withal to sus-"tain the care and labour of such an enterprise; except "the same had more comfort than the fetching of marca-"site in Guiana, or buying of gold ore in Barbary. But I "hope the better sort will judge me by themselves, and "that the way of deceit is not the way of honour or good "opinion. I have herein consumed much time and many "crowns, and I had no other respect or desire than to serve "her majesty and my country thereby. If the Spanish na-"tion had been of the like belief with these detractors, we "should little have feared or doubted their attempts where-"with we now are daily threatened. But if we now con-"sider of the actions both of Charles V. who had the "maidenhead of Peru, and the abundant treasures of Ata-"balipa, together with the affairs of the Spanish king now "living; what he has added to the acts of his predecessors, "how many kingdoms he has endangered, how many armies, "garrisons, and navies he maintains; the great losses he has "repaired, as in eighty-eight, above a hundred sail of great "ships, with their artillery; and that no year is less unfortu-"nate, but that many vessels, treasures, and people are de-"voured, and yet that he begins again, like a storm, to threaten "shipwreck to us all; we shall find that these abilities arise "not from the trades of sack and Seville oranges, nor from "ought else that either Spain, Portugal, or any of his "other provinces produce; it is his Indian gold that en-"dangers and disturbs all the nations of Europe; it creeps "into councils, purchases intelligence, and sets bound loyalty "at liberty in the greatest monarchies thereof: if the Span-"ish king can keep us from foreign enterprises, and from "the impeachment of his trades, either by offer of invasion, "or by besieging us in Britain, Ireland, or elsewhere, he "has then brought the work of our peril in great forward-"ness; for those princes, who abound in treasure, have

"great advantages over the rest, if they once constrain them "to a defensive war, where they are driven, once a year "or oftener, to cast lots for their own garments[h]." For these and other substantial reasons which Ralegh produces, he declares, he has laboured all his life, both to the utmost of his own power and persuasion of others, in the promotion of those attempts which promised either an enlargement of our own national interest, or an abatement of the encroaching greatness of the Spaniard, who, in his judgment, is not to be more easily reduced than by such a war; from so many weak nations are his treasures gathered, and so far separated from mutual succour. But because he thought such resolution and preparations were not to be hoped for in haste, he doubted not, if her majesty would embrace the offer of those provinces, and that empire now by him discovered, before they were engrossed by the enemy, but it would yield greater quantities of treasure than all the king of Spain possesses from the Indies, both East and West; and he would be contented to lose her good opinion for ever, and his life withal, if the country should not be found to exceed whatever had been promised in his discourse of it[i]. Though he has therein written, he doubts not after the first or second year that the same should be colonized, but to see in London a contractation-house of more receipt for Guiana, than that in Seville for the West Indies. And is positive, "That if "there was but a small army afoot in Guiana, marching "towards Manoa, the chief city of Inga, he would yield to "her majesty, by composition, so many hundred thousand "pounds yearly, as should both defend us from all enemies "abroad, and defray all expenses at home; and that he "would besides pay a garrison of three or four thousand "soldiers very royally to defend him against other nations: "for he cannot but know how his predecessors were beaten "out by the Spaniards, and that they have ever since, with "the greatest cruelties, sought the entry of his country, "wherefore he would doubtless be brought to tribute; if

[h] Sir W. Ralegh's Preface as before. [i] Idem.

"not, having neither shot nor iron weapon in his empire, "he might easily be conquered[k]." And in another part of the said discourse he has these words; "If it be my lot "to prosecute the same, I will willingly spend my life "therein; and if any else shall be enabled thereto, and "conquer the same, I assure him thus much, he shall per-"form more than ever was done in Mexico by Cortez, or "in Peru by Piçarro, whereof one conquered the empire of "Mutezuma, the other of Guascar and Alabalipa[l]; and "whatsoever prince shall possess it, that prince shall be "lord of more gold and of more beautiful empire, and of "more cities and people, than either the king of Spain or "the great Turk[m]." Concluding his whole treatise of Guiana with "his trust in him who is the King of kings "and Lord of lords, to put it into her heart who is the lady "of ladies to possess it; if not, I will judge those men "worthy to be kings thereof," says he, "who by her grace "and leave will undertake it of themselves."

All this, and much more, would not do to raise the saturnine, or rather malignant genius of the state to pursue this action; and upon this occasion we might observe, as Ralegh did afterwards upon another[n], from a poet of his own time[o], that "some great men clothing their private "envy in the fair colours of the public good, curbed the "most needful and noble undertakings with distrust, through "a specious care for the service of the state." Among these sage and sceptical politicians, we may discern sir Robert Cecil to be one, who, in his conferences with some of the speculative geographers of his time, would shew how careful he was not to be overtaken with any partial affection to the planting of Guiana, as we are told by one of them, whom he would consult about the matter; and who, perhaps therefore, admires, in a dedication to him, as the manner is in

[k] His Discovery of Guiana, 4to. 1596. p. 100.

[l] Vide Purchas, vol. 4. fol. 1493. and 1590.

[m] Discovery of Guiana, 4to. p. 9.

[n] History of the World, lib. 4. cap. 2. sect. 17.

[o] Sam. Daniel's Tragedy of Philotas, act 3. in the chorus. Which play being writ not long after the death of the earl of Essex, the town fancied that favourite characterized therein; but the poet, in his apology at the end thereof, endeavours to clear himself from any such intention.

this sort of writing, with no small joy, the exact knowledge he had acquired in matters of Indian navigation [p]. Nevertheless, Ralegh's advice was not wholly disregarded. For that part of it before mentioned, proposing to drive the Spaniards to a defensive war, but upon their own proper coasts or harbours, was approved of; and Ralegh himself chosen, with other commanders, as we shall soon find, to put it in execution. In the mean time, however discouraged in his new discovery, he would not relinquish it; but within six months after his return, that is, in the latter end of January following, he fitted out captain Keymis with a couple of ships, the Darling and Discoverer; but provided, rather to continue the correspondence and peaceful traffic with the Indians, than to strengthen them in a warlike manner with forces and accoutrements, which was what they most desired and expected. When Keymis arrived at Guiana, he found his friends much dispersed, but yet inquiring what was become of sir Walter Ralegh, whom they had been prepared some months to join, were mighty joyful to hear he was not slain at Cumana, as the Spaniards, now much increased among them, had attested; but sadly disappointed that he had not sent a larger fleet to expel them, and conquer their neighbouring enemies up to the imperial city. Keymis further learnt, that Berreo, being left at Cumana, and lodged in the house of one Fashardo, the governors of the Caraccas and Margarita, conspiring together, had sent into Spain to inform king Philip, that Berreo, being retired to spend the remainder of his declining days in privacy and ease, was utterly unable to pursue the enterprise; yet of what importance his majesty's regard thereto was, since so eminent an English cavalier as sir Walter Ralegh had, by a vigorous progress and most artful address, made such conquests and discoveries in some parts, and rendered himself so extensively engaging in all wherever he came, that unless they had power given them to undertake the charge, all their past endeavours and future hopes in those parts

The second voyage to Guiana.

[p] Hakluyt's Dedication to sir R. Cecil, of his second volume of Voyages, fol. 1599.

would come to nothing[q]. But Berreo's camp-master having been long before sent into Spain, with gold enough gotten out of Guiana, to levy and furnish five hundred men, so effectually solicited Berreo's cause, that present order was given for the victualling and manning of ten ships to be sent him; so well worth his care did the king of Spain think this undertaking. And further, this gold bore such weight, that the king commanded eighteen ships more to stop at Trinidad, and not follow their other directions, before they saw that place secured from enemies. But Berreo himself suspecting that speedy despatch, returned to Carapana's port with fifteen men, the scattered remnant that Ralegh had left him. Those governors followed him, and anticipating the authority they promised themselves from Spain, entered Guiana with their men, and determined to murder Berreo, who fled towards Caroli, expecting his son Antonio de Ximenes with succours from the new kingdom of Granada. And now Topiowary, who had fled to the mountains, being dead, where the English boy Ralegh left was devoured by a tiger, Sanjago, a Spaniard, in the faction of the governors aforesaid, took Francis Sparrow prisoner, who was also left by Ralegh, as has been related; but having gathered great plenty of gold, he ransomed his

[q] How much alarmed Spain was at this attempt of Ralegh's, count Gondomar is introduced thus confessing to his ghost, in a pamphlet writ not long after his death. "The tottering "ground whereon my king's title to "the Indies stood, that it was "nothing but violence and force, "tyranny and usurpation; and that "if a stranger or more gentle army "should enter, how easy it was to "set us besides the cushion: this I "know thou knewest, and what not "besides which belongeth to so "great an attempt and triumph." And a little further, "I dare not "(for the honour of my nation) un-"fold the woful perplexity in which "Spain stood during this tedious "voyage; how she quaked to think "of the general view which thou "hadst taken, without impeachment "of all the West Indies; but most "of all, when she was advertised of "thy long and laborious passage "upon the river Orenoque, the dis-"tinguishments which thou hast "made betwixt it and the river of "Amazons, and the intelligences "which thou hadst gotten for thy "ascent to the great city of Manoa "and kingdom of Guiana: designs, "which if they had been pursued, "according to thy willingness and "knowledge, we had not at this "day acknowledged one foot of "earth for ours in all the West In-"dies." Sir W. Ralegh's Ghost, or England's Forewarner: discovering a secret consultation newly held in the court of Spain; together with his tormenting of count Gondomar, &c. Utrecht, 4to. 1626. p. 14, 16.

life therewith, yet was kept in captivity by the Spaniards some years, as we may hereafter learn. After this, the faction returned to Trinidad, and begun to rebuild their town, where, unhappily to these new lawless rulers, the twenty-eight sail of ships arrived from Spain in February following, and took Sanjago, one of the busiest among them, prisoner, whom Keymis found in chains, expecting to be put to death. The other actors in this interlude vanishing in canoes, recovered Margarita and Cumana again. When eighteen of those ships had left all things in good order, they departed according to their instructions, leaving the other ten to fortify at Conquerabia, for the reception of sir Walter Ralegh's fleet. Nor was it above four months after the arrival of those ships from Spain, that the king had prepared several others, it being in June 1596, to transport a new supply of whole families, to the number of six hundred persons, for Guiana; so little did this prince mistrust that the planting thereof would not turn to account. But these ships not sailing before Ralegh himself visited the coast where they lay, what work he made among them, and the rest of the Spanish navy, will now in a little space demand our attention.

When Keymis was advanced to Topiowary's port, he found the Spaniards under Berreo had planted a village there, and that a rocky island against the mouth of Caroli was their fort or refuge; but now leaving both town and island, they gathered at the mouth of that river, and had sent for cannon to defend the passage "to those mines," says Keymis to Ralegh, "from whence your ore and white "stones were taken the last year:" adding, "we all, not "without grief to see ourselves thus defeated, and our "hungry hopes made void, were witnesses of this their re-"move." Then Keymis resolved to seek out Putiima, who, with some friends, was retired to the high lands, not far from the mountain Aio; intending, if the Indians should think themselves too weak with his help to displant the Spaniards, to set some of them to work, for hatchets and knives, to return him grains of gold, and white stones from

His account of the gold mines in Guiana confirmed.

such places as they should be directed to. But when he came to the place of their abode, they were fled, apprehending him and his company perhaps to have been a party of Spaniards. "Here," as Keymis goes on, "Gilbert my pi-
"lot offered to bring us either to the mine of white stones
"near Winicapora, or else to a gold mine which Putiima
"had shewed him, being but one day's journey over land
"from the place where we now stayed at anchor. I saw
"far off the mountains adjoining to this gold mine; and,
"having measured their paths near the same place this last
"year, could not judge it to be fifteen miles from us. I
"do well remember, how coming that way with Putiima
"the year before, he pointed to this same mountain, mak-
"ing signs to have me go with him thither. I understood
"his signs, and marked the place, but mistook his mean-
"ing; imagining that he would have shewed me the over-
"fall of the river Curwari from the mountains. My In-
"dian shewed me in what sort, without digging, they
"gather the gold in the sand of a small river named Ma-
"cawini, which springs and falls from the rocks where this
"mine is. And further told me, that he was with Putiima
"when Morequito was to be executed by the Spaniards,
"and that then the chief of Morequito's friends were in
"consultation to shew this mine unto them, if it might re-
"deem their captain's life; but upon better advice, sup-
"posing them in this case to be implacable, and that this
"might prove a means to lose, not only their king, but
"their country, they have to this day concealed it from
"them, being of all others the richest and most plentiful."
And a little further, among the reasons he gives for his not bringing proofs away from this mountain of his having known the contents of it, this is one, "Forethinking withal
"that there being no means but ourselves to make known
"our discovery, if we returned not; in our misfortune, the
"hope of following this voyage would be buried." And further still, he says, "I could promise hope of gold mines,
"and certain assurances of pieces of made gold; of spleen-
"stones, kidney-stones, and others of better estimate: but

"because our belief seems to be mated in these greater "matters, and a certainty of smaller profits is the readiest "inducement to quicken our weak hopes, I go not so far," says he, "as my own eyes might warrant me." These testimonies, and others which may be produced[r], will both shew, that Ralegh was not more sanguine in his golden hopes and promises, than the experience of other men, as well as his own, would justify; and withal, from the authority of these professions, that his choice was rationally grounded in making Keymis his agent for the further discovery of these mines many years afterwards; when, because he was not so successful as a prejudiced and greedy government expected, the whole undertaking was, with the

[r] Francis Sparrow, above mentioned in the body of the work, confirms this account of the mines in these words: "Within six weeks "after I departed out of the river "Orenoque, I came to the rich "country of Curaa in Guiana, "where are the mines of white stone, "in which is much natural and fine "gold, which the Indians call calli-"curii. The gold in this place runs "between the stones like veins, of "which gold I had some store; but "now the Spaniard is the better for "it. In Curaa is also gold in small "grains, which lie in the sands in "the little rivers or brooks: I always "took those grains for the finest "gold. In these rivers where gold "lieth, are many alligators, or croco-"diles." See the description of the Isle of Trinidad, the rich country of Guiana, and the mighty river of Orenoque, written by Francis Sparrey, (as my author writes him,) left there by sir W. Ralegh, 1595. but taken by the Spaniards, and sent prisoner to Spain, who, after long captivity, got into England by great suit, 1602. In Purchas's Pilgr. vol. 4. fol. 1249.

Captain Harcourt also gives this evidence to the same purpose; "As "I daily conversed among the In-"dians, it chanced that one of them "presented me with a half moon of "metal, which held somewhat more "than a third part gold, the rest "copper. Another also gave me a "little image of the same metal; "and of another, I bought a plate of "the same, which he called a spread-"eagle, for an axe. All which things "they assured me were made in the "high country of Guiana, which "they said did abound with images "of gold, by them called carre-"coory. These things I shewed to "my company, to settle their trou-"bled minds, which gave much con-"tentment to the greater part of "them, and satisfied us all that "there was gold in Guiana. Shortly "after that, my Indian, Anthony "Canabre, brought me a piece of a "rock of white spar, whereof the "high country is full; and if the "white spars of this kind, which are "the purest white of all others, (for "every sort of mine hath a spar, "and for the most part white,) be "in a main rock, they are certainly "mines of gold or silver, or of both. "I made trial of a piece of spar "which the same Indian discovered "to me, and I found that it held both "gold and silver; which, although "it was in small quantity, gave me "satisfaction that there be richer "mines in the country to be found; "but the best lie deeper in the earth, "and we had not time nor power to "make search for them." See the said captain Harcourt's Voyage to Guiana, anno 1608. dedicated to prince Charles, in Purchas, vol. 4. fol. 1277.

most flagrant ingratitude, branded as a fictitious project to impose upon his country, since indeed there was no imposition, unless where it is most unlikely there should be any, none being so great a sufferer thereby as Ralegh himself. But more of this in its due place.

When Keymis was arrived at the port of Carapana, this casique sent some of his people in canoes to assure him he would come down next day and have a conference with him; but not coming in five or six days, he at last sent one of his aged attendants to excuse the fatigue of such a journey, so unfavourable were the ways, and himself so disabled with years and infirmities. This old envoy then enlarged upon the inconveniences they felt in using the Spaniards' assistance against their enemies, especially when he compared their conduct with that of the queen of England's subjects under her great commander: "For," said he, "the last year, we doubted not but that he, being able, "would have persecuted us as the supporters of your ad-"versaries; would have taken our towns, and have made "us ransom our wives and children: but we found it far "otherwise; and that none of your well-governed company "durst offer us any wrong; no, not when undiscovered "they might have done it. We then believed to be true "what your grand captain reported of his princess; took "this for a good proof of her royal authority and wisdom, "that had framed her subjects to such obedience; and of "your happiness, who enjoyed the benefit thereof: where-"fore Carapana, weighing the friendly course of these pro-"ceedings, doth humbly crave of her majesty, for himself "and his people, that with the rest of the Indians, who "wholly depend on her princely regard, he also may en-"joy her favourable protection; not as a man forsaken by "the Spaniards, but one that, knowing their injustice, hates "their cruelties, and takes it for the best course utterly to "disclaim their friendship." Here Keymis breaks off, to consider it as a matter worthy of observation, how this precedent of Ralegh's moderation and good order, which, among them, his countrymen, who knew him, was but his custo-

The effects of his noble conduct among these Indians.

mary comportment, or ordinary practice, therefore of small regard with them, had yet both alienated the Indians' hearts altogether from the Spaniard, and stirred up in them true love and admiration thereof. After this, he discloses his further knowledge of the Indian wealth aforesaid, in these words: "This old man shewed whence most of their gold "cometh which is formed in so many fashions; whence "their spleen-stones, and others of all sorts, are to be had "in plenty; where gold is to be gathered in the sands of "their rivers; from what part the Spaniards, both by "trade and otherwise, have returned much gold;" and doubts not but all this was divulged with the consent of Carapana, as an invitation to the further aid and protection he expected from the English.

Accordingly Keymis, finding it was in vain to hope for a conference with that well-wishing, but wary casique, and having sent him a present of iron, gave assurance to all the Indians who repaired to him of his speedy return with succours; promising to make them all rich in hatchets, knives[s], and beads, if they would only reserve good store of their cassavi, (which they used for bread,) and some plates of gold, for exchange. And having further spent some time in the discovery of above fifty several rivers, tribes, or nations of people, towns, and casiques in this voyage, of all which he has given us a very accurate table, he directed his course homewards, and arrived at Portland in the latter end of June aforesaid; having spent five months in going, staying, and returning. As soon as he got home, he found Ralegh had been gone upon a grand expedition out of the nation near a month: therefore he had time to draw up his account of this voyage, (whence the passages which more immediately relate to our subject are extracted,) ready to present him with at his return into England; which he did, and dedicated it "To the approved, right valorous,

[s] These instruments were such preferable commodities among some of those Indians, that Francis Sparrow, in his description of Guiana before mentioned, tells us, he bought at Camalaha, to the south of the Orenoque, eight young women, the eldest whereof was not eighteen years of age, for one red-hafted knife, which in England cost him one halfpenny.

"and worthy knight sir Walter Ralegh, lord-warden, &c." In this dedication he expresses himself in a most respectful manner, and highly to sir Walter's honour for the great cost and travel which he had bestowed upon this discovery; telling him, "the fervent zeal and loyalty of your mind, in "labour with this birth of so honourable expectation, as it "hath deserved a recompense far different," (from what he had been describing,) "so needeth it not my poor suffrage "to endear the toil, care, and danger you have willingly un-"dergone for the good and advancement of our weal public: "the praiseworthiness thereof doth approve itself; and is "better read in your living doings, than in my dead unre-"garded papers, &c." Subscribing himself, "Your lord-"ship's to be commanded in all service." And in his pre-face "To the favourers of the voyage for Guiana," among the sensible motives he uses to remove all fig-leaves from our unbelief, and the examples he urges to exprobrate our remissness, one (which Ralegh had before touched upon with that modesty wherewith he always alludes to himself) is given by our author Keymis in these words: "If we "should suppose ourselves now to live in the days of king "Henry VII. of famous memory, and the strange report of "a West Indies, or new world, abounding with great trea-"sure, should entice us to believe it; perhaps it might be "imputed for some blame to the gravity of wise men, "lightly to be carried with the persuasion and hope of a "new found Utopia by such a one as Columbus was, being "an alien, and many ways subject to suspicion: but since "the penance of that incredulity lies even now heavy on "our shoulders, the example fore-threatening I know not "what repentance; and that we have the personal trial of "so honourable and sufficient a reporter, our own country-"man; let it be far from us to condemn ourselves in that "which so worthily we reprove in our predecessors[t], and

[t] Yet has our nation been reproached for our many neglects of this kind even to this day. A modern author observes, "That none "of all our late bubble-projectors so "much as ever proposed one sub-"scription for making any disco-"veries like sir Walter Ralegh's in "Virginia and Guiana. Where," says he, "was the set of men who offered

"to let our idle knowledge content itself with naked con-
"templation, like a barren womb in a monastery." But in his relation of the voyage itself, which he concludes with many cogent and strenuous arguments, drawn from the justice, profit, and necessity of prosecuting it, he introduces that conclusion with a paragraph which sets Ralegh forth so strongly in his principal point of light; having persisted more inflexibly, through greater discouragements, in more exalted pursuits than any other of his contemporaries, by seeking, not a private, so much as a national benefit; not a transient, but perpetual aggrandizement of his country, that this author's grateful acknowledgment thereof demands an undeniable admission; which therefore take as follows.

"to subscribe to a fund for searching out the north-west passages to "navigate to the pole, and solve "the difficulty which all the proficients in geography speak of only "by conjecture, viz. whether Europe and America join, or the "Tartarian ocean is to be traversed "or no? Have any men yet subscribed to a company for discovering the continents or islands of the "seas, more truly called the South-"Seas, I mean due south of the cape "de Bona Speranza, or due south of "the Terra del Fuogo? Do we "think there are any lands worth "possessing in all the vast southern "tracts, from forty or fifty degrees "south to the other pole of the "world? Why are not these parts "as well worth searching as the "bottoms and deeps of Hudson's "and Davis's Straits, or the icy "mountains of the Waggats and "Nova Zembla? The short is, our "projects are all bubbles, and calculated for Exchange-Alley discoveries, not for enlarging our commerce, settling colonies, and "spreading the dominions of our "sovereign from pole to pole. Why "has no bold adventurer followed "the glorious sir Walter Ralegh "upon the river of Amazon, the "Rio Parano, and the great Orenoque? where thousands of nations "remain undiscovered; and where "the wealth, the fruitfulness of the "soil, the goodness of the climate, "and the infinite numbers of the "people, exceed all that has ever "been conquered or discovered in "the American world: but all is "owing to the mercenary, low humour of the times we live in, who, "grovelling in the baser methods of "getting money by fraud and bite, "by deceiving and overreaching one "another, scorn the glorious ways "by which our ancestors grew rich, "when they pursued, together with "their private advantages, the honour and interest of their native "country, and of their posterity. If "our subscriptions had been for "such things as these, and the management had appeared to be as "fair as the design was honourable, "we had never had an act of parliament to suppress them as public "nuisances and a scandal to a Christian government; but the British "nation would have been encouraged to exert itself to the utmost "in them: whereas now we are all "degenerated into bubble and bite, "and the Exchange as well as Exchange-Alley is become a mere "gaming stage, where, instead of "merchants carrying on useful commerce, we see throngs of setters "and cullies sharping and cheating "one another." See the Humourist, being essays upon several subjects, vol. 2. 8vo. 1725. p. 40, 41.

"Thus have I emptied your purse, spending my time "and travel in following your lordship's directions for the "full discovery of this coast and the rivers thereof. Con-"cerning the not making of a voyage for your private "profit, I pretend nothing. Sorry I am, that where I "sought no excuse, by the Spaniard's being there, I found "my defect remediless. And for my own part, I do pro-"test, that if the consideration of the public good which "may ensue had not overpoised all other hopes and de-"sires, I would rather have adventured, by such small and "weak means as I had, to do well with danger, than to re-"turn only with safety. Now although in a cause not "doubtful my allegation is no way needful, yet because "the weightiness thereof, and the expectation of others, "seems of right to claim something to be said by me, whom "your especial trust and favour have credited and graced "with this employment; pardon it, I beseech your honour, "if, where my lamp had oil, it borrow light also, and my "speech, which is altogether unsavory, season itself with "some of the leaven of your own discourse touching this "discovery: the particular relation of some certain things "I have reserved as properly belonging to yourself, who "only, as knowing most, can make best use thereof. So "much in general is here touched, as may serve, I hope, to "refresh the memory of this worthy enterprise in those it "may concern, and testify your care and expense in fol-"lowing the same; that in a second age (when in time "truth shall have credit, and men, wondering at the riches "and strength of this place, which nature itself hath mar-"vellously fortified as her chief treasure-house, shall mourn "and sigh to hold idle sickles, whilst others reap and "gather in this harvest) it be not said, sir Walter Ralegh "was, of all men living in his days, most industrious in "seeking, most fortunate in attaining to the fulness of an "inestimable public good; if, knowing that for envy and "private respects his labours were lessened, his informa-"tions mistrusted, his proffers not regarded, and the due "honour of his deserts imparted to others; if I say

"seeing, knowing, and bearing all this, he with patience "had persisted in so good a way in doing his princess and "country service, and had but perfected his first discovery "by sending a ship or two for that purpose; for then surely, "all lets and doubts being removed, and so large a king-"dom, so exceeding rich, so plentiful of all things as this "by his discourse appeared to be, being offered; no de-"vices and vain surmises could have taken place, no illu-"sions could have prevailed; it had been blindness and "deafness in those, who, being near her majesty, do spend "their days in serving the commonwealth, not to see and "know in so weighty a matter; it had been malicious ob-"stinacy, impotence of mind, and more than treason to the "commonwealth, the matter standing only upon accept-"ance, to seek either to foreslow so fit an occasion, or for-"sake so general a blessing: but this *if* is now cut off, "through a singular and incomparable temper, in over-"coming evil with good[u]."

His perseverance applauded.

When Keymis returned into England, Ralegh, as we observed, was abroad, being sent upon that enterprise which proved the most victorious and renowned of any the English undertook in those days against the Spaniards. For the queen having heard they had received encouragement from Tir-Oen, the Irish rebel, to threaten her with a new invasion; that because she had strengthened their enemies, they would take the shortest course, and begin with England[x]; therefore had made great naval preparations, to which they might not be a little emboldened, both by the death of her two brave old commanders, Drake and Hawkins, and again by their late success, no further from her own coasts than Calais; which taking by storm under cardinal Albert, archduke of Austria and governor of the Netherlands, the thunder of the Spanish artillery alarmed her majesty's ears in her palace at Greenwich. This posture of affairs made the queen de-

[u] See a relation of the second voyage to Guiana, performed and written in the year 1596. by Laurence Keymis, gent. and dedicated to the approved, right victorious, and worthy knight sir Walter Ralegh, &c. in Hakluyt, vol. 3. fol. 683.

[x] Earl of Essex's Apology, the last edition, 8vo. 1729. p. 10.

termine, with the advice of her council, to use the most effectual means for preventing the mischiefs of an assault by taking the start of them, and sending a force sufficient to destroy the Spanish shipping in their own harbours [y]. Accordingly, a powerful fleet was fitted out to the number of a hundred and fifty sail, according to Camden from Stow, and Speed from both. But in the old manuscript-list of this fleet, which Camden followed as to the number of men, it appears there were no more than ninety-six ships of the English navy [z], which were afterwards joined by twenty-four sail of Hollanders, as I gather out of Grotius and their other historians. As to the number of men, the general calculation at the end of that list aforesaid was taken upon trust by Camden, or he would not have given it us without doubt; for it neither does agree with the erroneous sums under the particular heads of ships, mariners, captains, and soldiers, nor with the true ones which have, since it was printed, been subjoined; and if it did, it would not give satisfaction; the list itself being manifestly defective in omitting the land-companies which went over in the capital ships: so that not to be too scrutinous, the account which will best correspond with all variations is, that this English fleet contained about fourteen thousand men, whereof one thousand were volunteers. For as yet the English nobles and gentry had not learnt to live lazily and loosely at home, while their countrymen were fighting abroad for the safety and glory of the nation [a]. Now if to this number of men we add also that in the Dutch ships, which according to their own computation was near twenty-six hundred men, there might be enough to leave the whole fleet furnished with sufficient hands to guard and work it, and allow of ten thousand three hundred and sixty men to land upon the Spanish coast, as it is proposed in the conclusion of the list before mentioned.

The lord-admiral Howard and the earl of Essex were

[y] Camden's Annals, 1596.
[z] Cott. lib. Julius F. VI. fol. 278.
[a] Lives English and Foreign, vol. 1.

joined in commission generals of this enterprise; but the queen, considering what there might be wanting to keep an old head and a young one, a cool and a warm one, in due temper and harmony, allotted them a council of war in these words. "For the better and more orderly execution of "this your commission, and of those former articles com-"prised in these our instructions, we do ordain, that there "shall be two persons serving for the seas, and two that are "appointed to serve with the forces for land-service, to be "as counsellors to you in our name, that is, the lord Tho-"mas Howard and sir Walter Ralegh, sir Francis Vere "and sir Coniers Clifford; and to these four we do add sir "George Carew, lieutenant of our ordnance, to make the "number of five; whom also we charge by these presents, "that they will, as they will answer before God, give their "counsels to you both, without any private respect to "either of you, for love or fear, in all actions to be put in "question or taken in hand; and the same deliberately to "debate, as the weight of the matter shall require, before "any resolution be made, and before the putting of the "matter in action[b]." There is further to be understood by those "two persons serving for the seas," that the lord Thomas Howard and sir Walter Ralegh were also constituted admirals in this expedition. Hence was the whole English fleet divided into four squadrons, and so it appears in the list aforesaid, wherein we find that which was commanded by Ralegh consisted of twenty-two ships, thirteen hundred fifty-two mariners, and eighteen hundred seventy-five soldiers. The Dutch squadron was commanded by the admiral of Holland, named John Duvenvord, lord of Warmondt. How Essex relished the division of authority may be somewhat guessed at by the queen's answer to one of his letters, it seems, which she thought very strange. "You "mention," says she, "first a danger to commit authority "to any other, because you are referred to your commission

Chosen of the council of war.

And admiral.

[b] See the queen's instructions to the generals in the Cotton library, Otho E. IX. Also Rymer's Fœdera, anno 1596; and Mr. Lediard's Naval Expeditions in that year.

"and instructions formerly sent you, which hath no power "of deputation; as who should say, that if you did follow "the directions of our hand, our great seal in this matter "should be brought to dispute the validity of your war-"rant." A little further it appears, that he had been impatient to be gone, for fear he should be detained, for the queen had persuaded him to stay behind; but not prevailing, she now gave him liberty to depart, and told him, "Though we meant to drive it to the last considerations "and utmost debates as much as could be, yet we com-"pared times so sufficiently, as a prince who knows what "belongs to such a matter, that nothing should be done to "retard you (being ready) one hour: for as we know "Ralegh not to be arrived, so we know after it, some time "to embark such an army must be required [c]. But Ralegh joined the fleet, and the whole army was embarked within ten days after the writing of this letter, for on the first of June before mentioned the fleet set sail from Plymouth [d]. When they came to the north cape of Spain, they called a select council by hanging out the flag of arms; and then had the master and captain of every ship his sealed instructions given him, or letters of rendezvous, which were not to be opened till they were past Cape St. Vincent, unless separated by bad weather, but to be thrown overboard in case of danger from the enemy; and by which it appeared the voyage was determined for Cadiz. They had a fortunate

In the voyage to Cadiz.

[c] See the queen's said letter, dated May 21, 1596. in the volume of the Cotton library before cited; also lately printed in Mr. Lediard's Naval Expeditions, fol. 324.

[d] Sir Francis Vere, who was now marshal of the land forces, and who would incline us to think nobody's services, even at sea in this expedition, were so considerable as his own, though "he was not allotted to any "signal service, having (as he owns) "till now been a stranger to actions "at sea," says further, "During "this stay of the army about Ply-"mouth, (which, by reason of the "contrariety of winds, was near a "month,) it pleased my lord of Es-"sex to give me much countenance, "and to have me always near him, "which drew upon me no small "envy; insomuch as some open jars "fell out between sir Walter Ra-"legh, then rear-admiral of the navy, "sir Coniers Clifford, sergeant-ma-"jor-general of the army, and my-"self; which the general qualified "for the time, and ordered, that in "all meetings at land, I should have "the precedence of sir Walter Ralegh, "and he of me at sea." Vere's Commentaries, fol. Cambridge, 1657. p. 30, and 26. But those jars could not spring from such envy in Ralegh, who never coveted that favour which Vere courted.

progress, both as to the wind, and the taking of every ship which could give the enemy intelligence of their approach. On the twentieth of June the fleet came to anchor in the bay of St. Sebastians, short of Cadiz half a league. The lord-admiral, being careful of her majesty's ships, had resolved, with the earl of Essex, that the town should be first attempted, to the end that both the Spanish galleons and galleys, together with the forts of Cadiz, might not all at once beat upon the English navy. Ralegh was not present at this resolution, as himself has declared in that account of this action which he despatched soon after it was over to a minister of state in England [e]; which being the clearest I have met with, and easiest to be confirmed, not only by the more indifferent pens of foreigners, but the most partial ones of our own country, those of his competitors themselves for honour in this engagement will here be our best guide. Hence therefore we learn the reason of Ralegh's absence at that resolution of first landing the army to have been, because he was engaged the day before outward on the seas in stopping such Spanish ships as might pass out from St. Lucar or Cadiz along the coast [f]. When he returned, two hours after the rest, he found the earl of Essex disembarking his soldiers, having put many companies into boats, with intention to make his descent on the west side of Cadiz; but the billows were so raging, that the boats were ready to sink at the stern of the earl, and divers

[e] Sir Walter Ralegh's relation of the action at Cadiz in the year 1596, published by Philip Ralegh, esq. his only grandson, among the genuine remains at the end of an abridgement of sir Walter's History of the World, 8vo. 1700.

[f] In a foreign history we have this circumstance thus further confirmed and enlarged. "Ralegh was despatched before with certain ships "to set upon some great vessels, "which, as they heard, were ready to "sail out of St. Lucar's bay; but "they lay so near the shore that he "could not approach them, and was "further hindered by a mist, in which "they escaped; but they were by "Ralegh so nearly chased to the "land, that his own ships were in "danger to have run on ground." See The Triumphs of Nassau, fol. 1613. p 187. translated by W. Shute, gent. from the French book, called, Les Lauriers de Nassau: ou description et représentation (en taille douce) de toutes les victoires gagnées par les estats souz la conduite et gouvernement du prince Maurice de Nassau, fol. à Leyden; par Jean Jeantzoon Orlers, et Henry de Haestens, 1612.

were lost with some armed soldiers in them[g]; but because this course had been resolved on, and that doubting now in the danger might look like dreading of it, the earl continued his purpose of landing, when Ralegh came aboard his ship, and, in the presence of all the colonels, protested against the resolution; giving him many reasons and apparent demonstrations, that, to the utter overthrow of their armies, themselves, and her majesty's future safety, he was running the way of a general ruin. The earl excused himself, and laid it upon the lord-admiral, who would not consent, he said, to enter with the fleet till the town was first possessed. All the commanders and gentlemen present besought Ralegh to dissuade the attempt[h], for they all perceived the danger, and were convinced that the greatest part must perish ere they could set foot on ground; and if any reached the shore, yet would they surely have their boats cast on their heads; and twenty men, in such a desperate descent, might defeat them all. The earl hereupon prayed Ralegh to go and persuade the lord-admiral, who, being also by him made sensible that certain destruction would be the consequence of pursuing the former resolution, consented to enter the port. When Ralegh brought Essex the news of this agreement[i], and called out of his

Dissuades the generals from their rash course.

[g] An author who was in the engagement, observes, that in this hasty attempt of the earl's, a barge was sunk, having fourscore soldiers in her, and that eight of them were drowned. See the Cadiz Voyage in Hakluyt, and the abridgement in Purchas, vol. 4. fol. 1929.

[h] Sir W. Monson, who was captain in the earl's ship, says, he also dissuaded him from landing. See his Naval Tracts in Churchill's Collection of Voyages.

[i] Sir Francis Vere, who was a commander of the land-forces, was one of them who was for landing with the earl at the Caletta, as plainly appears from his own words; and having no command in the fleet, it is no less visible he envied those who had, the honour of a naval victory. For how maliciously has he disguised and disparaged this signal service of Ralegh's! where he says, "This day "the generals met not together, but "the lord-admiral had most of the "sea-officers aboard with him, and "the lord of Essex had those for "land-service, and sir Walter Ra-"legh was sent to and fro betwixt "them with messages; so that in "the end, it was resolved and agreed "upon to put the next tide into the "bay." See Vere's Commentaries, fol. 27, 28; but not one word, who it was that dissuaded them from their first rash attempt, and who brought them to this agreement; when even foreigners have given us more of the arguments wherewith the earl was persuaded by Ralegh alone, than Ralegh himself has done. See The Triumphs of Nassau, fol. 187.

boat, *Entramos, entramos*, as he returned towards him, the earl threw his hat into the sea for joy, and prepared to weigh anchor. The day was now far spent, and it required much time to return the boats of soldiers to their own ships. So as that night they could not attempt the fleet, "although "many, seeming desperately valiant, thought it a fault of "mine," says Ralegh, "to delay it till morning[k], though we "had neither agreed in what manner to fight, nor appointed "who should lead, and who second; whether by boarding "or otherwise: neither could our fleet possibly recover all "their men in before sunset. But both the generals being "pleased to hear me, and many times to be advised by so "mean an understanding, came again to anchor, and in the "very mouth of the harbour. So that night, about ten "o'clock, I wrote a letter to the lord-admiral, declaring "therein my opinion, how the fight should be ordered; "persuading him to appoint to each of the great galleons "of Spain two great flyboats to board them, after the "queen's ships had battered them; for I knew that both "St. Philip and the rest would burn, and not yield; and "then to lose so many of the queen's ships for company "I thought too dear a purchase, and what would be termed "but a lamentable victory." This method being agreed on, and both the generals persuaded to lead the body of the fleet, the charge of the van for putting it in execution, was, upon Ralegh's request, granted and assigned to him. The ship himself was in, called the Warspite, was one of the queen's, and carried about two hundred and ninety mariners. The rest, appointed out of her navy to second him, were the Mary Rose, commanded by sir George Carew, the Lion by sir Robert Southwell, the Rainbow by sir Francis Vere, the

Lays down the order of fight.

[k] Ralegh himself was the first who complained of delay by that indiscreet attempt of landing, both against the storm and the enemy's ships, between them and the shore; but now the delay was necessitated, not only by the distance of the Spanish fleet up the bay, but the danger of being benighted, and then fighting in a strait and among the rocks. See the Triumphs of Nassau, as before: but Ralegh himself has given the best reason for their delay this night, which is, their having as yet agreed on no scheme or method of engagement; which must have brought all to confusion.

Swiftsure by captain Cross, the Dreadnought by sir Coniers and Alex. Clifford, the Nonpareil by Mr. Robert Dudley; besides twelve Londoners, and certain flyboats [l]. Thus the lord Thomas Howard, because the Mer Honeur, which he commanded, was one of the greatest ships, was also left behind with the generals; but being impatient thereof, he pressed them to have the service committed to him, and to that end exchanged his ship with Mr. Dudley. Hereupon Ralegh observes, "For my own part, as I was "willing to give honour to my lord Thomas, having both "precedency in the army, and being a nobleman whom I "much honoured; so I was yet resolved to give, and not "to take example for this service, holding my own reputa-"tion dearest." Therefore with the first peep of day he weighed anchor, taking the start of all others a good distance [m], and bear with the enemy, who was in the following disposition to receive him.

Under the walls of Cadiz were ranged seventeen galleys, which lay with their prows to flank his entrance. There was also a fort called Philip, which beat into and commanded the harbour, besides the ordnance, which lay all along the curtain upon the wall towards the sea, and divers other pieces of culverin which scoured the channel. Notwithstanding, as soon as the enemy perceived an English admiral under sail approaching, several of their galleons and other ships of war, with forty great vessels besides, bound for Mexico and other parts, also set sail. Of all which, the St. Philip, Matthew, Andrew, and Thomas,

[l] The Triumphs of Nassau having told us, that every commander strived to have the vanguard, further add, "The council, resolving not to ha-"zard the queen's great ships but "upon urgent necessity, thought fit "that sir Walter Ralegh, with eight "of the queen's lesser ships, (in-"stead of seven,) six Hollanders, "and twelve English merchantmen, "should have the vanguard." fol. 187. The reason why Ralegh mentioned not the Hollanders, and the English merchants but slightly, is, because they were made little use of.

[m] The Triumphs of Nassau observe, "The resolution of giving Ra-"legh the van being oppugned by "the lord Thomas Howard, who "said that honour belonged to him, "(as vice-admiral,) it was concluded "that both of them should go toge-"ther; but Ralegh, as soon as it "was day, to lose no time in weigh-"ing anchor, let slip, and thereby "had the advantage of sailing first." fol. 188.

being four of the capital galleons of Spain, came again to anchor under the fort of Puntal, in a strait of the harbour which leads over to Puerto Real. On the starboard side of them they placed three frigates of war; at their back, two great galleons of Lisbon, besides two well furnished argosies; and the seventeen galleys by three and three, were to interlace them as occasion should be offered. The admiral, vice-admiral, and rear-admiral of New Spain, with the body of the fleet[n], were ranged behind them towards Puerto Real, hoping with this great strength to defend the entrance, the place being no broader from point to point, than that their line did in effect stretch over the strait as a bridge, and had besides the fort of Puntal for their guard.

Ralegh, as aforesaid, advancing in the van, was first saluted by fort Philip[o], next by the cannon on the curtain, and, lastly, in good order by the seventeen galleys which lay

[n] The number of ships in the bay of Cadiz is not so exactly agreed upon as their situation, by those who saw them, which Ralegh has described the best of any, because some take more notice, some less, of the Spanish merchantmen. Sir Francis Vere only says, "In the mouth of the bay, "thwart the rocks called Los Puer-"cos, there lay to our judgment "forty or fifty tall ships, whereof "were four of the king's greatest "and warlikest galleons, eighteen "merchant ships of the West Indian "fleet, outward bound and richly "laden, the rest private merchants." Comment. fol. 27. So that he saw but four men of war. Another who was there, says, "Between five and "six o'clock in the morning our "ships, with all speed, courage, and "alacrity, set upon the Spanish "ships then under sail, and making "up the bay of Cadiz towards Pu-"ente de Suazo, being in number "fifty-nine tall ships, with nine-"teen or twenty galleys attending "on them, sorted in such good or-"der and reasonable distance as "might still annoy us, and relieve "themselves interchangeably." Vid. the Cadiz Voyage in Hakluyt, and the Abridgement in Purchas, vol. 4. fol. 1929; so he mentions no merchantmen. But another having mentioned fifty-seven great ships, besides twenty galleys and a few other vessels of war, distinguishes also a fleet of thirty-five sail richly laden for the West Indies, with as much wine, oil, lace, cloth of gold, and other precious merchandise, as was worth eleven or twelve millions of ducats. Triumphs of Nassau, fol. 186. This was the fleet above mentioned in Ralegh's account, and near the number, bound for Mexico.

[o] Sir Walter Ralegh afterwards, exemplifying how little a resolute and experienced man of war will fear to pass by the best appointed fort of Europe, with the help of a good tide and a leading gale of wind; and how hard a matter it is to stop a good ship without another as good to encounter it, says, "The fort St. "Philip terrified not us in the year "1596, when we entered the port of "Cadiz; neither did the fort at Pun-"tal, when we were entered, beat us "from our anchoring by it; though "it played upon us with four demi-"cannons within pointblank, from "six in the morning till twelve at "noon." Hist. of the World, lib. 5. cap. 1. sect. 10.

near the town, with all their prows bent against him as he entered. Ralegh answered the firing of their ordnance with a flourish of his trumpets, and still kept driving forwards that he might draw up a sufficiency of the English fleet into play, and to engage those he passed by, while he was in action upon the body of the enemy [p]. Accordingly the ships that followed beat upon the galleys so thick, that they soon betook them to their oars, and got up to join with the galleons in the strait, as aforesaid [q]; then, as they were driven to pass near him, he bestowed his benediction from several broadsides among them, but plied St. Philip, the great and famous admiral of Spain, most constantly, as being most worthy of his fire, accounting the galleys but as wasps in regard of that sea-monster; and being now resolved to repay the enemy's former treatment of the Revenge, or to second her loss with his own life, he came to anchor by the great galleons, whereof the Philip and the Andrew were the two which boarded that brave English ship. Here he fell

[p] The Triumphs of Nassau says, "The Spanish galleys discharged all "their ordnance upon Ralegh; but he "made not one shot, leaving it to "those that followed him, and so "went directly towards the galleons, "which lay in the deepest part of the "river, and with two other very great "ships took up the whole breadth of "it." fol. 188.

[q] Sir William Monson, describing the situation of the enemy, or manner of riding in their harbour at his first sight of them, agrees very well with this part of Ralegh's account, where he says, the four galleons singled themselves from out of the fleet as guards of their merchants. The galleys were placed to flank us with their prows at our entry; but, when they saw our approach the next morning, the merchants run up the river, the men of war to Port Royal, and brought themselves into a good order of fight, mooring their ships ahead and stern to have their broadsides upon us. The galleys then betook themselves to the guard of the town, which we put them from before we attempted the ships. See his Naval Tracts. But Vere takes this service entirely to himself, in these words: "As the Spanish ships "loosed from their anchors and made "from us, their galleys, seventeen "in number, under the favour of the "town, made towards us, ranged in "good order. My ship was floaty, "and stored with good ordnance, "which made me hasten towards "them without staying for any com-"pany, &c. So as I entered fight "with them alone, and so galled "them with my ordnance, that they "gave back, keeping still in order "and fight with me, &c. At last," says he, "I put them from under "the town, and took certain ships, "which rode there at anchor for-"saken of their men, and followed, "continuing in fight, till they came "under the fort of the Puntal, where "thwart the bottom of the bay lay "their four great ships with a dis-"tance between them; and, spread-"ing the breadth of the channel, "were now in hot fight of ordnance "with our fleet." Vere's Comment. fol. 30, 31.

to battering of them very briskly, expecting after a while the flyboats to come up, that he might board and take them. And now began the engagement to be very desperate. The lord Thomas came to anchor on one side of him, though pretty much behind [r], with sir Robert Southwell; sir George Carew, and the Cliffords on the other; and sir Francis Vere was towards the side of Puntal. At last the thunder of the ordnance grew so great about ten o'clock in the morning, that Essex, impatient to abide far off, thrust up through the fleet, heading all those on the left hand, and on that side anchored next to Ralegh; afterwards came in captain Cross, as near as he could; but Ralegh, to his great honour, held always single in the head of all [s]. Now after they had beat, as at two butts, one upon another almost three hours, so that the volleys of cannon and culverin came as thick as if it had been a skirmish of musketeers, till Ralegh's ship was in danger of sinking in the place, he made away to Essex in his skiff, to desire that he would enforce the promised flyboats to come up, that he might board; for, as he rid, he could not long endure so great a battery. Essex was then coming up himself, to whom Ralegh declared, "That if the flyboats came not, he "would board in the queen's ship; for it was the same loss

A sharp engagement.

[r] Though this passage of lord Thomas's being now far behind is not mentioned by Ralegh in the letter he then wrote of the Cadiz action, which we here chiefly follow; yet I have it from his own handwriting, in the printed book called Les Lauriers de Nassau, before mentioned, a copy of which history falling into his hands soon after it was published, sir Walter Ralegh has, in the language it is writ in, made short notes with a black-lead pencil throughout this whole action, where himself is mentioned; which are not only still legible, but demonstrable to be his own writing, both from the sense and form of the characters. In the margin of this copy against the words that signify, "the lord Thomas to have come up to sir Walter "Ralegh with six of the queen's "ships as near the galleons as possible, discharging all their ordnance, and fighting from six o'clock "in the morning till noon," Ralegh has written with his pencil, *Mais bien arrière*. This curiosity is in the possession of Thomas Brian, esq. of the Inner Temple, who has favoured me with the use of those notes, the better to illustrate this part of their author's story.

[s] Hence might it be, that Ralegh's ship lost most men, and yet very few, in comparison of the length and heat of the engagement; and also might be one of those which was shot through two and twenty times, since none seems to have been so much disabled, as may appear a little further. Vide Abridgement of Hakluyt in Purchas, vol. 4. fol. 1930.

"to burn or sink, and one he must endure." Then the earl promised him, "That whatever he attempted he would "second him in person, upon honour." In the mean while the lord-admiral Howard, being also at first disposed to advance, but the river was so choked that he could not pass in the Ark, came with the lord Thomas in the Nonpareil; and while Ralegh was speaking to Essex, "the marshal, (Vere) "who thought it some touch," says Ralegh, "to his great "esteemed valour to ride behind me so many hours, got up "ahead of my ship; which lord Thomas perceiving, headed "him again, myself being but a quarter of an hour absent. "At my return, finding myself from being the first to be "but the third, I presently let slip anchor, and thrusting "in between the lord Thomas and the marshal, went fur-"ther ahead than all of them before, and thrust myself "athwart the channel, so as I was sure none should outstart "me again for that day." Essex, thinking his ship stronger than the rest, thrust Clifford's aside, and still got next to Ralegh, on the left hand, ahead of all that rank, but lord Thomas; while Vere secretly fastened a rope on Ralegh's ship-side towards him, and drew himself up equal with him; but some of his company advertising him thereof, he caused it to be cut asunder; so Vere fell back into his place, whom Ralegh guarded, all but his prow, from the sight of the enemy [t].

But now Ralegh having no hopes of his flyboats, and Essex with the lord Thomas having promised to second him [u], he laid out a warp by the side of the Philip to close,

[t] This contention of sir Francis Vere's for precedency again, he owns in these words: "Sir Walter Ra-"legh, very little ahead of me, cast "his anchor, as did also the gene-"rals, and as many of the fleet as "the channel would bear; so as the "shooting of ordnance was great, "and they held us good talk, by "reason their ships lay thwart with "their broadsides towards us, and "most of us right ahead, that we "could use but our chasing-pieces. "I sent my boat aboard sir Walter "Ralegh to fasten an hauser to wind "up my ship, which was loosed soon "after my boat was put off." Vere's Comment. fol. 32.

[u] The Triumphs of Nassau seem to explain the reason of the flyboats not coming up, where we find those of Lubeck and Dantzick fell into contest with the English ones about that service. After which, the commanders being aboard the general, they resolved to assail the galleons, commanding, says this history, the lord Howard and sir Walter Ralegh to

the wind hindering him otherwise to board her; and when the admiral thereof, with the commanders of the other three wooden apostles, found that Essex and the lord Thomas began to do the like, they all slipped anchor, and ran aground; heaps of soldiers and mariners tumbling into the sea like coals out of a sack, says Ralegh, into many ports at once; some drowning, some sticking in the mud. He also tells us, the Philip thereupon burnt herself; and another author more particularly in these words: "As Ralegh thought to have boarded the great galleon St. Philip, "a negro gave fire to the powder, and escaped by swimming; it gave so great a crack, that the mast was blown up "into the air, as if it had been an arrow. A pinnace that "lay near it was burnt, but the men escaped in boats. "The other galleon, called St. Thomas, was likewise blown "up, but did no harm to the English." He also mentions "two easterlings which ran ashore, and were burnt; but," says he, "the St. Matthew and St. Andrew, of ten or twelve "hundred ton apiece, were saved from running aground, "and carried away[x]." However, he does not inform us particularly by whom; and others seem to have done Ralegh more wrong, in nominating other persons, and omitting him in the performance; since it appears under his own handwriting that "he took them both himself[y]." And this agrees with the manner his letter of this action in print has expressed it, where he says, "those galleons were recovered "with our boats ere they could get out to fire them." Here he observes upon the enemies running to the shores, and thus firing their ships, that the spectacle was very lamentable on their side; for many drowned themselves; many half

The Spanish galleons destroyed.

And taken by him.

begin. See fol. 188. Against which last assertion Ralegh, in that which was his own French copy of this book, has written *A moy seul;* as much as to say, that desperate charge was committed to him alone. Mr. Brian's copy of Les Lauriers de Nassau, p. 138. And as much is implied above, in the text, from Ralegh's own epistolary account, which says, the lord Thomas promised to second him.

[x] Triumphs of Nassau, fol. 189.

[y] "J'ay pris tous deux," are Ralegh's own words in the margin of his Lauriers de Nassau, even with that period which expresses the taking of these two galleons, but not the person who took them.

burnt, leaped into the water; very many, hanging at the ropes' ends by the ship's side under the water, even to the lips; many swimming with grievous wounds, till struck under water, and put out of their pain; and withal such huge fires, and such tearing of the ordnance, in the great Philip and the rest, when the flames came to them, that Ralegh thought there was here to be seen the most lively figure of hell itself.

Thus the victory was obtained by sea, and the bay resigned by two, some say, by four o'clock in the afternoon [z]; though no more of the English were constantly and closely engaged than the ships and commanders before mentioned, against the six great galleons, seventeen galleys, with the fleet of New Spain, argosies, and frigates, to the number of fifty-five or fifty-seven, as Ralegh himself reckons them; besides the fort of Puntal playing upon them all the while. After the victory, "ourselves spared the lives of all," says Ralegh; "but the Flemings, who did little or nothing in "the fight, used merciless slaughter; till they were by my-"self, and afterwards by my lord-admiral, beaten off [a]."

Then did they hasten to land the army, and attempt the town [b]; in which there were of all sorts about five thousand

[z] I meet with no author but sir William Monson, who prolongs the victory by sea to four o'clock.

[a] An author, who was present at this victory, speaking of the proclamation that was published by the generals and council, to prevent all further bloodshed after the surrender by the Spaniards, says, This honourable and merciful edict was, I am sure, strictly and religiously observed by the English; but how well it was kept by the Dutch, I will neither affirm nor yet deny; for I perceive between them and the Spaniards there is an implacable heart-burning. And therefore, as soon as the Dutch squadron was espied in the fight, immediately both they of Seville, St. Lucar, and other places, did not only arrest all such Dutch ships as dealt with them friendly by the way of traffic and merchandise, and confiscate their goods, but imprisoned the merchants and owners of the same; and, by report, treated many of them with extreme cruelty. Vide Hakluyt and Purchas, vol. 4. fol. 1931.

[b] Cadiz was a large and beautiful city, and being the chief see of the bishop had a good cathedral church, abbey, nunnery, and fine college of Jesuits; was strongly situated both by nature and art; the buildings of hard stone, all flat roofed, after the Turkish manner; so that having lodged heaps of great stones on the tops of their houses, every woman could endanger the passengers in the streets, which were very narrow, perhaps to avoid the great heat. All the houses had fair window-frames, and large folding shutters; but were barred with iron, and none glazed, except the churches. They had few chimneys, but in some lower outrooms for necessary uses; seeming

foot, one hundred and fifty soldiers in pay, and about eight hundred horse [c], of the gentry and cavaliers of Xeres gathered together upon the discovery of the English fleet two days before, as they lay becalmed off Cape St. Mary. The horsemen sallied out to resist their landing, but were so vigorously assailed and overpowered by the English, that the greatest part made away to the bridge which leads to the main, called Puente de Suaço; the rest retreated to the town, and were so eagerly pursued, that they were driven to forsake their horses at the gate, which the inhabitants durst not open to admit them; so that they were forced to leap down an old wall into the suburbs, which the English vanguard, close at their heels, perceiving, with Essex at their head, followed them; and so the town was carried with a sudden fury [d], in a short space of time [e], and with very little loss [f]. Ralegh, though he had received a grievous wound in his leg, being much torn and deformed

Wounded.

to be more careful of keeping themselves from roasting, than to have much of any thing roasted. Abridgement of the Cadiz Voyage in Purchas, vol. 4. fol. 1932.

[c] Purchas also adds, the town had above four thousand fighting men, and six hundred horse, well furnished, no doubt; so many ships being always at hand, and so well stored with ammunition. Another author writes, the number of men and women might be eight or nine thousand. Triumphs of Nassau, fol. 192.

[d] Vere's Commentaries, fol. 39.

[e] Before eight o'clock that night the English were masters of the market-place, forts, town, and all but the castle, which held out till break of day. Thus was this notable victory, as well by sea as land, both begun, and in effect performed within the compass of fourteen hours. Purchas, as before, fol. 1931, 1932.

[f] In all the terrible fight by sea, not much above one hundred Englishmen were slain and hurt; one pinnace of sir R. Southwell's fired, with the Philip aforesaid, and one Flemish flyboat, with a hundred men, blown up by her own powder, as Purchas observes. By land, sir Walter Ralegh mentions sir John Wingfield, who was slain in the market-place, sir Edward Wingfield, captain Bagnol, and captain Metkerke, as the Dutch historians call him. These two last were knighted with sir Arthur Savage the 21st or 22d of June, by the earl of Essex, who the Sunday following very royally bestowed the like honour upon at least threescore more, most of them his friends and followers, and many, mere creatures and flatterers. The earl thought he should strengthen his party and interest thereby, and has warmly justified himself in his Apology for shewing them that distinction; but it weakened him in the queen's opinion to see him ape her prerogative, or play king Robert so extravagantly. And what may we think she said of this number? when for his having before made twenty-four knights at the succour of Rhoan, none of whom were in meaner circumstances than many of these, the queen said, "My lord might have done well to "have built his almshouse before he "made his knights." Lord Bacon's Apophthegms, p. 17.

with a splinter-shot in the fight; yet, willing to encourage the army with his presence, and desirous of seeing the actions and dispositions of the enemy, he was carried ashore on the shoulders of his men, where the lord-admiral, out of his care and regard, sent him one of his horses; but his own being recovered in due time, was made ready for him. The torment he endured, and the fear he was continually in of being shouldered by the tumultuous soldiers, abandoned to spoil and rapine, without any respect of persons, made him unable to abide above an hour in the town [g]. The same night therefore he returned, chiefly because there was no admiral on board to order the fleet, or indeed few mariners left in the navy; "all," to use his own words, "running headlong to the sack;" and also because he was fit for nothing but rest and retirement at that time: otherwise he might, like the rest of the commanders, have rewarded himself for his services. But leaving them in safe possession at his departure, they promised to preserve for him his share of the booty, and to give him a good quarter of the town; of which, as we have it under his own hand, they defrauded him [h]. He had desired the consent of the generals, that he might go and secure or destroy the Indian fleet, which was said to be worth twelve millions, and lay in Puerto Real road; but they desired to consider on it till next morning. At break of day, Ralegh sent his brothers,

[g] Ralegh entered the town with the lord-admiral, lord Thomas Howard, sir W. Paget, sir Robert Southwell, Levison, Woodhouse, Mansell, and the mariners; sir Edward Hobby carrying the colours before them, about the time of the great skirmish in the market-place, soon after which the Spaniards retired and capitulated, agreeing to pay five hundred and twenty, according to Camden, or, according to Stow, six hundred and twenty thousand ducats, (which is five times more than foreign authors mention,) for the ransom of their lives, and to give forty hostages for the payment. After the surrender, order was given to transport the religious men and women, merchants' wives, &c. to Port St. Mary, that no violence might be offered them. They had also liberty to take as many of their clothes or goods as they could carry with them; which produced a remarkable example in a beautiful young Spanish lady, who, leaving all that was precious and valuable, bore away her old and decrepit husband upon her back, whom before she had hidden from the danger of the enemy; herein imitating the piety of the Bavarian women, after the conquest of their country by the emperor Conrade III. See Sandys' notes on Ovid's Metam. lib. 13. fol. 449.

[h] "En laquelle ils m'ont trompé," as himself has written over against this promise in Mr. Brian's copy of Les Lauriers de Nassau, fol. 139.

sir John Gilbert, and sir Arthur Throgmorton, as also sir Henry Leonard, to know their resolution; but the generals sent back to desire he would come ashore into the town [i]. Ralegh very favourably imputes these evasions to the great confusion, in which it was almost impossible for them to order many things at once. In the afternoon of the same day, the merchants of Cadiz and Seville offered the generals, by the committee of the contractation-house, with the purveyor, corregidor, and other officers, two millions of ducats to spare that fleet; neither could this bring them to any resolution, so that advantage was lost [k]. Ralegh might possibly insist upon a larger composition, by saying, "They "ought first to be masters of the fleet, and ransom it after-"wards; for if they offered two millions already, they would "give four when it was taken;" because he has not denied this speech where he had read it ascribed to him [l]. But it appears plain enough to me, from the same author, that Essex was not for having the fleet seized upon, unless by sir Christopher Blunt, sir Edward Conway, sir Thomas Gerrard, and other land-officers, which Ralegh would not consent to for the honour of the sailors; as it does appear from Camden, that the lord-admiral would not consent to any composition. "For we came," said he, "to consume "them, and not compound with them." But they saved him the trouble; for the next morning, being the 23d of June, the duke of Medina caused all that fleet of merchantmen to be set on fire, because he was convinced, from their being beset so vigilantly by Ralegh, who had the charge of them, that they must needs fall into his hands. Thus both galleons, frigates, argosies, with the fleet of Nueva Espana, and all except the galleys, which it seems escaped, were consumed to ashes. Good store of the enemy's ordnance was recovered out of their ships, and great quantities of merchandise, plate, jewels, and money, out of the town: their whole loss being computed at twenty millions of du-

Forces the Spaniards to fire their Indian fleet.

[i] Lauriers de Nassau.

[k] "Par la refuse nous avons perdu "deux millions," says Ralegh, against this passage in the same copy of that French history.

[l] In the said book.

cats [m]. Many rich prisoners were given to the land-commanders, "so as that sort were very rich," says Ralegh; "some had for their prisoners sixteen or twenty thousand, "some ten thousand ducats [n], besides great houses of mer-"chandise. What the generals have gotten I know least," concludes he; "they protest it is little: for my own part, "I have gotten a lame leg, and a deformed; for the rest, "either I spoke too late, or it was otherwise resolved. I "have not been wanting in good words, or exceeding kind "and regardful usage; but have possession of nought but "poverty and pain."

Thus have we related this action chiefly from Ralegh's letter before mentioned, the credit whereof is the less obnoxious to any doubt, in that it either here is, by our endeavours, or might be by those of an able pen, sufficiently corroborated out of other writers upon the same subject. But there is one letter more, written by another ocular witness of all his behaviour in this victory, at their leaving of Cadiz, early enough for the perfect memory thereof; to the lord Burghley, a man dangerous to deceive with misrepre-

[m] The earl of Essex, in a brief narrative of the advantages accruing to England, and losses to the Spaniard, by this expedition, says, "The "English took two galleons, routed "fifteen galleys, with an unequal "number of ships; freed many of "their countrymen condemned to "the galleys, and released several "Spaniards from imprisonment; "took the best fortified city in all "Spain, and stayed thirteen days in "their country; brought home, be-"sides the galleons aforesaid, a "hundred brass guns, with a rich "booty; and the sailors, but espe-"cially the soldiers, great plunder: "the enemy lost thirteen of his most "serviceable ships, forty Indian "merchantmen, and four others, "besides vast quantities of ammu-"nition, provisions, &c. rendering "it almost impossible he should in "some time appear again at sea in "a formidable manner." Vide Camden, anno 1596. Though such was their loss, and computed as above; yet the earl wrote a paper of objections hereafter mentioned, against his colleagues, for not doing more.

The Triumphs of Nassau sums up the Spanish loss thus: "Three and "thirty great ships laden for the In-"dies were burnt, besides five ships "which came from St. Lucar, three "of which ran aground. It was the "greatest and wealthiest fleet that "ever went to the Indies." And a little further; "The wealthy town "was wholly sacked, and the booty "great, which was carried to the "ships. It was thought the king "lost at the same time 5,200 pieces "of ordnance, besides armour suffi-"cient for five or six hundred men, "which was taken out of the arse-"nal." fol. 191, 192.

[n] Sir Francis Vere says, "I got "three prisoners worth ten thousand "ducats; one of which was a church-"man, and president of the contrac-"tation-house of the Indies; the "other two were ancient knights," whom he names. Comment. fol. 42.

sentations; and further, written by an old land-commander, under the earl of Essex, who even never saw sir Walter Ralegh before this voyage: therefore a testimony that carries many marks of truth, and none of partiality in his favour. For which reason, and because it has never yet seen the public light, I shall here transcribe all that is said, being concise, not only of one, but every commander mentioned therein, that my reader may, unbiassed by me, distinguish what a principal share of honour is paid to the merit of sir Walter Ralegh's counsels and courage throughout the whole engagement: but these are my author's words. "My lord, "this I must say, that never prince of England hath re-"ceived more true glory and reputation than our sovereign "in this, wherein these two nobles have commanded with "such valour, love, and good intelligence, as we, that have "been under them, received thereby singular comfort; and "truly, my lord, they deserve as much honour as may be "heaped on them. We surprised the enemy, whereby "this mighty and rich Indian fleet of forty-five sail of good, "and some of them mighty ships, have been consumed to "ashes; a ruin to this king, not to be recovered in all his "days; besides the cutting off this year's voyage, and con-"sequently the next. By this voyage, if no other gain, "this only hath much satisfied me, that I have thereby "seen and known the men of worth of our nation. Of the "earl I will say nothing, but of the lord Thomas, the lord-"marshal Vere, and sir Walter Ralegh, I must say, that in "no bickering where I have been, I ever saw men more "forward and valiant in the matter of combat between our "ships, and their ships and galleys, wherein stood all the "success of the victory, which my lord of Essex did give "beginning to by anchoring in the enemy's face, sir Wal-"ter close by his side; and so the rest before named: also "the general of the artillery (sir George Carew) with his "Mary Rose, a proper gentleman, full of good things, and, "above all, of discretion. When all these aforesaid had "placed themselves, and the rest, as the channel would give "us leave, the thunder of the artillery on both sides began

"at ten in the morning, and lasted till two and a half in "the afternoon; at which time her majesty's ships made "the enemy give ground, and the three great ships of war, "the Philip, Matthew, and Andrew, ran themselves ashore; "and the Philip they fired, the other two we bring you "home. Sir Walter Ralegh did, in my judgment, no man "better; and his artillery most effect: I never knew the "gentleman until this time, and I am sorry for it, for there "are in him excellent things besides his valour; and the "observation he hath in this voyage used with my lord of "Essex hath made me love him." A little further he says, "In the Due Repulse (Essex's ship) we lost only seven "men; in the Warspite, (which was Ralegh's,) fourteen, "and sir Walter cut in the leg with a splinter[o]." Lastly, he mentions "his true and faithful friend, sir John Wing-"field, who lost his life in the town-house, and thereby was "rid of a mighty miscontent which all the way had much "afflicted him; having one day told my author, that he "had rather leave his life here, than carry it again into "England[p]."

It was long disputed, whether the town should be held or no, says sir Francis Vere; who adds, "that my lord of "Essex seemed to affect to remain there in person;" as,

[o] Ralegh afterwards made a very good remark upon ship-building, (which probably the memory of this smart might induce him to,) in these words: "Men may not expect the "ease of many cabins and safety "at once in sea-service. Two decks "and a half are sufficient to yield "shelter and lodging for men and "mariners, and no more charging "at all higher; but only one low "cabin for the master. But our "mariners will say, that a ship will "bear more charging aloft for "cabins; and that is true, if none "but ordinary mariners were to "serve in them, who are able to "endure, and are used to the tum-"bling and rolling of ships from side "to side, when the sea is never so "little grown: but men of better "sort would be glad to find more "steadiness and less tottering cage-"work. And although the mariners "do covet store of cabins, yet in-"deed they are but sluttish dens, "that breed sickness, or serve to "cover stealths in peace, and in fight "are dangerous to tear men with "their splinters." Sir W. Ralegh's Observations upon the Royal Navy, p. 14.

[p] Sir Anthony Standen's letter to the lord high treasurer of England, dated from Cadiz, 5th of July 1596; the original. With the use of this rarity, among many others in that ark of literature, the Harleian library, where something of every kind is preserved, I have been favoured by the earl of Oxford, whose laudable disposition to recover the unpublished memorials of our renowned ancestors, is only to be excelled by his noble courtesy in communicating them for the benefit of posterity.

we may add, Vere did too; "because," he says, "he offered "to defend it with four thousand men, till her majesty's "pleasure should be known [q];" when, in truth, the queen's pleasure, in this particular, was known before they left England: for Essex himself informs us, he sent letters from Plymouth, (before they set sail,) by his secretary Edward Reignold, to the council at Greenwich; wherein he purposed "to dwell in a port of the enemy's, and to make a "continual diversion of the wars; but," says he, "my "letters were neither answered nor liked of [r]." And much less was the same proposal now relished in Cadiz, when so many wanted to guard and secure the treasures they had got, and it was computed they would all soon grow in want of provisions; nay, one of his own knights advised him to master and destroy ships rather than towns, as what would make the enemy more unable to molest them, and procure him wealth and solid honour, without riot and ruin of the innocent; besides, the riches in ships could not be so easily concealed and conveyed away, as in towns; also they might be brought into England, and would be visible monuments to his glory; but towns, though soon won, could not be long enjoyed [s]. For these and other reasons Essex was prevailed upon, though with great reluctance, to leave Cadiz; but they first of all caused the city to be razed, and, with the castles and fortifications, fired, all but the churches and religious houses; together with all the naval tackle and provision they could meet with, which they either needed not, or could not conveniently carry away. Their courtesy however to the people, especially of distinction, and all who had made no opposition, was such, that, at their departure, the Spaniards did the English the justice to say, "Though they were heretics as to religion, yet "as to the rest, they had behaved themselves with generous "bravery."

The city and naval stores fired.

On the 5th of July the army embarked; and in council,

[q] Sir Francis Vere's Commentaries, fol. 42.

[r] The earl of Essex's Apology, (as before,) p. 12.

[s] Sir W. Monson's Naval Tracts.

it was insisted on to lie out at sea for intercepting the West Indian fleet; "but the scarceness of our victuals," says Vere, "overthrew that purpose." So resolution was taken to make for England, and visit the Spanish coasts in the way, to destroy their shipping. The first place they made to was Faro, a good large populous town, but unfenced, and a bishop's see of Portugal. Here the English landing, and marching up to the town, the inhabitants deserted it, and left them in full possession; who, after having rested and refreshed themselves five or six days, brought good store of provisions to the ships, also some pieces of artillery, and the valuable library of the late famous bishop Osorius [t]. There is an author who mentions the taking of this town, and consequently that library, among Ralegh's victories; describing the buildings to have been left so demolished, as to yield no covering for their idols [u]. But since that library is observed by Camden to have been thought by right Essex's prize, as if this earl had somehow contended to engross it to himself; it may somewhat direct us, to whose greater value for the labours of the learned, and more public spirit in this particular, it is owing, that it was more commendably bestowed; being brought into England, says

Faro sacked and demolished.

[t] This was Hieronymus Osorius, a native of Lisbon, and bishop of Sylves and Algarva; characterised by foreigners to have been a man of strict virtue in his morals, and master of a florid pen in his writings; which were published at Rome in four volumes, by his nephew, who also wrote his life. See more in Thuanus, anno 1580, when he died, aged seventy-four years, and in Anthony Tessier's additions to that historian's Eloges des Hommes Scavans, &c. 8vo. vol. 1. Utrecht, 1694. p. 502. This bishop was for none of his writings more noted with us than his Epistolary Admonition to queen Elizabeth, and his controversy with that learned orator and civilian Dr. Walter Haddon; who dying in the year 1571, before he had completed his last book against Osorius, it was finished and published by John Fox, the martyrologist, in 1577, and four years after translated into English; wherein Fox charges the bishop's book against the doctor with being full of lies, calumnies, and errors: and the lord Bacon, where he notes, among the distempers of learning, that luxuriancy of style which began to prevail in Luther's time, with the causes thereof; which introduced an affected study of eloquence, and grew to such excess, that authors regarded a roundness of period more than richness of invention, soundness of argument, or depth of judgment; and were charmed rather with softness than strength, sweetness than solidity, and fulness of words than weight of matter; he instances, among others then growing into esteem, the flowing and watery vein of Osorius. De Augment. Scientiarum, lib. 1.

[u] Sir Walter Ralegh's Ghost, 4to. Utrecht, 1626. p. 17.

Monson, and made, it seems, an exemplary foundation of the public library, which was begun by sir Thomas Bodley the ensuing year at Oxford. What share Ralegh had in this disposal, towards the said renowned undertaking of that learned knight, his countryman and acquaintance, authorities are wanting, further than by surmise from these premises, to certify. But this we have expressly enough transmitted to us of him by Bodley himself, even in the next reign, about nine years after this time, when Ralegh was under great misfortunes; and therefore, when an act of munificence must shine with the greatest splendour, that he generously contributed towards the improvement of that library the sum of fifty pounds; "for which," says sir Thomas Bodley, "I will entreat the vice-chancellor to "move the university for their letters to him (and the "other benefactors mentioned with him) of public thanks[x];" which, doubtless, they gratefully paid. But to return.

A benefactor to the Bodleian library.

When the forces were got again on board, they sailed to the Groyne, and looked into the bay; but the wind being unfavourable, they thought it dangerous to enter; therefore, and because their victuals daily grew more scarce, so that in some ships there was already extreme want, says sir Francis Vere, it was resolved to make homewards[y]: however, sir William Monson, in favour of Essex's impatience to go on upon fresh exploits, computes they had enough provision to supply them seven weeks. Monson also imputes the general declension of the officers from any further invasion of the Spaniards at this time, to the covetousness of those who wanted to secure the treasures they had amassed[z]. And indeed Vere discovers not any concurrence now with Essex's new schemes of adventure, as might

[x] Sir Thomas Bodley's letter to Dr. Thomas James, the first keeper of his library, in Reliquiæ Bodleianæ, published by Mr. Hearne, 8vo. 1703. p. 133. It is dated from London, April 5, and written, as I compute, in 1605: because the same letter mentions the progress which king James, not long after, made in that year to Oxford; where he pronounced that brave speech, "If I was not a "king, I would be a university-"man, &c." as we have it in sir Isaac Wake's Rex Platonicus, 4to. 1607.

[y] Vere's Commentaries, fol. 44.

[z] Monson's Naval Tracts aforesaid.

have been expected towards a patron who had shewn him so much favour and countenance; but visibly hastens home upon the complaint of scarcity aforesaid. And yet that which might be thought Vere's true motive for returning was never imputed to the lord-admiral nor sir Walter Ralegh, though, both by speech and writing, they argued for it as much as any; for they had engrossed no booty that might be endangered by entering upon further engagements abroad. Yet had they other objections to these inconsiderate projects, than the want of victuals or sickness of men; for after both these inconveniences in Ralegh's ship were proposed to be redressed by Essex, as Monson tells us, Ralegh was as resolute against hazarding the honour, as others the riches that was got at Cadiz; and in this entirely agreed with the lord-admiral, who persuaded them to consider how subject they might be to great losses in little enterprises [a], which would not add much to their praise if they succeeded; but surely would to their discredit if they failed. This being the sense of the greater or the wiser part, most of the fleet returned with the lord-admiral to Plymouth on the eighth of August following, and the rest, with the earl of Essex, two days after; who thence took his journey to court, as Ralegh probably did at the same time. On the thirteenth of the same month, we find by a letter from the council of state to the lord-admiral [b], then advanced with the fleet to the Downs, that Ralegh as well as Essex had been with them, and probably with the queen; from whom we hear of no objections made to Ralegh's conduct in the whole action: therefore probably he was among

[a] One of the lord-admiral's objections to Essex's desire of making a descent upon Lagos in Algarva, is given us by sir William Monson, as aforesaid; and part thereof, which is to this sense, is in these words: "The winning of it, after so eminent a place as Cadiz, could add "no honour; and if it should be "carried, yet it would be with the "loss of his best troops and gentlemen, who would rather desire to "die, than receive the indignity of a "repulse:" and the earl, though against his will, says that author, was forced to yield to these reasons. Yet neither Essex, nor Vere, nor Monson, have been so particular in Ralegh's reasons; though under his hand he delivered them, as well as by word of mouth: but this omission in them is not to be wondered at.

[b] In the Cottonian library, and lately printed by Mr. Lediard in his Naval Expeditions, fol. 344.

those principal actors therein, whom she distinguished with liberal praises and rewards. Yet that letter does discover her majesty's dissatisfaction towards the lord-admiral, that he did not lie in wait for the caracks or the West Indian fleet, as Essex had entreated him to do. And whereas sir Francis Vere says, that when Essex landed in the west, and left orders with him for dissolving not only the land-forces, but the shipping, there arose much strife between the said mariners and his Low Country troops at their parting, the sailors being determined to share in the chests and packs wherewith the soldiers had most unproportionably enriched themselves in the late spoil; at which Vere complained to the lord-admiral for redress, adding, that "some other "principal officers of the fleet took the sailors' part;" and, as if they thought them unreasonably dealt with, who had made way by the sea-fight for the soldiers to get those riches by land, asked him, "whether the mariners should "have nothing?" To which he answered, "Their hopes in "the Indian fleet were more to be desired than that trash," as he calls it, "which the land-men had got in the town; "so as they had none to blame but their officers and their "bad fortune: which answer," says he, "was taken to "heart, and is not forgotten to this hour; of which I feel "the smart[c]." If Ralegh was one of those principal officers here pointed at, who thus stood the sailors' advocate, as he might be, notwithstanding his expeditious progress to court, the indifferent manner wherewith Vere has treated him is very accountable to me. But Vere has further betrayed his partiality, in not telling us the consequence of his said application to the lord-admiral, which appears in that letter and others, from the council aforesaid, to have procured the disposal of the Spanish plunder towards the payment of the English navy; and that Vere's Low Country regiments should not return before they were searched both in ships and person. As for Essex, he wrote a Censure of the

[c] Vere's Comment. fol. 44, 45.

omissions in this voyage[d], which he imputes to the dissensions of his council and colleague. Whence the common historians have been led indiscriminately to arraign the setting forth such expeditions under commanders of equal authority, and have so much neglected giving these their distinct commendations for what they did, as to cavil at them for what they left undone; while others more gratefully observe "that never was so much riches and renown acquired with the like naval success;" well justifying the honours which were paid to sir Walter Ralegh, both by the authors who dedicated books to him this year, [e] the painters

[d] An ancient and fair copy whereof I have seen in the Cottonian library, Julius F. VI. Tract. 103. printed in secretary Burchet's Naval History, as I remember, and in Mr. Lediard's, fol. 337, being here about half a sheet of paper; wherein the earl raises four objections to their conduct in this voyage: first, that they did not possess the Indian fleet: secondly, that they abandoned Cadiz: thirdly, that they did not wait for the caracks and Indian ships: and, lastly, that they did not assail the enemy in their other ports. To all which omissions he makes answer, laying them to the charge of the other commanders; but names sir Walter Ralegh only in the two last articles. Here we may observe, sir H. Wotton did either himself mistake the drift of this paper, or, having a courtly pen, would incline his readers to do so. For where he is giving a character of the earl's several employments, and has allowed this at Cadiz to have been the most fortunate, he is further for having it that in which the earl also shewed the greatest modesty; because, says he, there he wrote with his own hand a Censure of his omissions: whereas indeed it is a censure of his associates, for what Essex imagined (how justly, let others say) to have been their omissions. Which plainly reverses one of the characters by which that author would distinguish the earl's share in this expedition. See his Parallel of Robert earl of Essex with George duke of Buckingham.

[e] Besides captain Keymis's voyage to Guiana before mentioned, in which he has spoken, to Ralegh's honour, of the victory at Cadiz; there was another piece printed this year, which I find also dedicated to him; and at this time, before Ralegh was recovered of the wound he had received there, with great propriety, in regard to the subject thereof: for it is entitled, A hundred and fourteen Experiments and Cures of the famous physician Phil. Aureol. Theophrastus Paracelsus: to which are added, some profitable works, by B. G. a Portu Aquitano: also, the Secrets of Isaac Hollandus; and the Spagiric Antidotary for Gunshot, by Josephus Quercetanus: collected by John Hester, printed 4to. 1596. This Hester was the learned chymist of Paul's-Wharf, whose preparations were famous in other countries as well as his own for many years, as I find in others of his works. But, as I observe in some of them, he is said to have been dead two years before the printer's date of this which he dedicated to Ralegh; and as the title he herein uses is only "To the "worshipful Walter Ralegh, esq." I conclude the book was dedicated by Hester to Ralegh before he was knighted, and now seasonably republished with a new title-page, or first published from Hester's posthumous Remains, without altering the author's title of his patron. However it is, Hester, in his ingenious dedication upon the motives to the pursuit and improvement of science, tells Ralegh, "Though divinity is bounded

and sculptors, who have appropriated this sea-fight to his portraits[f]; and those other advancers of the like honorary arts, who, in their discourses of medals and intaglias, have thought him worthy, for this, among his many other actions and excellences, of that metallic commemoration, which is more usually among us confined to princes and crowned heads[g].

"with precepts in the old law, and "promises in the gospel, so that obe-"dience to one and faith in the other "is fulfilling of either; yet all other "faculties tending to the government "or ornament of life do so carry a "privilege of more liberty in search, "and scope in practice, that to rest "contented with the inventions of "others is as odious to the learned, "as it is for frank hearts to feed at "other men's trenchers; or fine wits "to be set to tell the clock, while "grosser heads are better employed: "and not without cause, for by such "restraint, wit on the one side sus-"tains too great an injury, in not "ranging over the fields of nature; "and nature too base a disgrace, in "not being set forth by wit as she "has been; but must be accounted "old, which she refuses; or barren, "which she abhors. To avoid this "inconvenience, examples of anti-"quity have left several patterns of "emulation for posterity to imitate; "wherein our age cannot be con-"demned for negligent, as having "exceeded the number of writers in "any age past; among whom the "undertakers in physic have been so "numerous, that the bluntest wit "cannot complain of scarcity, nor "the deepest head of the want of va-"riety." Then he says, out of these writers, he has chosen some, for their merits held in their own country very dear, to translate for the benefit of his countrymen: and as heretofore he had sought the authority of other patrons; so now he presumes, under the comfortable shield of Ralegh's favour, to shadow this work; beseeching him, out of that bountiful courtesy for which he is so generally commended, to pardon his presumption, and accept of his performance.

[f] Of the pictures and prints which have been drawn of sir Walter Ralegh, more will be spoken a few leaves following.

[g] Mr. Evelyn, in his book of Medals, gives us the sculpture of a large one that was struck this year, having the arms of England, France, and Holland, in a threefold knot on one side, representing a triple league against Spain with this inscription, *Rumpitur haud facile;* and on the reverse a navy of great ships at sea, under the name of *Jehovah*, with this epigraph, *Quid me persequeris*, 1596. hence thought by some to have been in memory of the victory at Cadiz; but, as he tells us, it was struck upon the alarm menacing those three nations on the surprise of Calais this year. Therefore, where he is speaking of those adventurous Argonauts in these times who deserved the honour of medals for their exploits at sea, among whom he reckons chiefly those who found out new worlds, planted colonies, and enlarged the British empire, he adds, "I know "not whether there was any medals "of the earl of Essex's expedition to "Cadiz, and of the heroes who ac-"companied him." So recommends sir W. Ralegh to that distinction, as being "a person of extraordinary "merit for his learning and expe-"rience: and who is he," continues my author, "that deplores not his "being so unhappily cut off (and our "since want of such as Ralegh was) "to gratify the crafty and mali-"cious?" Further, where he is subsiding from arms to arts, he mentions Ralegh again among the foremost of those illustrious persons, of whom he says, "How should one re-

About two months after Ralegh's return from the conquest of Cadiz, we find him making a new attempt to continue the interest and correspondence he had so hopefully begun in Guiana. To this end, he manned out and stored, with all proper conveniences and merchandise for trade and discovery in those parts, a handsome pinnace which had been with him in the late engagement, called after his own name, the Watt; therefore probably one of his own ships. The command of her he committed to captain Leonard Berrie; but, through contrariety of winds, and other accidents, they made it the latter end of December following before they got out of Weymouth. In the beginning of March they discovered the coast, and fell into the Wiapouco, a river almost in four degrees north of the line, and about sixteen leagues in length; but not being able to find the head of its falls, nor meeting with any of the inhabitants to supply them with provisions, they returned, and made towards the great town called Aramatto, where they stored themselves to their desire. After this, several of those natives came in canoes, and traded with the English in their ships. Then captain Berrie hired some of them, with a present of knives, to go back unto the river Cawo, and invite the ruler of that place, named Ritimo, on board, who accordingly came to them in the river Chiana, where he and his train were feasted, and trafficked with the English much to their satisfaction: and thither also flocked, from their several towns, great numbers of a civilized race of Carribes, who brought great plenty of victuals and tobacco, which they exchanged for such commodities as the English were well instructed to carry thither. After they had declared their unanimous desire to have the English come and rout the Spaniards, take command of the Orenoque, and dwell in the bordering nations, they departed; and the English made away to the Careres, or triangular

The third voyage to Guiana.

"joice to find in more lasting matter
"than painted cloth, the true effigies
"of such as were famous for both."
Numismata, fol. 1697. p. 99, 160, 161.

islands, and kept trading on with the people of the neighbouring towns, who familiarly resorted to them. Then they passed along through the river Marawin, to Quiparia and Macirra, for about forty or fifty leagues upward to the falls of that river, and to the sight of a rich country above, where the people were of an extraordinary stature, and carried bows hafted with gold; but were forced to return without completing that discovery, for want of provision; though my author, one of the adventurers, thought the palmito's, and other trees in the woods, would have supported them till they could have rewarded themselves with what "might have done us good," says he, "as long as we "had lived." On the 15th of April 1597, they returned from that river, and wandered through several others; till, about four days after, they fell into the Coritine. In this river they met a bark, called the John of London, commanded by captain Leigh; (the same, I suppose, who afterwards made other voyages to Guiana, and took further possession of the country, not by force, the Spaniards' title, but consent of the people; though for a prince, indeed, who deserved no right there which he had not the spirit to maintain.) And falling down some five leagues from the mouth thereof, upon intelligence that the Dessekebe, with which that river meets, would lead them within a day's journey of the lake Perima, whereon Manoa was supposed to stand, they meant to discover a passage to this rich city. But having rowed in their boats about fifty leagues from the mouth of the Coritine to the falls of the said river, where, having been credibly informed that five days' journey further there was a fall impassable; and, finding withal some of the towns bordering thereon so importunate to engage them in wars against their enemies the Waccawaes, which would turn greatly to the disadvantage of the English, when sir Walter Ralegh should again return thither, because he would have occasion to pass that river, which was reported to have gold in it; they therefore were constrained to return. So, clearing themselves of this coast, they took their course to the islands of the West Indies.

Here my author, who was a gentleman of the company, after having spoke in praise of the climate, how temperate and wholesome it is, though within the tropic, and so near the equinoctial; as also how docible the natives, and humane, (especially to Englishmen,) though a savage and uncultivated people; he proceeds to speak of their riches in these words. "In the upper countries they go apparelled, "being, as it seems, of a more civil disposition; having "great store of gold, as we are certainly informed by the "lower Indians, of whom we had some gold, which they "brought, and bought in the high country of Wiana; being "able to buy no more, because they wanted the things "which now we have left among them [h]." Then, having taken a little further notice of their manners, with the plenty and variety of their provisions, he shews what course his company took homewards, and how they arrived safe at Plymouth on the 28th of June following [i].

Thus have we abstracted, after such manner as in this place may be most pertinent to our purpose, all the voyages sir Walter Ralegh set forth for discoveries, as well as the warlike expeditions in which he was engaged, as far as they have been preserved in Hakluyt's Collections. Nor was it

[h] That there are many rich mines and minerals in Guiana, as well as mountains and rivers impregnate with gold, is not only thus constantly intimated by the English travellers thither of these times, but attested by the Spaniards themselves, in their further discoveries many years after; as may be seen in father D'Acuna's relation of the river of Amazons, and other Spanish authors. But as for the rich city of Manoa, just before spoken of, which they had called El Dorado, it seems now to have been invented by these Indians, as a gilded bait to draw the Spaniards into league with them against their enemies; and propagated by the Spaniards themselves, to enhance the merit of their travels, and sharpen the appetite of their successors to pursue the enterprise; for no such city having been found, it has been reputed a kind of philosopher's stone in cosmography: yet, like that in chymistry, though undiscovered itself, it was, and may further be the means of many profitable discoveries. If such a metropolis had been distinctly ascertained by Antonio de Herera, and in John de Laet's excellent accounts and maps of these parts, and had not appeared doubtful even to father D'Acuna himself; I see not how monsieur Sanson, who, in 1680, graved a little map to explain the French translation of the said Jesuit's discourse, could have omitted it; and for the new edition, published in 1715, another map was graved by Mr. De Lisle; which, though more copious and complete, is not, as I can hear, more particular in this respect.

[i] Mr. Thomas Masham's relation of the third voyage, set forth by sir Walter Ralegh, to Guiana, in Hakluyt, vol. 3. fol. 692.

without just reason that his said naval enterprises were thus carefully gathered therein; since Ralegh's encouragement was such, of this extraordinary undertaking, to raise a grove of laurels, in a manner out of the seas, that should overspread the island with glory, and might be still made to shoot more spaciously afresh, were the author and his work revived in a manner suitable to their deserts[k]; that when

[k] For the considerable intelligence we have received from this Collection of Voyages, it may not be improper here, at parting with, to shew our gratitude towards the laborious author, in a short observation or two, which may somewhat amend what has been said by others of him; and recommend his most laudable work, long since out of print, to a new impression. And, first: this Richard Hakluyt might be of a Herefordshire family; but whether born there, too doubtful for Fuller to settle him a native of that county. He was sent young to Westminster-school, and became one of the queen's scholars; when visiting his cousin Richard Hakluyt, of Eiton, in the said county, at his chambers in the Middle Temple, (but never studying the municipal law there, as A. Wood mistakes of him, instead of his said cousin,) this relation, a great proficient in cosmography, and promoter of navigation, communicating and explaining certain books and maps to him, wrought such impressions in young Hakluyt, that he resolved, if ever he should go to the university, to prosecute these studies. Accordingly, being removed to Christ Church in Oxford about 1570, says Wood, he fell to searching after, and reading over, in any of seven languages, all the voyages and discoveries in print or MS. that he could meet with; and became so eminent for these studies, that he was chosen to read public lectures of navigation in the schools, wherein he was the first that shewed the imperfections of the old, and improvements of the new maps, globes, and other instruments in this branch of science, to the great satisfaction of his auditory. By his further inquiries of this nature, he also became acquainted with the chief sea-officers, merchants, and mariners of the nation. At length he travelled to France with sir Edward Stafford, her majesty's legier ambassador, and resided there five years; during which time, he heard other nations miraculously extolled for their discoveries and notable enterprises at sea; but the English, for their sluggish security and neglect of such attempts, through their long peace, much condemned; and not only in common discourse, but read them also more durably branded in the writings of their authors; particularly in La Popliniere's book, called L'Admiral de France; all which animated Hakluyt, at his return into England with the lady Sheffield about the year 1588, (after having published P. Martyr, translated the French discovery of Florida, and before them, duly celebrated sir W. Ralegh,) to stop the mouths of these slanderers, by collecting together the naval achievements of his countrymen; which he performed so expeditiously, that by the latter end of 1589, he published a fair volume in folio of the English navigations, which he dedicated to that great encourager of them, sir F. Walsingham. The work was so universally approved, that the author was prevailed on to enlarge and reprint it, which he afterwards did in three volumes; the first two commonly bound together in one book, fol. 1599, and the last fol. 1600. "A work of great "honour to England," as Fuller justly observes, "it being possible "that many ports and islands in "America, which are now base and "barren, and known only by a bare "name at present, may prove rich "places hereafter: and then these "voyages will be produced, and "pleaded as good evidence of their "belonging to England, as first dis-

even the first edition of these English voyages was published, and before they could receive any lustre from the Guianian discoveries, the said author, in his preface, acknowledges sir Walter Ralegh to have been one of those benefactors "from whom he had received his chief light into "the western navigations." Nor did he only oblige Hakluyt with communicating divers maritime adventures in which he himself and countrymen were concerned, but procured for him, at no small expense, some very scarce voyages and discoveries of foreigners which were unprinted; and was moreover at the charge of rewarding some persons of learning and leisure to translate them into English, for the further enrichment of the said Collections. One instance of this kind he slightly mentions himself: for in his learned inquiries into the name of the Red sea, he speaks of a voyage made thither by the Portugal viceroy of the East

His encouragement of Mr. Hakluyt's Collection of English navigations.

"covered and denominated by Eng-"lishmen." The author was made a prebendary of Westminster about the year 1605, and rector of Wetheringset in Suffolk, as Wood tells us; who also mentions his other writings, as his edition of Peter Martyr's book de Novo Orbe, with notes. Wherein, as we have before observed, Hakluyt has so highly applauded sir Walter Ralegh for his advancements of navigation; besides some other things, which are chiefly versions from the Portuguese. But the notes of certain commodities in request in the East Indies, &c. by R. Hakluyt, among Mr. Selden's MSS. at Oxford, I take to be written by the Templar, who has other such discourses, and, I think, this in his kinsman's Collections. And whereas the French dissertation on the river of Amazons, prefixed to M. de Gomberville's translation of father D'Acuna's Relation, above mentioned, has, among other errors relating to sir Walter Ralegh, said, that the history of the second voyage he made in person to Guiana was written and given us by this celebrated compiler Mr. Hakluyt, in his said Collections; out of which history the French author pretends to quote some particulars; we must here observe, this assertion of Hakluyt's writing such a history is notoriously false; for he died in 1616, which was before sir Walter Ralegh went his said last voyage to that part of America. All we shall mention more in this place of him is, first, the wishes, that some other such able pen would continue his Collections, which may be read in Robert Ashley's dedication to sir Maurice Abbot, of his Cochin-China; a scarce tract, printed above a hundred years since, and which I have seen in a volume of such other choice pieces among the curious collections of the right honourable the lord Coleraine: secondly, since to the continuation of such collections, a like series of such brave adventures as are the subject of them would be required, which may not, in any proportion, be readily produced; that other wish, which may be gathered from Mr. Bohun's complaint above forty years ago, in his Character of Queen Elizabeth, of the scarcity of this Collection, that it may, after so long a neglect, be preferred to a second impression; in justice to the author, in honour of the heroic examples it commemorates, and for the profit of such imitation as it may inspire.

Indies, named Stephen Gama, the narrative whereof was written by Castro, one of his principal commanders; which discourse, says he, I gave Mr. Richard Hakluyt to publish[l]. Now, though I remember not to have met with this discourse in Hakluyt, yet the author, who, after his death, recovered some of his papers, and continued his undertaking, has given us an abridgement of it, and informed us, that the original manuscript had cost sir Walter Ralegh threescore pounds, who also caused it to be translated out of the Portuguese tongue; and was at the pains of making several corrections of the phrase, and marginal notes upon it, with his own hand[m]. Further, we might expatiate upon this care he had for the preservation of other men's fame; but here a gallant exploit solicits our regard, by which he much increased his own.

For the earl of Essex, grown discontented to see his party of such little power at court, and the Cecilians carry all before them; that he could not advance several of his friends and followers to certain posts in the army, nor even sir Thomas Bodley to the office of secretary, whom he had perhaps prejudiced with his prodigal praises to the queen, she having preferred sir Robert Cecil to that place, in his absence at Cadiz, whom he had as intemperately traduced[n], resolved

[l] Sir W. Ralegh's Hist. of the World, lib. 2. c. 3. sect. 8.

[m] See an abridgement of don John of Castro's ruttier of a voyage made by the Portuguese from India to Zoez, dedicated to prince Luys; shewing the state of Socatora, and the parts on both sides of the Red sea, as they were in 1540; with the harbours, islands, depths, shelves, and other particulars pertaining to the history of that sea, land, and people: in Purchas, part 2. fol. 1122.

[n] Sir Thomas Bodley informs us, that before he returned from the united provinces in 1597, and after, the earl of Essex used him so kindly, that though he meant to settle his dependance only on the lord Burghley, as best able, and most willing to work his advancement with the queen; yet the earl, who sought by all devices to divert her liking both from the father, and the son especially; did often, to withdraw his affection also from both, entertain the queen with prodigal speeches of his sufficiency for a secretary; which were accompanied with such words of disgrace against the latter, "that "neither she herself took any great "pleasure to prefer me the sooner," says Bodley; "for she hated his "ambition, and would give little "countenance to any of his follow-"ers; and both the lord Burghley "and his son waxed jealous of my "courses." And a little further; "When I had throughly bethought "me, first in the earl, of the slender "hold-fast he had in the queen; of "an endless opposition of the chief-

to seek, by further services abroad, to strengthen that interest at home which he now found so weak and unserviceable; in which, if his experience and discretion had been answerable to the activity and bravery of his spirit, he might not have been disappointed, nor outshined in martial expeditions, as he was outwitted in court intrigues. But he had now a fair opportunity to pursue this scheme: for the king of Spain, enraged at the late overthrow and destruction of Cadiz, had immediately thereupon mustered up the naval powers from all his ports at Lisbon, for a new expedition upon England and Ireland; but his old enemies the winds and the waves so speedily disabled and dispersed them, that the queen heard of their fate before she had any advertisement of their design: and as she then took care to fortify such castles as lay most obvious to any such invasion; so now that she heard the storm was gathering again, by the repair of the said shattered fleet, and recruits added to it, threatening a new descent upon Ireland, she resolved also to recollect her forces by sea. At first, indeed, before she was well informed of the enemy's strength, she had only armed and victualled ten of her best ships, and caused the Low Countries to provide the like number under admiral Duvenvord. But when the lord Thomas Howard and sir Walter Ralegh, who were pitched upon for the command of this fleet, declared their hopes of doing any great service with it to be weak and uncertain, and the news of the adelantado's stronger preparations at Feroll and the Groyne were daily confirmed, a new council was called; in which it was resolved that this naval force, which the queen had appointed, was too great for a discovery, and too little for an attempt; as in the earl of Essex's

"est of our statesmen, likely still to "wait upon him; of his perilous, "feeble, and uncertain advice, as "well in his own, as in all the causes "of his friends; and when I had "fully considered how untowardly "these two counsellors were affected "to me; how ill it became my na-"tural disposition to become a stick-"ler in public faction; and how well "I was able to live of myself, &c. "I was resolved to take my farewell "of state employments, and so re-"tire from court." See the account of his life, written by himself, printed 4to. Oxon. 1647; reprinted in David Lloyd's State Worthies, and again in Reliquiæ Bodleianæ, before quoted.

Apology is rightly observed [o]. Therefore, passing over the addition, so unaccountably deficient in the said Apology [p], that I cannot think him the author both of one and the other, there were added to the first prepared fleet about ten ships more of the royal navy; which, with the other men of war, victuallers, transports, and many stout vessels belonging to the nobles, knights, and gentlemen, who were adventurers in this voyage, amounted to about one hundred and twenty sail, as we are informed by sir Arthur Gorges, an officer in this enterprise, whose most excellent history thereof we shall here principally follow. These ships then being all sufficiently manned with sailors, received an army also on board of five thousand soldiers, with ten pieces of artillery for the field, and five hundred volunteers most gorgeously equipped. The proportion of victuals was for four months at large allowance, and double apparel both for the soldiers and mariners [q]. The lord-admiral Howard, being indisposed, declined the command, which therefore was granted in chief to the earl of Essex; but the lord Thomas Howard was made vice-admiral, and sir Walter Ralegh rear-admiral in the expedition; and these three, with four others, made up the council of war. The purpose of this grand preparation was, to defeat and destroy the Spanish fleet aforesaid at Feroll, as well as in other ports of the enemy; also to seize upon such Indian fleets of treasure as they should meet with belonging to the king of Spain, but especially to conquer, retain, and engarrison most of the isles of the Azores [r], and, above all, the Tercera: wherefore this enterprise was called the *island voyage*.

Rear-admiral

in the island voyage.

[o] Reprinted under the title of the earl of Essex's vindication of the war with Spain, in an Apology, &c. 8vo. 1729. p. 13.

[p] Idem, p. 14. where no more than six ships are mentioned to have been added to the former twenty; yet, three pages further, he mentions thirty sail of the same fleet.

[q] Sir Arthur Gorge's relation of the Island Voyage, &c. in Purchas, vol. 4. fol. 1938.

[r] These islands are situate in the Atlantic, or western ocean, between thirty-seven and forty degrees; and distant from England about four hundred leagues. They were so named by the Portuguese, from a kind of hawks, called by them asores; by the Romans, accipitres, and by us goshawks; these islands breeding abundance of those birds: though Ortelius derives the name from a French word, signifying to *dry* or *wither*,

Sir Francis Vere, who was marshal again of the army, discovers himself much nettled at the queen's having made the lord Mountjoy lieutenant-general; and cannot forbear exposing his patron Essex's disingenuity towards that lord, in retrenching him to the mere title of a superior command, rather than not let himself be known to have got the authority of it. And, notwithstanding this, further betrays so much his stomach and jealousy of Essex's consent to that precedency, as to desire the earl would not use him at all hereafter in any action wherein he was to go in chief; yet unreservedly confesses, the earl took these speeches of his as proceeding rather from a passionate discontentment, than a resolution framed in cool blood; and with so little sharpness, that when they came to Weymouth, the earl thinking there might remain some grudge of the last year's falling out, caused sir Walter Ralegh and sir Francis Vere to shake hands: "which we did both," says he, "the more willingly, "because there had nothing passed between us that might "blemish reputation[s]."

About the 9th of July following, the whole fleet set sail from Plymouth, and, for two days, had a fair leading wind; in which time all the ships received their directions from the council of war, with the meeting-places from time to time in case of separation by tempest, fight, chace, or any other accident. But being now advanced about sixty leagues, there arose such an exceeding high storm full in their teeth, and continued with such violence for four days together, that

without giving reason for his etymology. They are nine in number, and named St. Mary's, which is near the coast of Spain; St. Michael's, which is the largest of them, being about twenty miles long; the Tercera, so called because lying the third from Spain, is the strongest; Gratiosa, from the fertility of the soil, and pleasant temper of the air; St. George's, like the two first, from the saint's name on whose day it was discovered; the Pike, from the wonderful sharp mountain thereon, which rises steeple-wise three miles high, is six or seven miles in circuit at the base, and reported to have volcanoes in its bowels, disgorging flakes and stones of fire; Fayall was so called from faya, the beech-tree, which grew in plenty there; Flores, from the abundance of flowers which overspread the island; and Cuervo, from the vast flocks of crows or ravens which were observed to breed therein. See Gorges, as above, also more largely in Linschoten and Hakluyt, vol. 3.

[s] Vere's Commentaries, fol. 47, 48.

all the ships were driven, with great detriment to several, back into Plymouth; and many died of the sickness it had brought among them. While they lay here wind-bound for a month, and their provisions much damaged and consumed; Essex, in company, as he tells us himself, with sir Walter Ralegh, rode post to court[t]. The earl was very forward in his proposals to set out again with the fleet as soon as it should be repaired, or at least one half of it, being sure the enemy should have felt the weight and charge of the journey. But her majesty not accepting his offer, it was more advisedly resolved, to proportion their expedition to the opportunities which remained; the season being so far elapsed, and their provisions so much exhausted: therefore Essex had orders from her majesty to discharge the land-forces, all but the thousand Low Country soldiers, then thought the best and most experienced of this army: whereby, though they were disabled of disembarking at Feroll, and attacking the enemy there by land; yet Essex offered to send certain fire-ships into the bay, and second them with the two Spanish galleons last year taken, with some great flyboats and merchantmen, to destroy their shipping, and leave the queen's own English-built ships at the mouth of the harbour, with a principal commander, to secure their retreat; and this was allowed of, but with some limitations, as Essex confesses in one place[u], which in another[v] we find to be an absolute bar to hazard any other of the ships, and as absolute a restraint of the earl himself from going into the harbour to put this project in practice, but that it should be done by that principal commander he would have left behind; whether through care of his person as a nobleman, or to have it attempted by one of the greatest abilities and experience for such a naval exploit, I cannot say; but sir Walter Ralegh was preferred to the

[t] Essex's Apology, as before, p. 17.

[u] Idem.

[v] Relation of the voyage to the Azores by the said earl and the other commissioners, viz. Thomas lord Howard, Charles lord Mountjoy, sir Walter Ralegh, sir Francis Vere, sir Anthony Shirley, and sir Christopher Blunt: in Purchas, vol. 4. fol. 1935.

execution of this service, and, as sir Francis Vere observes, the charge of firing the fleet was undertaken by him[w].

During this absence of Essex and Ralegh at court, which was not above seven days, there fell out such exceeding tempestuous weather as very much distressed the fleet both in Plymouth-Road and the Catwater; insomuch that one of Ralegh's own ships, named the Roebuck, of three hundred tons burden, ran aground and bulged herself, so became unserviceable for that voyage; though much pains and care were taken by all hands, and especially the lord Thomas Howard himself in person, to have preserved her[x]. On the 17th of August following they all weighed anchor, and, with much labour, set sail again, being becalmed; but the weather growing somewhat favourable, they held their course for the North Cape. Six days afterwards they fell across the bay of Alchasher, or Biscay; and at last bore full into it, much to the dislike of Ralegh's pilot, a skilful mariner, named Broadbent, who thought it very perilous for so great a fleet so wilfully to imbay there, and upon an enemy's coast; yet, as it was the general's course, they complied. The next, being Bartholomew-day, they were here for several hours beaten and scattered about by a prodigious storm, wherein one of the late taken prizes, named St. Matthew, falling into a head-sea, and having her spritsail out, broke her bowsprit and foremast overboard, close to the partners. The fall of her mast also broke two anchors, and carried the third away; and her mainmast, with her rolling and tumbling, had so loosened itself, that it was in danger of breaking in the step, whereby she would soon have been sunk, had not her captain, sir George Carew, with great resolution and hazard, carried her into England, and exchanged her for another. In the same storm the other Spanish prize, the St. Andrew, spent her maintop-mast, and lost company for some days; but all the rest of the fleet kept labouring in the bay, till first Ralegh, and some ships of his squadron which happened to carry the Low Country sol-

One of his ships bulged.

Storm-beaten in bay of Biscay.

[w] Vere's Commentaries, fol. 50. [x] Sir A. Gorges, as before, fol. 1944.

diers, cleared out, and made the best of their way to the next rendezvous, as we shall hear: and afterwards several of the earl's losing him, sailed thither also in search of him. This gave rise to a misrepresentation by Ralegh's adversaries, that he had designedly withdrawn himself and that part of the fleet[y]; while Essex himself incurred a more just censure throughout the whole fleet, by making the high land of Portugal, and bearing in so close to the shore, that he alarmed all the country to make defence against him. Afterwards, as the fleet, being joined again, was passing together towards the south, almost as far as the isles of Bayon, Ralegh's ship, the Warspite[z], being then in the centre of them, on the 27th of August broke her mainyard asunder in the very midst by the parrel. This disaster was no sooner made known, than Essex discovered a greater in his ship, a desperate leak being broke out in her, by which he had much ado to escape drowning. Here it was agreed, that, till Ralegh's ship should be repaired, he might keep cruising about the height of the rock, where they were to unite, and pass to the South Cape; yet the next morning, before that reparation could be made, Ralegh had a message to attend Essex with all speed, that they might put in with the land, which it was impossible for Ralegh to do, being unable to work upon a wind, as having but a foresail and mizen, and the wind almost off the land; besides, if he could have made the land with that sail, it was thought a madness to put upon the enemy's coast in that condition; when, if the wind should change to the west, he must, in want of his mainsail, have yielded or perished: so found himself necessitated to ply up and down for two days, till the said fraction was mended. In this distress, there

Distressed.

[y] Sir A. Gorges, as before, fol. 1946.

[z] Though the ship Ralegh was now in is every where called the Wastspite in Purchas's edition of sir Arthur Gorges's relation of this voyage, who should indeed well know its name, being captain thereof under Ralegh; yet as I meet not with any ship of the royal navy so named elsewhere; as that which Ralegh was in the last year, at the conquest of Cadiz, was called the Warspite; and as sir William Monson and others call that also by this name, in which Ralegh, this year, performed the island voyage; I conclude the other reading to have been an error of the press.

was no direction given for any other of the fleet to attend upon Ralegh; yet sir William Brook, in the Dreadnought, out of his friendly disposition, tarried with him; also the vice-admiral himself, lord Thomas Howard, very affectionately offered all the assistance he could give; and several other of the sea-captains voluntarily did the like: but Ralegh would admit of no more than three or four small men of war to accompany him; and ordered the rest, even of his own squadron, to repair to the admiral: so far was he from projecting a division of the fleet, by entreating any to forsake Essex and abide with him, as it was afterwards very falsely represented, to incense Essex against Ralegh, for contriving thereby the frustration of their first resolved attempt; and as Ralegh himself, when they met at the Azores, so satisfactorily made evident, that the said imputation turned only to the shame of its contrivers[a].

Divided from the fleet.

When Ralegh had repaired the damages of the storm, he bore in with the coast, making all the inquiry he could after Essex and the fleet, but could hear no tidings of them: he sent into the isles of Bayon, and towards the South Cape, well knowing the earl could not then put into Feroll or the Groyne, as was afterwards colourably pretended he would have done, had they united, the wind being flat against him; and the whole fleet having overshot that coast near twenty leagues before the mainyard of Ralegh's ship was broken; and besides that they could not recover it again, both those Spanish prizes were wanting which only were to have been ventured in the service. Hereupon Ralegh shaped his course to the Rock, which was

[a] Essex himself, in his Apology, imputes the defeat of their design upon the Spanish navy at Feroll, to the losing of Ralegh's company by the mischances which happened to their ships, and to the further separation of the fleet; without any ways insinuating that it was occasioned by any artifice to overthrow the scheme they had concerted. But from the most accurate historian of this voyage, sir Arthur Gorges, whom I now chiefly follow, it will appear, a few lines further, there were other accidents besides, which hindered them from landing at Feroll; and these also are acknowledged by Essex, in that relation of this voyage which is subscribed by himself and his council of war before named: see Purchas, vol. 4. fol. 1936. Sufficient, in the whole, to clear Ralegh, both from the censure of any wilful desertion, and, consequently, for not putting in execution the first intended assault.

appointed for the general rendezvous; expecting, not only with good reason, to meet Essex there, but with great desire; his own force being so small, and the enemy, as he heard, out at sea with a powerful fleet. Yet those who could suspect Ralegh would prefer a separation, dangerous and disadvantageous as it was now, would needs have had it thought there was much more reason for that suspicion, when there came to Ralegh at the Rock near thirty sail more, most of them his own victuallers and transports; but the truth is, that having lost Essex during the storm in the bay, and missed him also at the North Cape, they came hither according to their instructions; where, casually meeting with Ralegh, he held them together, and conducted them to Essex at the islands: otherwise they had all returned home, after they had failed at the South Cape, which was the third and last meeting-place, of some admiral to command them, and of whom they would have failed, since none of the fleet went so far southward.

Soon after he had determined, in search of the fleet, to pass on towards the South Cape, he was traversed by an English bark, which assured him they had learned from an English man of war, which had lately taken an Indiaman, that the adelantado was gone for the islands to convoy the Indian fleet safe home. This seeming very probable, and no one suspecting that any of their countrymen would traitorously delude her majesty's fleet with any false informations in a pursuit of this consequence, Ralegh earnestly besought the captain of the said bark to hunt after Essex, and apprise him of this intelligence: but he answered, in the hearing of the whole company, that the captain, who had taken that Indiaman, had already sent a letter to Essex thereof. Ralegh, doubting it might have miscarried, or that none was sent, commanded one of the small men of war attending upon himself with all diligence to seek out the fleet, and make report of what they had heard. This ship, by good chance, met with the fleet next day, and delivered the news. Two days after, Ralegh received two letters from Essex, which, somewhat taxing his absence,

Receives false intelligence.

and not writing, required that he would presently follow him to the islands: "Whereunto," the earl said, "he was hasten-"ing to find the adelantado; not doubting but to give his "mistress a better account of that service, than he should "yield his master."

In passing to the islands, Ralegh encountered many new difficulties, by which he was so much in danger of losing his mainmast, that he was forced to send the ships in his company before, because he thought Essex might be in want of them, if he should meet the enemy; and, if they had joined the fleet without Ralegh, who was principally depended on in case of any engagement, it would have much strengthened the misconstructions that had been nourished against him; but Ralegh so speedily and effectually repaired his crazy mast, and so briskly plied his sails, that he overtook his consorts next day, and on the eighth of September they all made the island of Tercera; yet here could they meet with no news of the fleet, though they inquired of an English merchant who had traded about these islands above six weeks, and though it had passed that way but two days before. By this merchant Ralegh wrote into England, to acquaint the state in what situation they were; then passed on to St. George's Island, where they found the weather exceedingly hot, and were vexatiously becalmed for a day or two, before they could get forward to Gratiosa. Here, as they coasted along, on the tenth of September about midnight, they saw a large and perfect rainbow by moonlight, in the shape and bigness of those formed more commonly by the sun, though in colours not so various, but chiefly inclining to a pale or whitish flame: this made the generality of the seamen expect some extraordinary tempestuous weather; but it fell out, on the contrary, to be very calm and hot [b]. The same night they also

[b] This rainbow by the light of the moon is the rather to be observed, because Pliny, in his Natural History, speaking of meteors, denies any rainbow to be seen but opposite to the sun, and never in the night-season; yet tells us, Aristotle reports, for a rarity, that in his time there was a nocturnal rainbow seen; but, withal, that it could only be at the full of the moon. Nevertheless, in these parts, they are very ordinary,

espied, by the light of the moon, then upon the border of the horizon, some sail of ships gliding towards the east of Gratiosa; at which Ralegh hung out two lights for his company to follow him in chase of them; but they not taking his course, and the moon being soon after quite shadowed and intercepted by the earth, he was left in darkness and solitude, having lost all sight both of the new-discovered ships, and those of his own company, till, in the space of four days more, a leisurely breeze of wind brought him, after all these impediments, to the rest of the fleet, then gathered at the Isle of Flores.

Joins the fleet.

As soon as Ralegh had descried the fleet, he took his barge, and, with our author sir Arthur Gorges, as also some other of the officers and gentlemen in his company, went aboard the earl of Essex's ship, with whom they all dined; and "who seemed," says Gorges, "to be the joyfullest "man living for our arrival;" protesting, that "he never "believed we would leave him, although divers persuaded "him to the contrary;" and acknowledged, "that he was "sorry for a letter which he had written, by Mr. Robert "Knolles, into England against us[c]; promising presently

as well when the moon is not at full, as otherwise: for no longer than a week after this time, Ralegh and his company observed another lunary rainbow, as they rode at anchor before Flores; and there could not be two full moons in seven days, which makes it probable these islands were not known to the Greeks and Romans, or those meteors not sufficiently observed by them.

[c] Though sir Arthur Gorges does a little further both repeat the sending of this message into England, as if it was, in very strong terms, against sir Walter Ralegh; and also Essex's promise to him, that he would now send another of recantation; which promise giving some satisfaction to Ralegh, and the message into England being perceptibly sent to colour over the disappointment of his promise to the queen; "wherefore we "strove the less to publish our apo-"logies," says Gorges, "or to con-"test with a man of Essex's place "and credit; but left him to his "best excuse and our apparent in-"nocence." Yet in the copy of that message, or instructions to Mr. Knolles, which my said author exhibits verbatim, this absence of Ralegh's (and consequently that omission against the enemy) is no ways laid to his charge, or mentioned as any fault or contrivance of his; all the words that express the same being these: "If her majesty ask "you, why there was no attempt "upon the fleet at Feroll? you may "say, I neither had the St. Mat-"thew, the principal ship for that "execution, nor the St. Andrew, till "my own ship was almost sunk, "and I not able to make sail, till "sir Walter Ralegh with his own "ship, the Dreadnought, and very "near twenty sail, were gone." So that the messenger was further instructed, it seems, to expound this

"to make a despatch on purpose, contrary to the former." Further, when Essex had fully satisfied himself, that all the transports and victuallers which returned with Ralegh had not been inveigled away by him; and how commendably he had thus drawn them to the islands, against their inclinations, being, most of them, in great distress; he opened himself to him in a very amicable and communicative manner. He told him, "how he had spent the time "of their separation wholly in ranging the seas to meet "with the adelantado;" he acquainted him with "the "many conjectures and surmises that had been vented of "his absence, and withal named to him some of those "men who had taxed him secretly with strange reports, "yet pretended to love him; which he protested he never "believed, but thereby the better observed their scandalous "and cankered dispositions." In this manner did the earl of Essex receive and welcome sir Walter Ralegh with the greatest kindness and familiarity, as well as all the gentlemen of his company; to the great dislike and heartburning of some, who much envied that liking, which, of his own disposition, Essex bore to Ralegh: "for though the "earl had many doubts and jealousies buzzed into his ears "against him; yet I have often observed," says Gorges, "that both in his greatest actions of service, and in the "times of his chiefest recreations, he would ever accept of "his counsel and company, before many others who thought "themselves more in his favour." It is true, the earl, of his own unperverted nature, was a man prone to gracious and generous principles; but no less easily blown up to prejudice and indignation against his real friends, by his pretended ones; whence we may conceive, as sir Arthur Gorges has well observed, upon giving an instance of his moderation and bounty to some of these islanders, "though

How much esteemed by Essex.

part of his message to Ralegh's disadvantage, by word of mouth; for this supposition will render Essex's promise to Ralegh requisite, of sending another advertisement how they were all met again, and had been formerly "severed by misfortunes "only, and not by any wilful de-"fault in the rear-admiral, as was "doubted."

"he was endowed with many good gifts, how it came to "pass, that he at last failed in the use of them."

Here, as they lay before the isle of Flores, they held a council of war, to conquer and possess, or lay waste some of these islands; they being the chief places of retreat and refreshment for the king of Spain's Indian fleets, by the treasures whereof his boundless ambition so much disturbed and tyrannized over Europe. In this council, the admirals and commanders had their charge allotted, after the following manner. Essex and Ralegh were to undertake the island of Fayall; the lord Thomas Howard and sir Francis Vere were to secure Gratiosa; the lord Mountjoy and sir Christopher Blunt were to attempt St. Michael's; and the Netherland squadron was quartered to Pike [d], where grew the greatest store of wines, therefore presumed no unwelcome portion to them. And these places were the first resolved upon, that they might afterwards attack the Tercera itself; for Ralegh's arrival, contrary to all men's expectations, and many men's hopes, gave their resolution upon this stronger island a second life; but it was first thought expedient to strengthen and supply themselves with whatsoever those weaker ones would afford: and to this end the fleet was divided into four squadrons.

The enterprise allotted him and Essex.

But Ralegh's mariners having obtained leave to go ashore at Flores, to water and furnish themselves with such other necessaries as they wanted; while he himself, attended by several other of the commanders and gentlemen, walked a mile or two into the island, to stretch their legs and refresh themselves, where they all dined in a little village, the bare-legged governor having caused such fare to be brought them as the country afforded, which they very honourably

[d] Sir Francis Vere, and Camden, misled by the MS. of his Commentaries, inform us, "The general only, "with his squadron, was to go to "Fayall; and sir Walter Ralegh, "with his, either to the Pike or St. "George's island." But it seems not likely, that Ralegh should have a command in chief, which he might execute, with approbation of the council, in one place; yet incur all their displeasure, by usurping that of the general in another. But the disadvantageous representation which Vere has given of Ralegh, in the sequel of this action, may pretty well direct us how we should credit his introduction to it.

paid for, without offering them the least injury; because the earl had before given them an indemnity, under his own hand, from all manner of violence: when Essex, impatient to be in action, all of a sudden, and before the sailors could get their casks of fresh water aboard, sent, on the 16th of September, captain Arthur Champernon to tell them, "That the general was borne up for Fayall, meaning "presently to take it in, therefore required them to fol-"low him instantly; and though they should not overtake "him, yet to find him there as soon as they could, and "there they might supply their wants." Hereupon they hastened away, with all the sail they could make, after him; but no general could they overtake. The next morning they got sight of Fayall, and missed of Essex also there, to their great dissatisfaction, he being six leagues nearer that island when he sent for them, and set sail thither six or eight hours before them.

Loses the earl's company.

Arrives at Fayall.

Being entered the road, they beheld before them a very fine town, pleasantly seated along the shore; from whence the people, upon sight of their ships, began to pack away both bag and baggage: their friars, nuns, other women and children, they also sent away in carts and carriages: so continued transporting all up into the country for two days together. There was besides a strong fort at one end of the town, and another on the top of a very high mountain near adjoining, by nature very inaccessible, and artificially fenced with flankers, rampiers, and a ditch; also six pieces of artillery, and two hundred Spaniards in garrison; not reckoning others quartered about the island. They fired upon Ralegh's ships as he anchored in the road, though without much damage, and set a great red standard up in defiance before his eyes. They sent moreover six companies with their colours to intrench upon the shore, in order to oppose his landing. However Ralegh, in his barge, accompanied with sir Arthur Gorges, and captain William Morgan, rowed close along the shore-side, and by the high fort towards the town, to acquaint himself with the most proper place for making a descent when Essex should arrive; from

whence they were saluted with divers musket shot, which they very fortunately escaped, having with them neither targets nor armour for their safeguard.

Upon these provocations, and the want they grew in of those necessaries, wherewith they were both lately hurried from accommodating themselves, and promised they should be supplied here; Ralegh called a council of the captains and officers, to consult about taking of the town, if Essex arrived not; thinking it a shame to forbear so fair a prize, so near at hand, till they had carried all off; especially since the enemy had begun the war upon them, and so proudly dared them to their own defence. Further, these bravadoes, with the hopes of wealth in this goodly town, and the ransom of houses and prisoners, made all the mariners and soldiers not only ready to mutiny that they were so long restrained, but reflect on their commanders, as if this forbearance was the effect only of their fear. And what made them the more eager was, that they saw no likelihood of other benefit by this voyage than what was thus to be gotten ashore. Notwithstanding these murmurs, and that they heard no news of Essex in two days, the council was divided; and some of the captains who were his most flattering and servile dependants, as sir Guilly Merrick [c], sir Nicholas Parker, and others, were by no means for landing without his knowledge; but Ralegh, with sir W. Brook, sir A. Gorges, sir W. Harvey, and many other commanders and gentlemen of his own squadron, were of a contrary opinion; judging the general would repute them idlers and cowards to lie so long before so good a town with so many ships and men, and do nothing, but let them convey away their effects. This was the general voice both of the land and sea-forces; yet the violent persuasions of Merrick did

Calls a council of war.

[c] This Guilly Merrick of Hanscard in Pembrokeshire, the son of Rowland Merrick, bishop of Bangor, who died 1566, was knighted by Essex at the sack of Cadiz, and one of his creatures and evil counsellors, as Camden has observed. Insomuch, as having been a busy promoter and partaker of the said earl's treasons, he received the reward which is richly due to all such like fomenters of great men's pride, passions, and prejudices, between three and four years after this time, at Tyburn.

so prevail, that they agreed to delay the enterprise one day longer; when, if the earl did not come, they all agreed to land together.

Now, the wind tacking about, somewhat unfit for the road they lay in, Ralegh, and divers of his squadron, with many other of the ships after him, weighed, and coasted about the point to the north-west side of the island, some four miles further from the town than they were before, and there let fall their anchors, being a better road than the first, as the wind sat: but Merrick, with some five or six ships of his consorts, would not advance with them. They were now in the fourth day of their arrival before Fayall, and no general appeared; but the prospect of a most inviting country, full of little villages and fruitful fields, which sharpened the general desire of landing, to supply their want of victuals, and especially of water, wherewith they had not been recruited since their first setting out from Plymouth; therefore, by agreement, they manned out a barge, a long-boat and pinnace, with threescore muskets and forty pikes, rather to guard themselves in watering, than in expectation of any encounter from the town or forts on the other side of the island. But they were no sooner ready to put off from the ships, than they discovered six ensigns of foot, and some dozen horsemen, marching down speedily from the town and forts to meet them; and made such haste, that they soon possessed the trenches towards the shore where the English lay, and where, with brandishing swords and waving colours, they stood daring them to a rencounter. Hereupon Ralegh found it necessary to augment his force, which Brook, Harvey, and other sea-officers, readily supplied, to the number of one hundred and sixty men more. Then said Ralegh to them, "seeing these "Spaniards and Portuguese are so gallant to seek or fol-"low, and keep us from watering, we will try our fortunes "with them, and either win our landing or gain a beating." As Ralegh then rowed along by his ships, he was greeted by Bret, Sidney, White, Berry, and other captains of the Low Country soldiers, who called out, and advised him

"to take them and some of their companies with him; for, "if he ventured to make the shore only with mariners and "his own attendants, without their land-soldiers, he might "receive a discreditable repulse." But Ralegh excused himself, saying, "he did not know for what service the earl "might design them; therefore was resolved, with his own "company, to make the descent, and then should send for "their recruits; by which he would undertake to lodge "them that night in the town, and the next in the forts: "besides, he was willing to make the attempt with those of "his own squadron, that neither the general nor his train "should have cause to be ashamed of them for undertaking "that in the face of their enemies, which they durst not of "themselves follow and perform."

His dangerous descent.

Then Ralegh, having thus a party of two hundred and threescore men, not half the number of the enemy, made forward; and while some ordnance, he had judiciously placed before him in pinnaces, as close along the shore as they could lie, were beating upon their trenches, he rushed through or under them as fast as his oars could ply to the landing-place; which was guarded first with a mighty ledge of rocks, some forty paces long into the sea, and afterwards trenched and flanked with earth and stone, having only a narrow lane between two walls left for their entrance. But now, as they approached still nearer to the shore, the enemy's shot flew down so thick among them, that not only several of the common men, but of those who would before have passed for very forward and valiant leaders, were much dismayed; insomuch that Ralegh, who most gloriously approved himself no less their chief in courage, than he was in command, did not spare openly to rebuke them aloud with many reproachful words. At last, when he saw them still linger, through consternation, as much to their danger as their disgrace, he commanded, with a loud voice, his watermen to row his own barge full upon the rocks, and bade as many as were not afraid, to follow him. Hereat some boats ran in with us, says my author, and out of them were landed Mr. Garrett, then a pensioner, afterwards

And superior courage.

earl of Kildare, sir W. Brook, sir W. Harvey, sir John Scott, captain Henry Thynne, captain White, captain Arthur Radford, captain W. Morgan, Mr. Duke Brook, Mr. Thomas Rudgeway, Mr. Walter Chute, Mr. Henry Allen, Mr. Charles Mackart, and divers other gentlemen. So, clambering over the rocks, and wading through the water, he made his way pellmell through all their fire, with shot, pike, and sword, up to the narrow entrance; where he so resolutely pursued his assault, that the enemy, after a short resistance, gave ground; and, when they saw his forces press faster and thicker upon them, suddenly retiring, they cast away their weapons, and betook themselves to the hills and woods. The like also did those who were intrenched higher: and thus did he win this difficult and dangerous landing, together with the trenches of the enemy. A few of his men indeed were drowned and slain, more hurt, and a couple of long-boats sunk; yet was not his loss so considerable as to detract from the justice of those congratulations which were paid him by the officers of the Low Country forces, when, with some of their companies, they arrived upon the island, and found the footing he had won so strongly fortified and guarded.

Climbs the rocks.

Wins a landing and the trenches.

Ralegh, thus recruited, being now near five hundred strong, thought best to go through with the matter, and prepare the town in readiness for Essex. Therefore, he appointed Bret to the office of sergeant-major, directed the other captains to advance their colours, marshal the companies, and so, in order, marched to the town, about four miles distant from the landing-place. In their passage divers of the enemy, who had before braved them with the greatest insolence, came with white napkins at the end of staves, and voluntarily abased themselves to offices of the greatest servility. There was indeed a way, two miles about, by which they might have passed to the town, and avoided the high fort where the Spaniards lay in garrison. But Ralegh, considering the trouble of their march, the sultry heat of the weather, the hazards of delay, and, above all, the necessity they were under of immediate supplies, took the

shortest course; resolving to bring fort and town all into one day's work. Thus, at the head of about forty gentlemen of the best rank, Ralegh led on the companies in a gentle regular manner, full in the face of the fort, having only his leading staff in his hand, and no other armour on but his collar, for which he was somewhat censured by his friends; for, when they came within reach of the fort, they were shrewdly encountered with several fierce storms of great and small shot, which came thundering down upon them from all parts of it, wounding several[f], killing some, and putting most of his men into disorder: insomuch that Ralegh himself, with his little vanguard, was no sooner passed, and entered under the covert of their trenches and barricadoes at the declivity of a little hill, but the rest, composing the main body of his forces, which, till now that they found themselves under the mercy of the enemy's fire, advanced in good order, begun to break their ranks, and, from marching, fell to running on in a straggling and confused manner, till they were under the walls and trenches almost as soon as their leader, who came some twelve-score yards before them in a steady and deliberate march. Ralegh was somewhat moved to see this tumultuous and timorous course; and more, to think that the enemy saw themselves were the occasion of it; therefore he cried out to Bret, Berry, and other captains, demanding, "If these "were the men that should have done him such service in "landing, and saved him from dishonour? or this the "manner of their Low Country troops, to shew such base "cowardice at the first sight of an enemy, and at the mus-

Marches to the high fort.

[f] Among the rest, there was one captain William Morgan, a brave old soldier, in this march; who, being reproved by our author, sir A. Gorges, for coming to the field only in his doublet and hose, without either armour or target, answered, "That his flesh was of musket-"proof." Immediately after, a musket ball struck him pointblank upon his belly, and, with the force of its own blow, fell flat at his feet, leaving only a black spot or bruise upon his skin;—thanks to the buckle that joined his girdle; deserving to be reposited among those trophies in the temple of Mars, which witness he wants not one brother-soldier's impenetrable suit of mail, nor the sevenfold shield of another, who can encounter his enemy behind the curtains only of a pair of proverbs, attesting how little armour will suffice that is well placed, and how much fortune favours the bold.

"ket shot, so far off from a fort?" The captains, who were themselves brave enough, knowing the truth would be the best apology, answered, "That these companies who had "behaved themselves with such irresolution, were indeed "men taken out of Flushing and Brill, the cautionary "towns; so were raw soldiers, who had ever lived in a safe "garrison, and seldom or never seen an enemy, or en-"countered with shot in the field."

Being thus got under covert of the trenches and walls which the Spaniards had abandoned, and retired to their fortifications on the top of the hill, Ralegh commanded captain Bret to appoint a sergeant or two, with a few shot, to go view and discover the way to the town, which, in many places, lay open, as well to the high fort here in the way towards it, as to the other fort at the end thereof: and where the ways were fenced, they were still more dangerous; it being with low-piled walls of loose ragged stones, which Ralegh justly suspected would increase, rather than obstruct the mischiefs of their enemy's artillery. Bret brought word of a general unwillingness in the lieutenants and sergeants to undertake this discovery, so much under the command of the fort and hill; and that the troops were rather desirous of slipping by, in the most hasty, dispersed, and unobserved manner they could; which Ralegh would by no means suffer, through consideration of their safety, without urging the regard he had to their credit in this enterprise; for being by this time well informed the island could raise a thousand armed men, and reasonably believing they would gather their greatest strength for the defence of their best town, towards which he was now marching, he concluded they would have it more in their power to defeat him, advancing in little disorderly and scattered parties, than in a regular united body. Bret did make some offer himself to go and survey these passages, if he should be expressly commanded; but indeed it was found he could not be wanted or spared among his own raw and unexperienced troops.

When Ralegh, therefore, saw all men so scrupulous of

this undertaking, and especially those garrison-soldiers, he told them, "That he would not offer that to any man which "he would himself refuse: that though it were not the "duty and office of a chief commander to undergo so ordi-"nary a service, but what duly appertained to the inferior "officers and soldiers; and, notwithstanding," said he, "that I could therefore enforce others to do it, they shall "well perceive that I myself will do that which they dare "not attempt; wherein I am ashamed on their behalf, that "our general and we are all thus abused in our opinion of "these Low Country soldiers." Then he called for his cuirass and his cask, and said, "he would both go view the "way for them, which they made so nice of, as also the "passages and ascents to the hill-top; and, as well as he "could, observe the strength and fortifications thereof, for "their better direction the next morning." Hereupon captain Berry was very ready to go, "and earnestly desired "me," says our author, "to divert our rear-admiral from "undertaking it; and I thereupon," continues he, "did "openly dissuade him, who commanded in chief, from "putting his own person to these inferior offices of hazard, "fitter for a lieutenant or sergeant, than himself, to per-"form; knowing that all the direction, as well of those "troops, as also of a whole squadron of the navy, did, at "that time, only rest upon him, in the absence of the ad-"miral and vice-admiral. Notwithstanding, he was obsti-"nate therein; as well in scorn of those who had refused, "as also indeed out of a desire to be better informed of "the strength and fortifications of the high fort. When I "saw him resolved, I told him that I would, out of the "love of a kinsman in particular, and also out of an honest "regard, take such part as he did, from whom I had re-"ceived many kind favours, and accompany him; but not "out of any great desire I had to go about a piece of work, "which consisted of much danger, and little honour in the "performance. He thanked me for my offer, but yet "wished me not to go, if it were against my will: notwith-"standing, I accompanied him, and so did some eight or

His singular valour.

"ten more of our servants and followers. But I say truly, "and so afterwards it was much spoken of, that there was "not any one more of quality that did accompany him in "that business."

His desperate discovery.

In this manner, and with this number, did Ralegh in person go; the only one, it seems, who despaired not of success, to discover the ascents to the hill; the cannon-shot of the enemy, and thereby the stones of the battered walls, flying on every side thick about him all the while. He still proceeded, with an undaunted pace, to compass this knowledge of the safest way by which he was to lead the rest, though he perceived wounds and death dealt on either hand, and his own danger at every step more unavoidable. Some of his company, in the march, were hurt, and two had their heads taken from their shoulders; sir Arthur Gorges had his left leg shot through with a musket ball, who, without remembering any pain it gave him, observes, the bullet burnt both his silk stocking and buskin, as if they had been singed with a hot iron. "I was then hard "by the rear-admiral," continues he, "who also was shot "through the breeches and doublet-sleeves in two or three "places. And still they plied us so fast with small shot, "that, as I well remember, he wished me to put off a large "red scarf which I then wore; being, as he said, a very "fair mark for them. But I, not willing to do the Span-"iards so much honour at that time, though I could have "wished it had not been on, answered the rear-admiral "again, that his white scarf was as eminent as my red; "and therefore I would now follow his example."

And narrow escape.

Having, by this time, made a sufficient discovery, both of the way for his troops to pass, as also of the avenues to the high fort on the mountain, which he intended to attempt, after he had secured the town; captain Berry, with Allen, and some others, advanced to him. Hereupon he sent some guides to captain Bret, with orders for him also to march up with the companies, that they might unite before they came to the town, because he there expected an engagement, or at least some sally out of the fort at the

end thereof, which they must needs pass before they could get at the town; and which seemed to threaten resistance, being a very fine fortification, all of stone-work, with curtain, flankers, and ditch, very artificially cast. But immediately upon Ralegh's approach with the body of his men, the Spaniards, it seems, abandoned it; for when he entered it, he found they were newly departed. In like manner, as he marched on, he found the inhabitants had also forsaken the town, and left him in possession of it, with such wares and stores as could not suddenly be removed. Thus, though with much danger indeed, and some loss of about half a score men, with the hurt of little above double that number, Ralegh made himself master, in effect, of the whole island; which supplied him, from his own experience, with an example to confirm the assertion he afterwards took occasion to maintain, and which we have in part touched upon before; alleging, "That a country cannot prevent "an enemy's fleet from landing its army, without as good a "fleet to oppose it[8]." And this example, in his own sum-

Enters the town.

[8] "The difficult landing of our "English," says Ralegh, "at Fayal, "in the year 1597, is alleged against "this: which example moves me no "way to think that a large coast "may be defended against a strong "fleet. I landed those English in "Fayal myself; and therefore ought "to take notice of this instance. "There were indeed some in that "voyage who advised me not to undertake it, and I hearkened to "them somewhat longer than was "requisite; especially whilst they "desired me to reserve the title of "such an exploit, though it were "not great, for a greater person. "But when they began to tell me of "difficulty, I gave them to understand the same which I now maintain, that it were more difficult to "defend a coast than to invade it. "The truth is, that I could have "landed my men with more ease "than I did; yea, without finding "any resistance, if I would have "rowed to another place; yea, even "there where I landed, if I would "have taken more company to help "me. But, without fearing any "imputation of rashness, I may say, "I had more regard of reputation "in that business than safety: for "I thought it belonging to the honour of our prince and nation, "that a few islanders should not "think any advantage great enough "against a fleet set forth by queen "Elizabeth. And further, I was "unwilling that some Low Country "captains, and others, not of my "own squadron, whose assistance I "had refused, should please themselves with a sweet conceit, (though "it would have been short, when I "had landed in some other place,) "that, for want of their help, I was "driven to turn tail. Therefore I "took with me none but men assured, commanders of my own "squadron, with some of their followers, and a few other gentlemen "volunteers, whom I could not refuse; as, sir W. Brook, sir W. "Harvey, sir A. Gorges, sir John "Scott, sir Thomas Ridgeway, sir

mary account, we have here subjoined, as what may give the reader a double satisfaction, both in confirming the veracity of that which has been here extracted thereof from sir Arthur Gorges, and adding to the many other instances of Ralegh's modesty and restriction, who could, in the recital of this action, be so much less particular in the brave steps he took to this victory, with the dangers and difficulties he surmounted by sea and land, than that honourable historian has been, who was a witness of them.

This town, of which Ralegh was thus possessed, was called Villa Dorta, as I find in Linschoten; who also informs us, the people were mostly of the Dutch offspring, yet using the Portuguese language. Others, who likewise describe it, reckon that it contained, even some years before this time, at least five hundred houses, built all of stone, with tiled roofs, and disposed into fine streets; besides a handsome church, nunnery, and friary; interspersed with many pleasant gardens of delicate fruits, and wells of fresh

"Henry Thynne, sir Charles Morgan, sir Wat. Chute, Marcellus Throgmorton, captain Laurence Keymis, captain William Morgan, and others; such as well understood themselves and the enemy; by whose help, with God's favour, I made good the enterprise I undertook. As for the working of the sea, the steepness of the cliffs, and other troubles, that were not new to us, we overcame them well enough. And these, notwithstanding, made five or six companies of the enemy, who sought to impeach our landing, abandon the wall where their musketeers lay on the rest for us, and won the place of them without any great loss. This I could have done with less danger, so that it should not have served for example of a rule that failed even in this example. But the reasons before alleged, together with other reasons well known to the gentlemen above named, though more private than to be here laid down, made me rather follow the way of bravery, and take the shortest course; having it still in my own power to fall off when I should think it meet. It is easily said, the enemy was more than a coward, which was more than we knew; neither will I magnify such a small piece of service, by seeking to prove him better; whom, had I thought equal to my own followers, I would otherwise have dealt with. But, for so much as concerns the proposition in hand, he that beheld this may well remember that the same enemy troubled us more in our march towards Fayal than in our taking the shore; that many of our men were slain or hurt by him, among whom sir Arthur Gorges was shot in that march; and that such as, thinking all danger was past when we had won good footing, would needs follow us to the town, were driven by him to forsake the pace of a man of war, and betake themselves to a hasty trot." So he ends the curious digression which introduced this example, with advice to employ, against those that should assail us, our good ships on the sea, and not trust to any intrenchment upon the shore. History of the World, lib. 5. cap. 1. sect. 9.

water: insomuch that, for bigness, it has been compared to Plymouth or Yarmouth; but in situation, to Dover: and might probably now have been of as good advantage to sir Walter Ralegh, as it was, eight years before, to the earl of Cumberland [h], had he not, in compliment to the earl of Essex, obliged himself to so disadvantageous a delay in the conquest of it. However, because the town was unwalled, and he was to expect, if he lay there open and carelessly refreshing himself, while his soldiers were scattered about in quest of provisions, he might easily be surprised, without some good orders and directions given before they fell to rest and repast, he issued forth, at his entrance, a proclamation, that none should straggle twenty score yards from the town without leave of an officer, and then go upon their guard, with fit weapon and company. He then made some strong barricadoes, planted a good watch in proper stations, and a strong corps de garde in the market-place, that others might in safety bring together such booty as the inhabitants had left behind.

Thus, having refreshed and reposed themselves all night, the next morning, being the twenty-second of September, even before break of day, they discovered, bearing in with full sail towards the road of Fayal, the earl of Essex and his fleet; he having been all this while making a kind of wildgoosechase after Indian fleets, and the adelantado, who, as he now thought, never stirred out to sea this year; with other like uncertain adventures. Now sir Guilly Merrick, sir Christopher Blount, sir Anthony Shirley, and some other fatal friends and cherishers of the earl's infirmities, soon interrupted, by their aggravating and distorted representations, all Ralegh's further intentions to secure the island. They presently possessed his lordship's head, that

[h] In a brief relation of the several voyages undertaken in person by, or at the charge of George Clifford, earl of Cumberland, gathered by Purchas into his fourth volume, we have it affirmed, page 1143. that in 1589 the earl took this town; that he shipped, from the platform, fifty-eight pieces of iron ordnance; and that he had a ransom paid him of 2000 ducats, mostly in church-plate: but the fortification, which he razed, was now new built, and more strongly fortified, being the high fort on the hill, by which Ralegh made his dangerous passage, as is above related.

Ralegh had taken this opportunity to play over his parts, and shew the world how well he could act the conqueror, only to steal honour and reputation from the general; and they knew the earl's temper was as ready as tinder to catch fire at the least spark of any such suggestion: for, as no man alive was a more passionate courtier of fame, or more desirous to be reputed matchless for magnanimity and enterprise; so none was more jealous of rivals than Essex, or could less endure that any man should obscure his glory, how highly soever he might otherwise be in his favour[i]. But in divers other disagreeable colours this gallant action was further disfigured to the earl, as the contempt and violation of authority; from whence they infused, that the presumption of landing such forces without his lordship's leave, was not to be passed over without severe punishment; and that it was fit a court-martial should be called, to censure the offence and breach of order and discipline. In short, the unpardonable crime was, that Ralegh dared to render himself more conspicuous than any body else. And he had been less culpable, had he been less successful; they seeming rather willing to have endured blame for any ill success which might have occurred to him by their absence and restraint of aid, than allow of any praise for his being victorious without them. Nay, there were not want-

[i] "And that this is true," continues sir A. Gorges, "those who understood his humour best cannot "justly deny; which, I protest, I "do not speak either out of any "neglect of one that is dead, or to "pick thanks of any that lives; but "simply out of a resolution to write "an impartial truth, or else be silent. "For those spirits that base flattery "or servile fear doth transport, in "fashioning their histories, are, of "all others, to be reputed the unworthiest and most pernicious in a "well policied commonwealth; for "we see that those heathens who "have written the stories of Cyrus, "Pyrrhus, Alexander, Hannibal, "Scipio, Cæsar, and all other great "kings and renowned heroes, do as "well tax them for their vices, as "glorify them for their virtues: for "who lives without fault? And so "sincerely and boldly do they follow the truth in their writings, "that they are thereby freed from "malice or revenge, because they "are free from all partiality; or if "any spleen arise, yet it is secret; "for the prosecution of such sincerity is reputed mere impiety in "all sorts, and flat tyranny in "princes. And, to conclude, this "impotent humour of enduring rivality, and other men's praises, is "very incident to men in high "places; especially if they are of "great courage, or tickled with ambition."

ing some, among Essex's commanders, who would needs shew the violence of their zeal for his lordship in such extremes, as to throw out, that Ralegh was well worthy of losing his head for his labour. All which might well inspire those solid and durable exposures which he has in several places made of such envious and insolent usage[k].

Essex, thus exasperated, spent all the forenoon in reprehending, displacing, and confining all the land-captains and officers who accompanied Ralegh; whilst he, expecting rather thanks than such a perverse interpretation of his services, made ready his barge to go on board the general, and guide him to the land. But, being entered his ship, he found all men's countenances estranged as he passed through them; and when he came to his cabin, the earl, after a faint welcome, began to accuse him with "the "breach of order and articles." Ralegh answered, "he "knew not wherein he had been guilty of such breach." Essex replied, "there was an article that none should land "any of the troops without the general's presence or his "order." Ralegh desired leave to defend himself by those laws which himself as well as others had made, and his lordship, with the council of war, had authorized; then he should find that no misdemeanour had been committed. "For," said he, "there is an article indeed, that no cap-"tain of any ship, or of any company, if he be separated "from the fleet, shall land any where without direction

Accused.

k "There are multitudes of men," says Ralegh, "especially of those "that follow the war, who both envy "and malign others, if they perform "any praiseworthy actions for the "honour and safety of their own "country, though themselves may "be assured to bear a part of the "smart of contrary success; and "such malicious hearts can rather be "contented that their prince and "country should suffer hazard and "want, than that such men as they "mislike should be the authors or "actors of any glory or good to ei-"ther." Hist. of the World, lib. 2. cap. 13. sect. 5. And in another place he has this reflection; "In "actions which promise either public "glory or private honour, men may "be reasonably persuaded to adven-"ture life and living, because great "hope there is to die with reputa-"tion, or live to recover that peace "which war hath consumed: but, "where men are no less oppressed "by insolency of commanders than "by insolency of foes, there is the "calamity double; and, of two evils, "the danger of war seems least; "for that has end, the other is infi-"nite." Sir W. Ralegh's Arts of Empire, and Mysteries of State discabineted, 8vo. 1692. p. 182.

His justification.

"from the general, or some other principal commander, "upon pain of death. But I take myself," said Ralegh, "to be a principal commander under your lordship, and "therefore not subject to that article, nor under the power "of the martial law; because a successive commander of "the whole fleet, in her majesty's letters patents, your lord-"ship and my lord Thomas Howard failing. Besides, "you agreed I should land at this island with your lord-"ship, whom I have attended these four days; and, finding "that you came not, though you were half a dozen leagues "before me in your way thither, I weighed anchor, and "could not but conclude, both that you thought me strong "enough to take this island, and were gone yourself to take "in some others. Yet I refrained so long from landing, "at sir Guilly Merrick's entreaty, that I heard my own "company, even at my back, murmur, and say that I durst "not attempt it. And, to tell you the plain truth, my in-"tent at first was only to water, till I saw them follow me "in that braving manner; which, with our reputations, we "could not then shun and give over, being already in our "boats for that purpose: for, if I had intended the taking "of the town, I would never have removed so far from our "first road, which lay right before it." As for those officers and gentlemen who had been committed, Ralegh desired "they might receive no hard measure in his cause; "whatsoever his lordship conceived to be misdone, he must "take it wholly on himself to answer, being, at that time, "commander in chief."

With these and other arguments Essex was so well pacified, that he went ashore into the town, and rested himself in Ralegh's lodging. There Ralegh invited him to supper, and offered, if he meant to call the matter further in question, to claim no privilege or favour, but would answer for himself more amply in the morning. Sir Christopher Blount, taking the earl's answer from him, said, "he "thought my lord would not sup at all." To which Ralegh replied, "That, for his own appetite, he might, when "he was invited, disable it at his own pleasure; but if the

"earl would stay, he should be glad of his company." In the mean time the lord Thomas Howard, very nobly taking care that no disrespectful treatment should be offered to Ralegh by the practice of his enemies, dealt with Essex to find how he stood resolved; and, the next morning, assured Ralegh, that his lordship sought only some acknowledgement; because the rest would think him a weak and tame commander, if he had not satisfaction. Ralegh, considering he had done nothing unjustifiable, and very certain that he was successively in the commission for the whole command of the fleet, therefore not subject to any corporal danger, as also of the lord Thomas Howard's sincere and honourable dealing, came again in the morning to visit Essex: otherwise, remembering the little trust that men ought to repose in such reconciliations, and the strong malice borne him by others in greatest favour with his lordship, had designed to betake him to his own squadron; and so to have defended himself, or forsaken the earl. But the lord Thomas, after having given his honour with great kindness and resolution, that he would make himself a party if any wrong or violence were offered [l], contrary to his lordship's promise, persuading him to go and satisfy the earl, Ralegh took his counsel; and all things, after a little debate, came to a calm and quiet conclusion [m].

The promoters of this disturbance, however, thus disap-

[l] Sir Francis Vere says, that every one being to deliver his opinion of Ralegh's crime, it was grievously aggravated by the most: and adds, "For my part, no man shewed less "spleen against him than myself." Which last expression may imply a truth in relation to himself, by granting that he shewed Ralegh some spleen, yet a falsehood in regard to others; because, as here we see, the lord Thomas Howard was so far from bearing Ralegh any spleen, that he resolved to take his part against any injury that should be offered upon this occasion.

[m] Sir Henry Wotton, having given us one example of Essex's severity in this voyage, where he threw a soldier, with his own hand, out of a ship; produces another of his facility, as he calls it, in conniving at this bold trespass of Ralegh's: at which time he let fall, continues he, a noble word, being pressed by one, (whose name he needs not remember,) that he would put Ralegh, at least, upon a martial-court. "That I would do," answered Essex, "if he were not my friend;" for so we have it in the first editions of sir Henry's Parallel, both in 4to. and 12mo; but in the succeeding editions, 8vo. we read, as I remember, Essex's answer to be, "That I would "do, if he were my friend;" which last, if the right reading, being still perhaps capable of more constructions than my author has made of it, according to the disposition of the readers towards the persons concerned, I therefore leave to their paraphrase.

pointed of their end, scrupled not to share in the benefits of this reproved victory, by lodging and refreshing themselves, not only that night, but three or four days after, in the goodly town aforesaid; yet were they justly punished for their envy and ingratitude. For had that time which they spent in carping and cavilling at Ralegh's conduct throughout this brave action, been employed, according to his measures, in pursuing it, the birds, which thereby they suffered to fly out of their cage, had well rewarded their unanimity in taking them; and they would not have lost, as now they had, the ransom of so many Spanish prisoners out of the high fort, nor the spoil which they had conveyed out of the town for safety to that place: so that instead of assistance to advance the profit of this conquest, Essex's arrival brought only means, as far as in them lay, to destroy the honour of it.

The town fired.

After the army had plentifully regaled themselves with the best provisions the island would afford, and the disgraced captains were received again into favour and command, they hoisted sail; having first, in honour of their lost men, made the town itself their funeral pile, and carried all the artillery, and other stores they found therein, or in the forts, to their ships. On the 26th of September they cast anchor at Graciosa, where the chiefs of the island coming on board the general, submitted themselves with very acceptable humiliation, and willingly brought such provisions as were required for their composition. This homage of those people banished all thoughts in the earl of further repairing, in that place, the great charges he principally had created by this voyage: for, whether it was through a generous valour, or the captivation of some inferior quality, I pretend not to decide; but he seemed so charmed with submission, as to have disregarded the advantages it might have yielded; and fonder of having a power over his enemies, than of making any effectual use of it. When they came to St. Michael's, they heard tidings of the Indian fleet; at which, most joyful acclamations rung through all their ships: within few hours after, they encountered and took three Spanish prizes, bound from the

Havannah. The greatest of them, being about four hundred tons burden, was a very rich ship, as well for the lading as the passengers in her; and this, if not the other two, was taken by Ralegh, who, being nearest, gave chace, caused her to strike and to yield. These three ships, especially the last, were laden with cochineal, and other profitable merchandise, besides the silver, gold, pearl, civet, musk, ambergrease, found among the passengers, and acknowledged, by the merchants in them, to be richly worth above four hundred thousand ducats. When Ralegh had inquired, from the gallery of his own ship, of those who had computed the value of these commodities, and been satisfied it would at least amount to that sum, he privately said to our author, "Although we shall be little the better "for these rich prizes, yet I am heartily glad for our gene-"ral's sake; because they will, in great measure, give con-"tent to her majesty; so that there may be no repining "against this poor lord for the expense of the voyage." These ships made a discovery of forty sail of Spanish Indiamen, whereof some were freighted with the king of Spain's treasure; and it was reported, that while three or four of the English fleet, which were fallen among them, were rifling one that foundered, the rest escaped, and recovered the Tercera. Essex, upon this mischance, called a council of war, and some of the colonels, with other land-officers, made liberal professions of the daring feats they would attempt, if boats, pinnaces, and men were allowed, how vain and impracticable soever they seemed to the sea-commanders. For they offered, with fifteen hundred men, to take both that island and the forts; but these, knowing the difficulty of landing them, with their artillery, on so dangerous a place, in so bad a season; besides the strength of the fortifications, so well furnished by this new arrival, could not, cordially and seriously, give their consent, but urged many reasons to the contrary[n]; yet, when the lord

Three Spanish prizes taken.

[n] Though our author Gorges, for brevity, omits these reasons, yet they may be partly gathered from the observations Ralegh himself afterwards made on the strength of the Tercera, badness of the harbour, number of the forts, and especially the situation of that at Angra; in his Hist. of the World, lib. 5. cap. 1. sect. 9 and 10.

Thomas Howard perceived this incompliance would be used as a handle at home for their losing the Spanish fleet and treasure, he told Essex, that if he was so forward to have it attempted, both himself and sir Walter Ralegh were ready to venture as far as any of them; and that they would undertake to spare three thousand able men out of the fleet for the service: but this second offer, thus absolutely and solemnly made, though of double the number, cooled their courage, upon a little deliberation, who had made even the first; and so the vapour was dispelled.

Hence they returned again to St. Michael's island, which they had left upon the intelligence aforesaid; and in this road Essex, with a great number of his officers, coming on board Ralegh's ship, hung out the flag of council; wherein they considered about landing, and taking of the fair town which lay so temptingly before their eyes, being unwalled, and having but a slight fort for its defence by the sea-side. Essex was for landing all the companies immediately, but Ralegh desired that himself might first go and survey the place; because the billows were here, in some parts, no less dangerous than where he had made the experiment at Fayal: the earl, at first, consented; but, as Ralegh was putting off, Essex, standing in his gallery with sir Christopher Blount, called him back in great haste, and said he would go himself. As he was descending into his barge, Ralegh, seeing him altogether unarmed, except with his collar and sword, called aloud to him, and "desired him to "take his cask and target of proof with him, if he designed "to approach the shore; seeing so many muskets (above "four hundred) lying there on the rest to oppose him." But Essex answered, "That he would have none, because "he disdained to take any advantage of the watermen who "rowed him;" for which our author censures him [o], as he

[o] "In my opinion," says Gorges, "though that answer much shewed "his valour, yet became it not the "place that my lord held: for, in "truth; a general ought not to be so "adventurous and careless of himself upon every slight occasion, "nor to go unarmed to places of imminent peril. Homer describes the "valiant heroes and brave leaders of "the Greeks to be best armed; as "Achilles, Ajax, &c.—insomuch that "their very arms are famous to these "days, the use whereof we make "now scornful. But they are no "beaten soldiers in the wars who

had before done sir Walter Ralegh. However, in viewing of those landing-places, Essex and his officers kept cautiously enough beyond the reach even of culverin shot; therefore no such temerity in leaving the armour behind. Thus, after many offers and surveys, made aloof, says Gorges, the conveniences of that place for landing were excepted against. "Albeit," adds he, "in truth it was a fair "and sandy beach, (as all the fleet might well perceive,) "was some four or five miles from the town or fort, and "much more easy than that of Fayal, where we before won "our landing: and that this was true, many now living "that were present, and saw both, can justly affirm." Yet our author proceeds to distinguish, that the earl was resolute enough of himself, and ready to undertake any good occasion of service; but "was then so led and accompanied "with such politic land-captains, that, of all the services "which fell under deliberation, those commonly which "were most unfeasible were offered to be undertaken, and "those most practicable rejected; whereby our affairs," says he, "sped accordingly."

This descent being thus disliked, it was presently, in another consultation, resolved, that Ralegh should, with all the great ships, lie as near before the town of St. Michael as he could, to keep them in continual alarm; while Essex, in a pinnace of Ralegh's, called the Guiana, with about two thousand men in boats, should, by night, convey themselves about six miles further than their first determined landing, to the town called Villa Franca. Accordingly they all landed the next morning at this town, without any manner of resistance, while the fleet kept the other in such constant dread and confusion, that they could not regard their neighbours; to the end that the English army, having secured those, might the better fall on the back of these. But in vain did the fleet look over the hills and plains in expectation of them; for that other pleasant town of Villa Franca

"hold these opinions; for it is truly "said, that a great and wise general should die old; and I have "read, that Epaminondas was fined "by his countrymen the Thebans, "for being too forward, and serving "in a battle unarmed, though he won "the victory."

had so enchanted the army, being full of fruits, wines, and fresh victuals, that the commanders, as well as their soldiers, were content there to take up their quarters, without further thoughts of St. Michael's town; and for six days together lay feasting, and carrying on board the wheat, salt, wood, and other merchandise, into certain private men's ships that followed the fleet for such purposes. While Ralegh lay thus at anchor, there came into the road a ship of Brasil laden with the woods of that name, and of Fernambuc, with sugars as well as other merchandise, and anchored full in the midst of the English fleet. This ship, as sir Francis Vere also informs us, was taken by sir Walter Ralegh [p]; and her cargo, when brought into England, was very faithfully disposed of by our author, Gorges, to defray the expenses of all the men in Ralegh's own ship, to the number of four hundred, reckoning soldiers as well as mariners. Soon after, a huge carack, of eighteen hundred ton burden, and infinite wealth, says Gorges, being laden with the riches of the east and west, came bearing in with all her sails, also among them, whom she mistook for the Spanish armada; "For the king of Spain's men of war, when he "made fleets, were compounded of shipping of divers na-"tions," as this author continues, "and therefore more "difficultly distinguished from ours [q], which at that time "consisted of English and Holland bottoms, besides a great "galleon, (before named,) and other Spanish vessels they "had taken." At sight of this carack, Ralegh gave orders throughout his fleet to take in all their flags; also that none should weigh anchor, fire a gun, or put off a boat without leave. But, as she was bearing in, one of the Holland

Takes another prise.

[p] Vere's Commentaries, fol. 60.

[q] Sir Walter Ralegh, in his discourse touching a war with Spain, and our protection of the Netherlands, has discovered many other disadvantages in the Spanish fleets of these times, through this medley of shipping whereof they were composed; as the diversity of conduct and swiftness in them, whereby they could not either assail or defend in gross as the English or Dutch could. Also the confusion among their mariners, of so many different countries, and consequently languages; so as not to understand directions, and take them in general, or even mistake them, to the loss of their ship: besides, being of such strange nations, unconcerned in the quarrels they were forced into, they fought with their hands, but not their hearts; and desired liberty rather than victory. See Ralegh's Three Discourses, 8vo. 1702. p. 13, 14.

squadron, contrary to direction and to all discretion, suddenly weighed anchor, hoisted topsail, and, as she approached, made two or three shot at her; whereupon, perceiving her mistake, she nimbly changed her course; at which instant, the wind changing also, so that she could not escape outwards, "she, with the help thereof, and the "fear of falling into our hands," says Gorges, "run herself "aground close under the town and fort." Here, finding Ralegh follow her, and her danger inevitable, she discharged her men in the boats that flocked about her, with some of her wares, and was then instantly set on fire in many places at once. Ralegh and his men still pursued to board her and prevent her loss, though not without great danger, in his row-barge as he was, the surge being very outrageous; but by then he could get up to her, she was all over thunder and lightning; her ordnance discharging from every port, and her whole hulk, masts, cordage, and furniture, overrun with such a thorough, yet distinct and unconfused blaze, as represented the figure of a ship more perfectly in fire, than could be done by any painter with all his art and colours: and, when she was consumed even to the surface of the water, she exhaled, as her last breath, such clouds from her spicy entrails, as, for a great way, and for many hours, perfumed the air and coast around. Had the army then been at St. Michael's town, as was expected, it might have secured this ship before she could have disembarked her men; or, if it had terrified her back to sea, she must have been taken by the fleet; and then the treasures she contained, with those in this town, might probably have reimbursed the charges of their voyage: since our author, laying this loss upon the said land-forces, thought it so much to be lamented, that they were not to be excused[r].

A rich carack fired.

[r] "For," as sir A. Gorges continues, "no good reason could be "yielded, as was thought, nor durst "be demanded, why so gallant a "company, so easily landed, for so "good a purpose, should so long "linger in a little town, surfeiting "themselves and the whole army "upon fruits and wine, to the neglect of the service determined. "But it was manifest, that, besides "their pleasure and good cheer, the "great store of wood, corn, and "salt, did entice some landmen of "good credit, who had ships there "of their own, rather to take the

Neither Essex nor his army being heard of in all this time, Ralegh was in a consultation about drawing up the fleet towards him, when he perceived the earl's ship, by her flag, turning out from the point of Villa Franca. Then Ralegh, taking captain Morgan in his barge, rowed to him, and, the same night, sent the captain back with directions, in the general's name, to command all the fleet to weigh and come to that town. It much grieved the mariners to see the unprofitable measures which were thus taken, and that they must relinquish the advantages they might have made of the town before which they lay. When the fleet was got up to the army at Villa Franca, a general command was given that all the companies should repair to their respective ships, for the time of year was approached that the winds and waves began to rise too high for them to ride on those coasts any longer: so they left this town also entire, upon what considerations our author knew not, but thought the wood-mongers and corn-merchants might be most likely to resolve the question.

His dangers and distress in returning home.

On the ninth of October they set sail for England, and, after three or four days, were violently tossed about and dispersed in a most tempestuous sea. Ralegh's ship was near being stemmed by the shock she received from another that was driven against her, whereby she became so leaky, that he had much ado to keep her above water. He was further in such great distress for want of drink, that sir Arthur Gorges proffered one of the victuallers six chests of sugar for six hogsheads of fresh water, but could not obtain it: insomuch that they were forced to set their great stills

"peaceable and private benefit thereof, than to undergo some pain and peril for the winning of St. Michael's town for the public good. This was a piece of service very unfortunately neglected, but upon what good reason I could never learn; and I am persuaded, that if his lordship had built less upon some men's violent counsels and vain conceits, he might have done many things better, and long have lived in great prosperity: but all his care was to content and win unto him certain politicians and martial-men, whom, notwithstanding, he found many times ungratefully to deal with him to serve their own turns; drawing him withal into ambitious humours and affectations of popularity; which, with our great men, rarely succeed well."

on work to furnish themselves in the best manner they could. During this storm, it is also observed, many sorts of birds flew into his ship; and the dove, that came among them, was looked upon to presage the calm that ensued two days after. When they began to meet again, they descried, at a great distance, the earl of Essex, accompanied with only two little barks; who, about a week before, was attended with fourscore sail of good ships. "A true type," says Gorges, "of this world's inconstant pomp, which the "wind and seas did faithfully teach us not to build too "much upon. And I wish our noble general," adds he, "for his own sake and better fortune, had made that good "observation thereof."

After hailing and saluting one another, they consulted with their masters and pilots about the best course homewards, wherein they of Ralegh's ship varied much from those who guided the earl's: and though Essex had the directions of John Davis, a navigator of much experience and repute, who could have carried them, without error, to many distant parts of the world; yet, in conducting the ships home to their own coast, did he strangely fail in his pilotage and conjecture for the sleeve. However, all followed the admiral, and when he thought he was not far from the entrance of the channel, all hands fell to sounding for ground, and at last found it; though indeed "I saw "few the wiser thereby," says our author, "or the more "assured of the coast[s], except the skilful master of Ra-

[s] This sounding of ours, so much in practice, continues sir Arthur Gorges, and yet many times bringing no great certainty, makes me call to mind an odd conceit and speech of a Spanish prisoner, which the general gave me in this journey. He was a gentleman, a soldier, and, of late years, traded to the West Indies: with whom I one day talking and discoursing of their voyages, (wherein he was very well experienced,) he told me that, in their navigation from the Indies, they sought out Spain in a more certain and gallant manner than we did England. "For," said he, "we seek out our "coast aloft with our eyes by the "heavens, by the sun or stars, and "with the use of art and instru-"ments, which seldom or never "fails: but you," said he, "that "seek for England, when you are "forced to run into narrow seas, are "forced, for your surest directions, "like men blindfold, to search under "the water, and scrape with lead "and tallow to the bottom for banks, "sands, and shelves, as if you would "rake hell for instructions to find "out the channel, which you call "the sleeve; and yet, for all your

"legh's ship, old Broadbent, who knew it to be the banks "of Scilly." But there was no convincing of Essex; so all followed his erroneous light: yet Ralegh kept at some distance behind all night long. At break of day, though it was close and foggy, he perceived how providentially he had escaped destruction in the dark and dangerous passage he had made close by those fatal rocks, called the Bishop and his Clerks. Soon after he also discerned Essex, and many with him, about three leagues before, bearing in with all their sail north-east, instead of east and by north, full upon the sands of the Welsh coast; on which, in that gloomy weather, he had certainly struck and perished, had he held on a little longer; and had not sir A. Gorges, who was then upon the latter watch, (Ralegh being retired to rest,) forced the master-gunner of his ship to discharge a warning-piece three or four times, much against his will, and that of the master himself, who, contrary to all duty and humanity, said, "they deserved to taste the peril of "their own wilfulness, having brought themselves and all "the fleet clearly out of their way into such danger."

Upon this admonition, Essex, with all his train, soon tacked about, and afterwards confessed their error. With much ado they beat up to double the cape of Scilly, and entered the Sleeve. Ralegh by this time was shot along the north side of Cornwall; for his ship was so crazy, and his provisions so scanty, he durst not put again to sea, but stood along the coast; and that night anchored before St. Ives, where he found the Cornish people all in alarm, several Spanish caravals and flyboats, which lay there, having made some descents by stealth, and put them into great fright and confusion. For Essex, because he met not with the adelantado, had both believed and reported into England, that he never stirred out to sea this year; where-

"soundings, are oftentimes mis-"taken." I answered him, "In-"deed it was true, that our humility "taught us to go by the ground; "whereas their pride led them to "gaze above the clouds, and thereby "so dazzled their eyes, that they often "stumbled upon those men of war "which now used as well to sound "the Spanish pocket as the English "sleeve."

as, indeed, while the strength of the English navy lay before the islands, he had set out with a puissant fleet for the invasion of England; and these lesser vessels, which were sent before, did here attend his coming. But that storm aforesaid, which so roughly scattered the English, was more favourable to their country, than, when they felt it, they imagined; by dispersing, and driving back at the same time, this Spanish armada, utterly disabled for the intended enterprise. Ralegh arriving at this juncture, gave great joy to this part of the kingdom; and, being landed, he immediately took such order for the safeguard of the county, whereof he was her majesty's lieutenant, as soon dispelled the fears of its inhabitants. Then, having supplied his ship with proper necessaries, he sent her round to the fleet, and she was paid off at Bristol, with the profits that arose from one of the prizes he had taken before named. Had as good an account been given of the other prizes, this expedition, for all the casualties and oversights which happened in it, would have returned her majesty double the charge she had been at in setting it forth. "But it was strange to see what "careless courses were held in those actions set out by the "state," says our author; "and what poor returns they "made into the exchequer. Thus, for the merchandise in "the prizes now brought home, a composition was made "with the queen, which was not a third part of the real "worth; because the full freight and value thereof never "came to public light, not being faithfully certified under "the hands of sufficient officers when first taken; nor any "part sold, but to the buyer's advantage." He concludes, "That they, who had so played the wise stewards, in thus "providing for themselves and their followers, reaped all "the grace, as well as gain, from those who had more care-"fully and justly intended the public service: and that "this general neglect of truth and merit throughout the "world, is the cause why so few apply themselves to those "sincere and unprofitable courses; especially, seeing how "many do daily, by fraud and flattery, find shorter and

"smoother ways to honour, wealth, and preferment, even "beyond all measure and expectation[t]."

[t] Thus ends sir Arthur Gorges's accurate relation of the island voyage; concerning whom, as some small return of commemoration, it may not be ungrateful here to join a few dispersed particulars, as follows. He was the son of sir William Gorges, who, about the year 1580, was vice-admiral in a fleet set out by the queen to guard the Irish coast from the Spanish forces then coming to aid the Desmonds; in his return, he took that famous English pirate Derivall; who, though he saved the admiral sir John Perrot's life, his ship, with all her crew, when in a storm she was cast upon a sand, by directing all her sails to be hoisted, contrary to all other judgments; and had the admiral's promise, on his faith and honour, to get his pardon, who did intercede for it; yet were his deserts overlooked, and his offences punished with death. As to that vice-admiral's son Arthur, he was both a valiant and a learned gentleman; was one of the volunteers against the Spanish invasion, as we have before observed, and afterwards in several other engagements. He married Douglas Howard, daughter and heir of Henry lord Howard, viscount Byndon; which lady dying young in 1591, the famous Spenser wrote a fine pastoral elegy upon her, which is printed among his works, by the name of Daphnaida; and the poet, in his dedication thereof to the lady Helena, marchioness of Northampton, tells her, "The occasion "why I wrote the same was, as well "the great good fame I heard of her "deceased, as the particular good-"will I bear unto her husband, mas-"ter Arthur Gorges, a lover of "learning and virtue; whose house "as your ladyship, by marriage, "hath honoured; so do I find the "name of them, by many notable "records, to be of great antiquity, "and such as have ever borne them-"selves with honourable reputation "to the world, and unspotted loy-"alty to their prince and country. "Besides, so lineally descended from "the Howards, that the lady Anne "Howard, eldest daughter of John "duke of Norfolk, was wife to sir "Edmund, mother to sir Edward, "and grandmother to sir William "and sir Thomas Gorges, knights." Now, as to the relation of this voyage to the isles of Azores, in which sir A. Gorges was captain of sir Walter Ralegh's ship, though we are not expressly enough told by Purchas, it was printed before he gave it us in his Collections; yet he says it was written by sir Arthur in 1607, and dedicated to that great hope of Great Britain, prince Henry. He has omitted the epistle to him, and the preface; but not defalked any of the author's narrative, which fills near eight sheets of paper in his fourth volume of Voyages. It is adorned with many good military and marine reflections; though, with some other passages, of too general import to be interwoven in any particular account of sir Walter Ralegh. Purchas further informs us, that Gorges also added to this treatise, Notes touching the Navy Royal, "which are worth the noting," says he, "but perhaps not to be permitted "to every vulgar and noteless eye: "because," as he goes on, "*veritas* "*odium parit;* pains may cause "pains, and busy labour reap the "reward of a busybody." From hence it should seem that Purchas followed a copy less common than any thing which had then passed the press. But, though sir W. Ralegh might have read it in MS. I cannot think it is this he points at; where, introducing his own account of the conquest of Fayal, which we have given in a note before, he says, "Whereas I find an action of mine "cited with omission of my name, "I may, by a civil interpretation, "think that there was no purpose "to defraud me of any honour; but "rather an opinion that the enter-"prise was such, or so ill managed, "as that no honour could be due "unto it:" because, as Mr. Lediard

Ralegh took his journey to Plymouth, where a commission came down from the state to lord Thomas Howard, lord Mountjoy, himself, and sir F. Vere, with monies for repairing, victualling, and sending about the fleet to Chatham; and for maintaining the thousand Low Country soldiers which were now quartered along the coast of Cornwall, and afterwards sent into Ireland. Essex, in the mean while, posted away to London; but, whatever advantage he might have in first shaping out the story of their adventures to the queen, it little availed him; for sir Francis Vere soon after arriving also at court, understood his lordship was retired to his house at Wansted in great discontentment: for the queen was so incensed against the earl, that she laid the whole blame of their evil success on his lordship, both for not burning and spoiling the Spanish fleet at Ferrol, and missing that which came from India. Vere says, he justified his lordship, and laid the blame upon those who deserved it, with such earnestness, that the standers by (her majesty then walking in the garden at Whitehall) might hear him: insomuch, that he quieted the queen, as he tells us; who then discoursed with him of the earl's humours and ambition, and at last construed all so graciously, that she fell into commendation of him; so that he soon after came to court [u]. But he stayed not long there, nor with any ease or content; so insupportable was it to find Cecil made master of the wards, the lord-admiral Howard

has very justly observed, "Sir A. "Gorges, in the circumstantial ac- "count he has given us of this ac- "tion, displays the conduct and cou- "rage of sir W. Ralegh in several "particulars, very much to his ho- "nour and advantage." Naval Expedition, fol. 356. Then, as to his name, Gorges mentions it more than once, and at the beginning, with his title of command to it: so that though he may use this only all the way after, it is, in effect, as much as if he used his name; for it is then obvious enough who is meant by the rear-admiral. Nor need we suppose Gorges was herein tender or cautious of making Ralegh's name appear too glaring, when his person was under a cloud; for Essex and the lord Thomas Howard are spoken of in the like manner, and scarcely mentioned but by their titles of general and vice-admiral. Besides Ralegh's own word, that the action was only cited, must refer to some other shorter account than this original and copious history of it. All I shall observe more of sir A. Gorges is, that he translated into English sir Francis Bacon's learned and ingenious book, De Sapientia Veterum.

[u] Vere's Commentaries, fol. 65, 66, 67.

created earl of Nottingham, for his services against the Spanish invasion, and at Cadiz; and now Ralegh's actions at the islands esteemed also more considerable than his own, though indeed by the fewer number; for the populace were easily led to believe the late disappointment of Essex's great expectations was owing to Ralegh's regard of his own glory more than that of his country; whereby Ralegh lost their opinion, even though victorious against their enemies, while Essex was sure to return with triumph, however he miscarried in his attempts; and was always received by them with such joy, as if his great fleets and armies came laden with sufficient spoil and conquest, if they only brought him safe home again. Still both enjoyed a liberal share in the queen's favour, but it only ratified the veneration of the multitude to one, and their disaffection to the other [v]; yet was their esteem more fatal to Essex, at least more speedily so, than their prejudice to Ralegh. However, the queen was little influenced with their partiality to either, till Essex too zealously cultivated that which so unreasonably increased in his favour; for she loved her people without jealousy, nor was offended at his being the darling of their eyes, till she found him inclined to be the darling of their hearts [w]. And, as for the blame which Camden says they now laid on each other of the late misadventures, and which, he informs us, grew to a more open rupture, it seems to have fallen most upon Essex, and that Ralegh's conduct was approved; because Essex was never after trusted with the command of any naval expedition, but Ralegh was. Yet whatever misconduct in others Ralegh might be now driven to object, in his own defence; his generosity to Essex, and some of his followers, whom he might have laid it upon, many years after their death, when there was little fear of being controverted, is so much above most of theirs to him while they were alive, that, having then occasion to mention this voyage, he does not

How received by the populace.

[v] Camden's Ann. 1597.

[w] The earl of Clarendon's Disparity of the earl of Essex and duke of Buckingham.

drop the least innuendo against any of them; but ascribes their disappointments in it to the most unblamable cause [x].

Before Ralegh could well arrive, I think, at London, to give an account of this expedition, the parliament was met at Westminster; for we read that the queen went thither in an open chariot, all covered over head canopy-wise with silver tissue, and begun the session on the twenty-fourth of October this year. Ralegh, making but a short stay in town, went to his seat at Sherbourn; of which he must have had but little enjoyment for two or three years past. Towards the latter end of November following, we find Mr. Adrian Gilbert, now a burgess for Bridport in Dorsetshire, obtained licence of the speaker that he might retire to his brother sir Walter Ralegh, in that county, for the benefit of his health. About a month afterwards, that is, on the twentieth of December, we meet with Ralegh in the house; for what place returned, I find not; and that day the parliament was adjourned till the eleventh of January. When they met again, Ralegh appears frequently in committees, upon several bills of the greatest consequence that were then read; as that against lewd and wandering persons pretending to be soldiers or mariners; another for an act to increase people for the service and strength of the realm; one to explain an act for the maintenance of the navy; one for paying the queen's debts; one for erecting houses of correction and punishment of rogues, vagabonds, and sturdy beggars; besides many others, whose titles are more proper to be sought in the parliamentary journals of this reign, than here barely to be recited: for the clerk of this house, whose inaccuracy we have before observed,

In parliament.

x "That the dissevering of fleets "hath been the overthrow of many ac-"tions, I could give many examples," says Ralegh, "were it not in every "man's knowledge. In the last en-"terprise of worth, undertaken by "our English nation with three "squadrons of ships, commanded by "the earl of Essex, the earl of Suf-"folk, (who was lord Thomas How-"ard,) and myself, where was also "present the earl of Southampton; "if we, being storm-beaten in the "bay of Alcashar, or Biscay, had a "port under our lee, that we might "have kept our transporting-ships "with our men of war, we had, in all "likelihood, taken the Indian fleet "and the Azores." See sir Walter Ralegh's Apology for his voyage to Guiana, p. 11, 12.

seeming to have melted down most of the speeches in this session, for brevity, into a narrative of its proceedings, little or nothing of sir Walter Ralegh's arguments is to be particularly extracted. Nor only in the speeches, but other circumstances, has that clerk been deficient, particularly one, in which Ralegh was concerned, relating to some nice distinction of form or ceremony wherewith the lords are wont to receive the commons on certain occasions; which therefore we must take, as from the journals of the upper house it has been represented; and there it appears, that some condescension in the lord-keeper Egerton had raised an objection in the commons on its being now omitted. For, on the fourteenth day of January, sir Walter Ralegh, with divers other knights and burgesses, being sent to desire a conference with the lords, upon some amendments of the bill for erecting houses of correction before mentioned; and signification being given, that they might come in to receive their answer, it was thought proper that the lord-keeper should now deliver it sitting in his place, (the lords also sitting,) and not by going down to the bar, as the form is when the lords receive bills or messages from them; and as the lord-keeper had sometimes before done, it seems, in delivering answers. This reception being represented to the house of commons, they sent some other members to desire satisfaction, as for an innovation derogatory to their liberty. Here sir Walter Ralegh's part in this difference ending, we shall refer our readers to an abstract of its consequence at the foot of the page[y], that too much interrup-

[y] Upon this message the lords consulted touching the usage of their house, as it had been observed by those of longest continuance therein; and it was resolved, that their custom was and is, "When any bills or "messages be brought from the house "of commons to the upper house, "the lord-keeper and the rest of the "lords are to rise and go down to "the bar to meet those who come "from the commons, and there re-"ceive their said messages or bills: "but, contrariwise, when any an-"swer is to be delivered by the lord-"keeper, in the name and behalf of "the house, to such as come from "the commons, these members are "to receive the same standing to-"wards the lower end of the said "upper house, without the bar; and "the lord-keeper is to deliver it sit-"ting in his place, with his head co-"vered, the other lords also keeping "their places; and that whenever it "had been otherwise done, it was by "error or mistake, and therefore not "to be drawn into precedent." Then

tion may not appear in the thread of his story; and only observe, as to the remainder of this session, that it was closed with a grant to the queen of three subsidies and six fifteenths and tenths[z].

The parliament being dissolved on the ninth of February, Ralegh seems not to have resided long in town; for, soon after, some regulations being made for the public good of those people over whom he presided, by his offices of power, in the west of England, we find him celebrated, for his exercise thereof among them, as a very worthy patriot in several instances. The lord Burghley is mentioned in one of them, who died about six months after the said parliament broke up, that is to say, in August 1598; therefore we must here relate it as occurring before this time. It concerned the restoration of certain manors to their ancient tenure in Cornwall; for there are seventeen appertaining to that duchy, which took or renewed their holdings, as they call it, every seven years of certain commissioners, for near three centuries past; whereby the tenants reckoned a kind of inheritable estate accruing to them. But, notwithstand-

the attorney-general and sergeant Drew being sent to the lower house, signified, that if they would send for an answer to their demands, it should be given. The commons accordingly sent the same persons who had before demanded satisfaction. But, being come to the house, and having placed themselves at the lower end of the outward room, as at other times, except the lord-keeper and other lords came and met them at the bar to deliver their answer, the said keeper moved them to approach and receive it: then they, not perceiving the lords advance to the bar, protested, by sir W. Knolles, that they had not commission to receive any answer in that form; so departed. Hereupon a motion was sent from the lords to the commons for a conference in the outward great chamber, to reconcile this matter; where the aforesaid members, meeting the archbishop of Canterbury, lord-treasurer Burghley, and others of the most ancient peers, were assured by them, that the true and right form of receiving bills or messages, and delivering answers by the lord-keeper, was as is above related; and that some late inadvertency in the regard thereof, was the occasion of their present misconstruction. Hereupon the house of commons was satisfied; and the same form was afterwards kept accordingly. Sir Simon D'Ewes' Journal of Queen Elizabeth's Parliaments, fol. 1708. p. 539, 540.

[z] Of these taxes, Camden gives us this explanation. A fifteenth and a tenth is a certain tax on every city, borough, and town, not upon every man in particular; but a general sum, in proportion to the fifteenth part of the wealth of the respective places: a subsidy we call that which is imposed on every single person, as they are assessed by poll, according to the value of their goods and lands. Eliz. anno 1563.

ing this long prescription, a bold and busy person in these times, getting an exchequer-lease of one or two such tenements, called the whole right in question; but, failing of success, another, soon after, resumed the broken title, and prosecuted it even to a *nisi prius*. Hereupon, the tenants deputed certain gentlemen, among whom was the author of this passage, Richard Carew of Anthony, esq. one of the deputy-lieutenants of the county, to repair to London with a petition to the said lord-treasurer Burghley; who, calling to him the chancellor and barons of the exchequer, found (besides this long continuance, and the importance thereof, as touching the ruin of above a thousand inhabitants) that her majesty possessed no lands which yielded her so fair a benefit as these, in rents, fines, heriots, and other perquisites. These reasons found favourable allowance, but did not procure an effectual remedy, till the said gentlemen became supplicants to her majesty in person; who then, having been prepared, it seems, by Ralegh's applications and interest, testified her dislike of the attempter; and expressly ordered the cessation of his attempt. For, says this author, herein we were beholden to sir Walter Ralegh's earnest writing, who was then in the country; also to the advice of sir Henry, and the solicitations of Mr. W. Killegrew [a]. Another example of his zealous affection for the ease and advantage of these people under his jurisdiction, appears in his lightening them of a certain burdensome tax, which carried many other inconveniences with it. For, as the products and commodities in those western parts had been anciently very much oppressed with tributes to the earls of Cornwall, whereby the condition of a Cornish inhabitant and a French peasant differed very little; so latterly, while Ralegh was lieutenant of that county, there wanted not some, who, through favour at court, and plausible representations to her majesty, did in part revive the same; and, under pretext of restoring a rent decayed ever since the ninth of king Henry II. to the pretended detriment of

Restores the duchy manors in Cornwall to their ancient tenure.

[a] Carew's Survey of Cornwall, 4to. 1602. p. 36. b. 37.

the crown, procured letters patent, that none should salt, dry, or pack any fish in Devonshire or Cornwall, without their licence or warrant; the ill consequences whereof grew so apparent, as being what would have made that patentee an absolute disposer of all the western shipping and traffic, with their sea and land dependants, that the Cornish justices, whereof Mr. Carew aforesaid was one, made suit to the privy-council for redress; and, "through the never-failing forwardness and backing of sir Walter Ralegh," says the same author, "obtained a revocation thereof[b]." Here, not to divide from this head what properly falls under it, we may also add Ralegh's good offices, the two following years, for freeing the inhabitants of these parts from those heavy impositions with which the trade and manufacture also of their tin-works were very much embarrassed. These impositions were occasioned by the merchants and usurers who advanced money to the tinners, upon whom their encroachments were now grown so exorbitant, that Ralegh was importuned to revive the privilege of preemption, founded on that clause in the charter of king Edward I. allowing them to vend their tin to their best behoof, *nisi nos ipsi emere voluerimus*. It had been attempted by others before him, who alleged many reasons how it might prove advantageous, not only to her majesty, but the country, and prejudicial to none but those extortioners, who practised a far worse kind of preemption[c]. But though

Procures the revocation of a tax on the curing of fish.

[b] Carew's Survey of Cornwall, p. 79. b. 80.

[c] "When any western gentleman," says Mr. Carew, "wants money to defray his expenses at London, he resorts to one of the tin-merchants to borrow some; but shall as soon wrest the club out of Hercules's fist, as one penny out of their fingers, unless they give bond for every twenty pounds so taken in loan, to deliver 1000 pound weight of tin at the next coinage, which shall be within two or three months, or half a year at farthest. At which time the price of every thousand will not fail to be at least twenty-three, perhaps twenty-five pounds; yea, and after promise made, must be driven with some indignity to make three or four errands to his house, before he shall get the money delivered. Thus some one merchant will have 500 pounds out beforehand, reaping thereby a double commodity, both of excessive gain for his loan, and of assurance of being served with tin for his money. This they say is no usury, forsooth, because the price of tin is not commonly known beforehand;

this means of redress was by those persons hotly begun, and a reasonable price offered, it soon cooled again, till it received a new life in Michaelmas term 1599; for then the Cornish men, being in London, were called before the principal lords of her majesty's council, and the matter was there debated by sir Walter Ralegh in behalf of the country, against those advocates deputed for the merchants who had promoted this suit; and he brought it to such a conclusion that articles were signed. Indeed it did not immediately take effect: yet, it seems, the privilege was afterwards invested in Ralegh, and that he put his power in execution. In November, the following year, he held a court at Lostwithiel, the usual place for stannary causes; where having signified her majesty's pleasure for a new tax of six pounds on every thousand weight of tin that should be transported, besides two pounds and sixteen shillings already payable, he told them also, that her majesty had been prevailed on so far to disengage them from dealing with the merchants and usurers, that she would disburse four thousand pounds in loan to the tinners for a year's space, and was contented to be repaid in tin[d]: and, lastly, what appears totally to have excluded those merchants from the exercise of their impositions is, that, by the time of the ensuing parliament, Ralegh appears to have had the power of preemption granted him; because, in a speech of his, which we shall take notice of, having justly maintained his title thereto, from the charter before mentioned, he yet no less generously offers to resign it, as indeed he not long after voluntarily did[e], if those, who had privileges of far

Revives the preemption of tin.

" (for once only, within these twelve " years, on purpose to escape the pe- " nalty of the law, they brought it " a little under twenty pounds the " thousand;) but, if to take above " fifty in the hundred be extremity, " whatsoever name you list to give " it, this, in truth, can be no other " than cut-throat and abominable " dealing." Survey of Cornwall, p. 14. b. 16.

[d] Idem, p. 17. b.

[e] Then it was recommended to king James; however, he had just before made a proclamation against all monopolies; for in 1604 there were several schemes and estimates drawn up on this project of preemption; one whereof sets forth the profits of it, and disadvantages of putting it down. In another we find this particular; "There are two coinages

less ancient establishment, would follow his example. But as these and his other eminent services to those people are best to be judged of by such as beheld and tasted the benefits that flowed from them; so we shall here only add the public acknowledgment thereof which Mr. Carew made, a few months after that parliament rose, in the following dedication to sir Walter Ralegh, of his excellent Survey of Cornwall. "This my ill-husbanded Survey, long since be-
"gun, a great while discontinued, lately reviewed, and now
"hastily finished, appeals to your lordship's direction whe-
"ther it should pass; to your correction, if it do pass; and
"to your protection, when it is passed. Neither unduly:
"for the same intreats of the province and persons over
"whose bodies and estates you carry a large, both martial
"and civil, command by your authority; but in whose
"hearts and loves you possess a far greater interest by your
"kindness. Your ears and mouth have ever been open to
"hear and deliver our grievances; and your feet and hands
"ready to go and work their redress; and that, not only
"always as a magistrate of yourself, but also very often as
"a suitor and solicitor to others of the highest place.
"Wherefore I, as one of the common beholden, present
"this token of my private gratitude. It is duty, and not
"presumption, that hath drawn me to the offering; and it
"must be favour, and not desert, that shall move your lord-
"ship to acceptance: and so I take humble leave, resting
"no less willing to serve you, than under you."

This author (Mr. Carew) subscribes himself to that dedication, sir Walter Ralegh's kinsman; but was no less ennobled and honoured for his accomplishments than his family, as Camden has observed; who further acknowledges the great assistance he received in his description of Cornwall from this author's curious Survey of its antiquities and natural history[f]. For his abilities in these studies he was

"of tin every year, and about eleven
"or twelve hundred ton coined at
"each time; and if the king farms
"the preemption for 10,000*l.* then
"there will remain to the farmers
"9500*l.*" Cotton library, Titus B. V. towards the end of the volume.

[f] Camden's Britannia in Cornwall.

admitted (as upon a very modest occasion he mentions himself) an associate of the antiquary college[g]. A fragment of the speech he made at his introduction to the said society, among other materials relating to him, I communicated, about a dozen years since, to the learned and ingenious writer of his life, before the new impression of his works[h]. And now that he was in London, soliciting one of the aforesaid causes, (for the Cornish tinners,) I find his name mentioned in a list of near twenty other antiquaries, who were summoned to a meeting at the house of garter king of arms, (which, I suppose, was sir William Dethicke, at the Herald's-office,) in order, probably, to receive some questions, or bring his opinion in writing to others which had been propounded, as the manner then was[i]. Now, perceiving sir Walter Ralegh to have patronised the antiquities of Cornwall, written by one member of that society, and that Mr. John Hooker, another gentleman learned in the antiquities of this realm, and perhaps a member also of the same body, (for their names are not all yet known,) addressed his historical record of Devonshire to a person of honourable place in the commonwealth, who is conceived by one that had seen it to have been also sir Walter Ralegh[k]; to which honourable person the said work being delivered at its author's death, he committed it to Mr. Dodderidge, another member of the said society: (who had leisure to fit it for, and did recommend it to the press, though it never

[g] Carew's Survey of Cornwall, p. 61. b.

[h] In quarto, 1723.

[i] This summons, dated anno Dominæ Eliz. 41. is published from a MS. in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, by Mr. Thomas Hearne: see his Preface to a collection of curious discourses by eminent antiquaries, 8vo. Oxon. 1720. p. 41. These discourses were written between the year 1590 and 1605; therefore do, I think, somewhat disprove sir Henry Spelman's computation, (at least that summons does,) that this society of antiquaries was discontinued for twenty years, and then revived in 1614. King James was about this year, or soon after, so hot upon his college of controversial divinity at Chelsea, that I wonder not at his discouragement of the said society, through I know not what suspicion or pretence of their troubling matters of state or religion, whereby their meeting was wholly broke of; though, as Spelman affirms, they had resolved to forbear all arguments on those subjects. See sir Henry Spelman's preface to his Law Terms, as printed from a MS. in the Bodleian library, by Dr. Gibson, the present bishop of London, in his Life of Mr. Camden.

[k] J. Prince's Worthies of Devon, in the Life of J. Hooker, fol. 388.

was printed [l]:) finding also that sir Walter Ralegh was acquainted with, and honourably spoken of by others of this assembly, as sir Henry Spelman, also sir Robert Cotton, from whose library we find Ralegh afterwards borrowing some manuscripts, and that Mr. John Selden was obliged to Ralegh's library for others; I could not but think him somehow related to the said society, and at last have found that he likewise was a member thereof. This intelligence I receive from another list of these associates, in a manuscript addressed soon after Ralegh's death to king James; which also further contains this observation upon that society. "There was a time, most excellent king, when as well "under queen Elizabeth, as under your majesty, certain "choice gentlemen, men of known proof, were knit together, "*statis temporibus*, by the love of these studies, upon con-"tribution among themselves: which company consisted of "an elective president and of *clarissimi*; of other anti-"quaries, and a register. But this their meeting, whose "profession reached only to the matter of our antiquities, "deserved to have an incorporative connection, by way of "authority royal; for want whereof, they being deprived "of the benefit of suffection and substitution, a few of their "friends and persons dying, the thing itself is absolutely "vanished: succession performing that in civil bodies, "which generation does in natural [m]."

A member of the society of antiquaries.

[l] J. Prince's Worthies of Devon, in the Life of J. Hooker, fol. 388.

[m] Their names, however, deserving to live with honour, the said author sets them down, as they arose to his mind, promiscuously, in the following manner.——Thomas earl of Dorset, Henry earl of Northampton, Fitzalen the last earl of Arundel, William lord Burghley, the Herberts earls of Pembroke, the learned lord Lumley, sir Philip Sidney, sir Henry Billingsley, sir Gilbert and sir William Dethicke, sir Henry Fanshaw, Dr. Bartholomew Clark, and dean Cousins; sir Daniel Donne, sir Walter Cope, and Ralegh; Mr. Benedict Barnham, Dr. Cowel, Francis Thynne, esq. Lancaster; Mr. Glover, Somerset; Heneage, keeper of the records; Benefield, Erdswick, Lambert, Valence, &c. esqs.; Mr. Talbot, and Mr. John Stow, &c. Then telling the king how justly the dissolution of so well an intended exercise was lamented by all those worthy patriots, who knew his majesty's realms afforded living persons of prime worth, fit to keep up and celebrate that round table, he cites some of their names; as, lord William Howard, lord Carew, sir Fulk Grevile, sir Robert Cotton, sir P. Manwood, sir John Davis, sir Henry Savile, Mr. Camden, sir Henry Spelman, Dr. John Hayward, Tate, Whitlock, Selden, and Bolton. Thus in a MS. entitled, An Address

But, to return a little into the more open and public current of action, we must here observe, that king Henry the Fourth of France having, about the end of the last parliament, informed the queen of England, by an ambassador, that he had held some conferences with the Spanish ministers about a peace, but would come to no conclusion without her consent and that of the United States, her majesty sent some commissioners over; and, while they were negotiating this business in France, she had the argument very closely debated in her council at home. Here Essex was one of those, who would by no means listen to any manner of ac-

for a Corporation Royal, to be founded under the title of *king James his academ, or college of honour;* fol. eleven sheets, p. 6—9. My reasons that it was written in 1619, and conjectures by whom, I have given in the book itself, which is in the possession of Mr. George Vertue, whose readiness to impart from his own curious collections, and procure from those of his learned and worthy friends, whatever might be useful to my present undertaking, deserves more frequent acknowledgments, as having in several other places conduced to the illustration thereof. This list of our primitive antiquaries, and that in the learned Dr. Smith's Life of sir Robert Cotton, together with those in Mr. Hearne's Preface, p. 41. aforesaid, and p. 112. may perhaps somewhat alleviate this last author's "despair "of getting a perfect catalogue of "those eminent and excellent men, "though several of their names were "industriously concealed since the "dissolution of the society." And this remark will lead us to observe, how obscurely even sir Walter Ralegh is huddled over in the list here above exhibited. It was surely intended as a courtly compliment, thus to lop off all distinction or title of honour, by saddling him behind another sir Walter, and shewing his very name headless, to that person who had newly made his body so. Another observation which occurs to me from this list is, that it seems to carry the antiquity of this society higher than is commonly apprehended: for if Robert Glover, who was made Somerset herald in 1571, (as I find in a MS. written by the late Peter Le Neve, esq., Norroy, upon the succession of the heralds from queen Mary's reign,) died in 1583, as I think the same MS. demonstrates, or at least as Dr. Fuller informs us; the said society must have been existent in this year, how much more early soever it was before. As to its interrupted progress down to our time, it would demand, as it does deserve, an ample history to display it. This general view we may here spare room for: that in the former part of King Charles's reign it bloomed out afresh; but drooped in the civil wars. It seems to have shone forth again after Oliver Cromwell's death; for then Mr. Ashmole, in the diary of his own life, mentions the antiquaries feast; but, during the factions in the close of king Charles II.'s reign, to have been under a cloud. It was revived in the reign of his late majesty, anno 1717, and has continued to this day. Having gathered in this space to a body of fifty or sixty members, nobility as well as gentry, and clergy as well as laity; some of whom are well known in the Republic of Letters for their own labours, and many highly deserving from it, for contributing to the improvement of other men's; among which, gratitude cannot omit the Life of sir W. Ralegh.

commodation; and, while the matter was upon the carpet, was so expeditious as to produce a formal apology, in writing, for his reasons; it being dated in 1598, and written before the king of Spain's death in the beginning of September the same year. Yet, upon this topic, there ensued a warm dispute, says Camden, betwixt the queen and Essex; as also upon her choosing some able minister to superintend the affairs of Ireland. She looked upon the earl's uncle, sir William Knolles, as a proper person for that charge. Essex preferred sir George Carew, perhaps on purpose, says Camden, to get rid of him: and, when the queen would not be persuaded to approve his choice, he, quite forgetting all duty, turned his back upon her in a contemptuous manner. The queen, unable to bear his insolence, dismissed him her presence with a box on the ear. The fury this threw the earl into is better conceived than expressed; but having, with his hand on his sword, told the queen, "he "would not have taken such a blow from her father," he retired from court. The lord-keeper Egerton sent him a prudent and pacifying letter; in which, among other wholesome motives to submission and complacency, he says, "In "this course you hold, if you have any enemies, you do "that for them which they could never do for themselves; "while your friends you leave to scorn and contempt." The earl returned a long and passionate answer, as Camden calls it; in which it appears, he had also suffered some imprisonment; and wherein he makes this reply to those objections: "In this course do I any thing for my enemies? "When I was present, I found them absolute; and there-"fore I had rather they should triumph alone, than have "me attendant upon their chariots. Or do I leave my "friends? When I was a courtier, I could sell them no "fruit of my love; and now I am a hermit, they shall bear "no envy for their love to me[n]." But the lord-keeper

[n] These quotations I have made from the ancient and fair copies in a volume of State Letters, written between the years 1533 and 1629, among the valuable collections of the right honourable the lord Coleraine, fol. 345, 351; where Essex's letter to the lord-keeper concludes with these words: "Let Solomon's "fool laugh when he is stricken;

soon brought him out of his hermitage; and he was in a little time readmitted into the queen's favour. However, his friends, according to Camden, were apt to date his ruin from this unlucky circumstance: and indeed it hence appears, he had no enemies so great, or who so much conspired to his fall, as his own passions, his unreasonable expectations of an absolute conformity to his own will, and impatience to behold any body aspire to distinction, who did it not through his patronage and protection. Of this he gave a most notorious example about this time; in which he made Ralegh a public object of his opposition, though it ended in his own disgrace, and his relapse into the queen's displeasure; which he might have prevented, had he kept his word to the lord-keeper, and suffered Ralegh to have triumphed alone: for during this reconciliation, or last blaze Essex made with any credit at court, this memorable contest seems to have been promoted by him, at the martial exercises performed on the queen's birthday, which was the 17th of November: at least I think it could not happen later than the year above cited in this reign; because Essex's violent courses throughout the remainder of it, allow of no opportunity or countenance for his further appearance at those entertainments: and as for the preceding birthdays, Essex seems not to have been spirited up by his incendiaries enough for raising such a division or party, as appeared upon this occasion, till the last year, when they returned from the island voyage; and then it must have happened during the sitting of the parliament, which may not be so probable. Therefore I shall here recite the scattered circumstances I have met with, relating to this event, till I am better informed in what year more certainly to fix it.

These martial exercises were the jousts or tournaments

"let those who mean to make their "profit of princes shew to have no "sense of princes injuries; let them "acknowledge an infinite absolute-"ness on earth, who do not believe "an absolute infiniteness in heaven," &c. But hereby discovered himself an ill imitator of his old tutor in court-conduct, Leicester, who had attained to the art, not only of pocketing all affronts, but of construing them into favours, and even converting them into benefits.

wherewith the most active nobles and cavaliers of those times celebrated the queen's birthday every year, in the Tilt-yard, near her palace at Whitehall. Here her majesty was commonly herself a spectator of them, with her attendants of both sexes; as likewise all the foreign ambassadors, and a numerous concourse besides, both of the court and city. History has not been very particular of Ralegh's appearance at those assemblies; as by what colour or impresses he distinguished himself, with what success he ran the careers, or what favours he bore away: but, as upon all other public occasions, he made a most rich and splendid figure, so we find, upon these days of triumph, none surpassed him in military bravery. I have somewhere read of his curious fine armoury; and, as I remember, that part of it is, or was preserved in the Tower of London; but it is more apparent that, probably for some of these grand entertainments, he either made himself, or was presented by his royal mistress with, a suit of armour all of solid silver: for there are still in being, not only ancient paintings, representing him about this part of her reign in that glittering and warlike habiliment, as hereafter will be further described; but mention is also made in some writings of his being thus armed at all points, and shining in those polished plates of silver [o]. Yet who were his competitors, and what his success in these robust exercises, there is little, I fear, remaining to satisfy us, more than those dark and dispersed hints of that extraordinary opposition or contention which Essex raised against him about this time, as was observed: and this being the original or copy of a like contrivance, practised not long before or after it in France, (by marshal Biron, as I remember to have read,) may, from thence, and the corresponding testimony of an author whose credit and intelligence are not to be doubted, be presumed to have happened in the following manner.

About the time that Essex, by other like instances of his incurable humour to monopolize the multitude, fell into or confirmed the queen's displeasure, he had by some of his

[o] Sir Walter Ralegh's Ghost. 4to. Utrecht. 1626. p. 10.

followers learnt, that sir Walter Ralegh, with a very gallant train, gorgeously accoutred, was to make his appearance the next tilting-day in orange-colour plumes. Hereupon Essex provided a much more numerous cavalcade, and decked them out exactly in Ralegh's colours: then the earl himself appearing at the head of all, armed cap-a-pee in a complete suit of orange-colour, not only passed for the sole knight or champion of that distinction, by drowning all distinction in sir Walter Ralegh, but thereby incorporated him and his train only as so many more of his own esquires, pages, and other retinue or servants, who made up the parade upon these occasions. The earl of Clarendon certainly points at this malignant stratagem, where, speaking of those dangerous indiscretions which were the harbingers of Essex's ruin, he mentions among them, "his glorious feather-triumph; when he "caused two thousand orange-tawney feathers, in despite "of sir Walter Ralegh, to be worn in the Tilt-yard, even "before her majesty's own face [p]." But it must have been somewhat surprising to see them enter the lists, and orange-tawney running against itself. Yet the earl's success, which is also come to light, seems not to have been much regretted, being so agreeable to the merit of usurpers; insomuch that it proved Ralegh's feather-triumph in the conclusion. For though the lord Bacon might have reason not to mention the earl's name, where he tells us a gentleman who came to the tilt all in orange-tawney, and ran very ill, came again the next day all in green, and ran worse [q]; yet another author, instead of this gentleman, names Essex [r]; and goes on, as the lord Bacon does, with observing, that "one of the "spectators hereupon asking, why this tilter (who seemed "to be known in both habits) changed his colours; an-"other answered, Surely because it may be reported that

His feather-triumph.

[p] The Disparity between the estates and conditions of George duke of Buckingham and Robert earl of Essex, written by the earl of Clarendon in his younger years, and printed in Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, 4th edit. 1685. p. 190.

[q] Lord Bacon's Apophthegms, New and Old, p. 206.

[r] Apophthegms of the English Nation, MS. 4to. p. 11.

" there was one in green who ran worse than he in orange-
" colour."

Such like disturbances and ill blood as these contests must have bred, might well make the queen weary of having Essex any longer about the court, and desirous of removing him to some employment where he might more commendably exercise his martial qualities. A good occasion offered itself in Ireland, where Tir-Oen's rebellion had now overspread almost the whole kingdom. A consultation was therefore held for sending over the fittest person to suppress it. The lord Mountjoy was first proposed: but Essex himself made exceptions against his want of experience and activity; alleging, Ireland required a person of the first rank, who was an old general, and considerable for honour, interest, and estate, to gain him respect and influence there; by which Camden thinks he would have recommended himself, and adds, that when the queen therefore resolved on Essex, he slightly refused it, advising her to some abler person; though, continues that historian, he had an objection ready against any person she should have named. Notwithstanding this authority, and that Essex's smooth-tongued adversaries were for lending spurs to the ambition that wanted a bridle[s], he seems to me, by a letter of his own genuine style, in prose and verse, to the queen, at his going over in the end of March 1599, to have looked upon the government of that kingdom as the most irksome kind of banishment, and to have entered upon it with the utmost aversion[t]. His conduct in it was answerable to the

[s] Camden's Eliz. anno 1599.

[t] *To the queen.* " From a mind " delighting in sorrow, from spirits " wasted with passion, from a heart " torn in pieces with care, grief, " and travel, from a man that hateth " himself and all things else that " keep him alive; what service can " your majesty expect, since any " service past deserves no more than " banishment and proscription into " the cursedest of all islands? It is " your rebels' pride and succession " must give me leave to ransom my- " self out of this hateful prison, out " of my loathed body; which, if it " happen so, your majesty shall have " no cause to mislike the fashion of " my death, since the course of my " life could never please you.

" Happy he, could finish forth his fate
" In some unhaunted desert, most obscure
" From all society, from love and hate
" Of worldly folk, then should he sleep secure;

 " Then

expectations of judicious men; and one of his own servants, who attended him thither, says, it was his blackest employment, that Ireland was ordained to be the sepulchre of his father, and the gulf of his own fortunes[u].

About four months after Essex was thus disposed of, there were great apprehensions in England of an invasion; but from what quarter is not well distinguished. Six thousand soldiers were suddenly raised to guard the city and queen's person. Chains were drawn across the streets of London, watches set, and lights hung out at every man's door for above a fortnight[x]. By sea sixteen or eighteen ships of the royal navy were fitted out with wonderful speed, under the command of the lord Thomas Howard as admiral, in the Elizabeth Jonas, and sir Walter vice-admiral, in the Ark-Royal. Whether occasioned by any mistrust the English and Spaniards had of one another, or a policy held on both sides to make peace with sword in hand, my author does not resolve; but is sure the preparation on both sides was very great, as if one expected an invasion from the other: and yet it was generally conceived not to be intended by either; but that our fleet had only relation to the earl of Essex, then in Ireland, as if he had some desperate design to try his friends in England, and to be revenged of those he thought his enemies. However it was, the care and cost was not so great as necessary; for it was known, that the adelantado had drawn both his ships and galleys to the Groyne; which was not usual, but upon some action intended for England or Ireland: and seeing we were not to be surprised, he diverted them afterwards to a different use. Another benefit that arose to the nation, by putting it into

Vice-admiral.

" Then wake again, and yield God ever praise:
" Content with heps and haws and brambleberry,
" In contemplation passing out his days,
" And change of holy thoughts to make him merry:
" Who, when he dies, his tomb may be a bush,
" Where harmless robbin dwells with gentle thrush.

" Your majesty's exiled servant,
" ROBERT ESSEX."

This from the Harleian library, B. H. 90. C. 70. fol. 517.

[u] Sir Henry Wotton, in his Parallel.

[x] Stowe's Annals, edit. 1615. fol. 788.

this sudden posture of defence, was the great dexterity and expedition wherewith it was taught to spring into arms: for the incredible speed and order of the commanders, in raising such a land army, and fitting out such a royal navy, was so admired, both by Spain, France, and Holland, that all foreigners confessed, "her majesty's deeds in war were not "heretofore more dreadful to her enemies, than now only her "preparations for it." Insomuch that, it is said, an envoy was sent by the archduke from Brussels with overtures of peace, though they did not then succeed. Whether a designed invasion from Spain was hereby blown over, or her majesty was better satisfied about the earl of Essex, we find not; but she commanded her fleet home, after it had been about a month at sea [y].

Near a month after this, Essex returned privately out of Ireland, with some of his choice friends; one whereof, named sir Christopher St. Lawrence, offered to murder the lord Gray, whom they met upon the road, and to despatch secretary Cecil, when they came to court; but Essex would not encourage so base an act. The queen was now at Nonsuch: hither Essex hastened to present himself on his knees before her, in her privy-chamber early in the morning, and when her majesty least dreamt of him, says Camden; who adds, that she entertained him with some marks of her grace and favour, though not with that freedom he used to find. But nothing of that unseasonable surprise and fatal discovery upon this visit is mentioned either by him or any of our other historians, which a foreigner, with the air of romance natural to his country, reports to have then happened, and which I shall therefore refer to his own words [z]. The queen indeed ordered Essex to his apartment,

[y] Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts in Churchill's Collection of Voyages, vol. 3. 1732. fol. 170.

[z] "La royne estoit encore lors en "sa coiffure, il entre dans sa "chambre: mais il luy en prit "comme d'Acteon à Diane: il vit "la royne en sa nudité de teste, et "en son Alopecie: ses dames ont "dict depuis, que s'il eust attendu "encore un peu, il avoit gaigné sa "cause. La royne le voyant, elle "se leve, estonnée, et s'escrie: luy "se prosterne à ses pieds: elle s'escrie encores d'avantage, luy disant, Quoy, voulez-vous prendre "ma couronne? Il s'humilie encore "plus, trainant le ventre par terre.

and there to continue, as Camden goes on: for the earl had not only disobliged her before, but now given fresh provocation by leaving Ireland without her permission, and for shuffling up a truce there, which might be broke at a fortnight's warning; whereas he might have made an effectual composition with the rebels, and was empowered to give them a general act of indemnity. The excuses he offered before the council were so unsatisfactory, and his behaviour so contemptuous, that the queen thought proper to commit him to custody; but appointed it to be in the lord-keeper's house rather than a common prison, chiefly to obstruct the infusions of his pernicious adherents, to whom he was so infatuated that he could not relinquish them, though one of the objections which would be raised against him was by his own hand presupposed to be the leaving of that kingdom in such an unsettled posture, and returning into this, with such a pack of swordsmen at his heels[a]. Thus much was thought necessary here to relate of him, that it may appear, his own passions, with the counsels of his pretended friends, and not those who were vulgarly thought his enemies, proved his overthrow.

His embassy to Flanders.

While Essex was thus in restraint, commissioners were sent over to Bulloigne, to negotiate the peace with Spain. This was in May 1600. And about the same time we find sir Walter Ralegh was also sent, with the lord Cobham, upon an embassy concerning the same, into Flanders. Their business was kept very secret; yet, Albert archduke of Austria, and governor of the Netherlands, having charged the queen of England, it seems, with relieving the Hollanders, and being likely to take some umbrage at so many persons of considerable rank going over volunteers to prince Maurice, as the lord of Northumberland, lord Rutland, and others; secretary Cecil wrote to the said commis-

"Elle s'aigrit encore d'avantage, si "bien que les dames qui l'avoient "faict entrer, prosternées de genoux "pour demander sa grace, n'y peu-"rent rien gaigner; ainsi les unes "en furent tançées, et les autres "chassées du service de la royne: "tellement que le comte fut con-"trainct de se retirer sans estre ouy." Chronologie Septenaire de l'Histoire de la Paix entre les Roys de France et d'Espagne. Par P. Victor Cayet. 8vo. Paris, 1605. p. 214.

[a] Camden's Eliz. anno 1599.

sioners at Bulloigne, that if the archduke should object in the like manner to Cobham and Ralegh, they were to return answer, "That these had no charge, nor carried either "horse or men, except some half a dozen of their own attendants; and finding the queen so resolved to have a "peace, (if good conditions could be had,) they obtained "leave, with importunity, to see that one action, (then expected,) before they might despair of seeing any more "of the like kind in her majesty's time." Thus much of this matter we have in a letter of secretary Cecil's to those commissioners. In another written by sir Henry Neville, who was one of those commissioners, to Mr. Winwood, he mentions it as a report, that Cobham and Ralegh were gone over upon pretext to see the camp and siege of the fort Isabella near Ostend, before which prince Maurice lay; but thinks they had some other end; and that in England there was some alarm taken at these matters, although he was not worthy to know it. The said sir Henry, in another letter to Mr. Winwood, says, that the journey of Cobham and Ralegh was not upon curiosity only; but that they carried some message (to prince Maurice, it seems) which did no harm, and that he would reveal the particulars when he was better informed of them. These three letters were written in July this year, and in the first of them we perceive Ralegh was returned into England by the fourteenth day of the said month [b].

Governor of the Isle of Jersey.

When he arrived at court, the government of Jersey was, it seems, vacant by the death of sir Anthony, son of sir Amias Paulet. The queen had many addressers for this preferment; but she thought none so worthy of it as sir Walter Ralegh. About six weeks after, that is, in the latter end of August, his patent was passed, with grant of the manor or lordship of St. Germain in the said island, and all the lands and tenements therein [c]. There is a

[b] See Memoirs of Affairs of State in the reigns of queen Elizabeth and king James, collected from the original papers of sir Ralph Winwood, by E. Sayer of Lincoln's Inn, esq. 1725. vol. 1. fol. 215, 230, 231.

[c] Concessio pro Waltero Ralegh milite, officii gubernatoris et capitanei insulæ de Jersey. Dat. vicesimo sexto die Augusti, anno 1600. Apud Rym. Fœd. tom. 16. fol. 398.

learned inhabitant of this island, who, in his curious and exact history of it, giving us a succession of the governors, says, "Sir Walter Ralegh came in after the Paulets, the "year only before his royal mistress queen Elizabeth died; "and was attainted the first year of king James: so that "we were soon bereaved of the happiness we promised our-"selves under so excellent a person. His bare name in the "list of our governors does honour to the island[d]." Yet, as the same author further observes out of the said patent, "When sir Walter Ralegh himself had this government "given him by queen Elizabeth, she struck off three hun-"dred pounds a year from it, which she took into her own "disposal; and made that great man, so renowned for his "eminent services to her and to the whole nation, be con-"tented with the remainder[e]."

Essex had now been called before the council at the lord-keeper's, where, for the matters laid to his charge, he was suspended from some of his offices. But the course of penitence and resignation which he held for a while, gave great hopes, after he had obtained his liberty, that he would recover himself also at court; till his creatures blew him up

[d] See an account of the Isle of Jersey, by Philip Falle, M. A. 2d edit. 8vo. 1733. p. 190.

[e] This reservation is thus expressed in the patent: "Volumus nihilomi-"nus, et per præsentes reservamus "nobis, hæredibus, et successoribus "nostris, durante tota vita ipsius "Walteri, pro et ex custumis dictæ "insulæ, reventionibus, proficuis, et "emolumentis, cæterisque omnibus "et singulis præmissis præconcessis, "annualem redditum trecentarum "librarum legalis monetæ Angliæ, "solvendum annuatim per præfatum "Walterum Ralegh, nobis, hæredi-"bus et successoribus nostris, ad "duos anni terminos usuales; videli-"cet, ad festa sancti Michaelis arch-"angeli, et annunciationis Beatæ "Mariæ Virginis, per æquales por-"tiones, ad receptam scaccarii nos-"tri, hæredum et successorum nos-"trorum: proviso semper, quod si "prædictus annualis redditus, aut "aliqua inde parcella, nobis, hære-"dibus et successoribus nostris, per "præsentes reservatus, a retro fue-"rit et insolutus, in parte vel in "toto, per spatium quadraginta die-"rum post aliquod festum festorum "prædictorum in quo solvi debeat, "tunc quotiescunque thesaurarius "noster Angliæ, vel subthesaura-"rius scaccarii nostri prædicti, pro "tempore existentes, aut eorum ali-"quis, notitiam inde dederint vel "dederit dicto Waltero aut suo de-"putato prædicto, si prædictus an-"nualis redditus, aut aliqua inde "parcella, nobis, hæredibus, et suc-"cessoribus nostris, a retro fuerit et "insolutus per spatium triginta die-"rum post aliquam notitiam sic ut "præfertur datam, ex tunc hæ lit-"teræ nostræ patentes, et omnes "auctoritates, jurisdictiones, res et "concessiones in eisdem contentæ, "vacuæ erunt, et nullius in lege vi-"goris, aliquo in præsentibus non "obstante, &c." See Falle's Jersey, p. 315. from Rymer, as above.

again with their poisonous counsels, and led him to expect not only a restoration to favour, but with unreasonable interest; "insomuch, that he neglected the queen's pardon, "because it came not accompanied with a new grant of his "lease for the farming of sweet wines," as a noble author observes[f]; who adds, "if ever that uncouth speech fell "from him of the queen, which is delivered to us by one "who was then much conversant in the secrets of the "courts, that she was as crooked in her disposition as in "her carcass, all my wonder at his destruction is taken "from me." After this speech, the queen did as good as deny him the wine licences aforesaid, as Camden relates. Then Essex threw himself open to all ill impressions, renewing the project he had begun in Ireland of removing by force his enemies at court. He curried favour with king James in Scotland, by several respectful letters; wherein he laboured to prejudice the king against those who had any influence in the English court, and was very particular in acquainting him with the interest of his adversaries; as one of whom he failed not to set forth sir Walter Ralegh, with the formidable power he had in the west of England, and now again in the Isle of Jersey; that Cobham was warden of the Cinque-Ports; lord Burghley, president of the north; and sir George Carew, president of Munster, in the south of Ireland: that those were places commodious for the Spaniards to land; and these, persons well affected to the king of Spain, and altogether with the lord-treasurer, admiral, and secretary, steered the helm of government. Then he practised with the said king to send ambassadors into England, to press a public declaration of his title to the succession; prepares instructions for that purpose, still instancing the exorbitant power of his enemies, their dis-

Prejudiced in king James's opinion by Essex.

[f] The earl of Clarendon's Disparity, before cited.

[g] This was sir Walter Ralegh, who mentions this passage in the following manner. "Undutiful words of "a subject do often take deeper root "than the memory of ill deeds do. "The duke of Biron found it, when "the king had him at advantage. "Yea, the late earl of Essex told "queen Elizabeth, that her condi-"tions were as crooked as her car-"cass; but it cost him his head, "which his insurrection had not "cost him but for that speech." Sir Walter Ralegh's Prerogative of Parliaments.

affection to the king of Scots, and great veneration for the infanta. These proceedings were outwardly varnished over, all this while, with the gloss of conscience and religion; he won over the puritans and their preachers to his party, commiserated the afflicted condition of the papists, retained a crew of desperados to guard his house, and left none uncountenanced, who had nothing to hope for but changes and revolutions.

Thus these ill humours kept gathering till Sunday the 8th of February following, and then broke out, as may be seen at large in our histories of these times. At court the guard was doubled, being apprised of this eruption; and the morning it happened, sir Walter Ralegh sent, out of particular kindness, to sir Ferdinando Gorges, one of Essex's adherents, and governor of Plymouth-fort, to come in all haste to him at Durham-house to speak with him, and, as the more private way, that he would come by water. Gorges, in the manuscript he writ to vindicate himself from the imputation of betraying Essex by this meeting, avers, that he advertised his lordship of this message, and that upon counsel the earl was willing he should go; but directed him to appoint his meeting with Ralegh upon the Thames, and not to land at Durham-house; also to take with him a guard for securing his return. The conference that passed between them, as Gorges relates it, was only this: "When sir Walter Ralegh's boat came to me, he "being all alone, and I having two gentlemen, he told me, "that he had sent for me to admonish me to make all haste "out of the town down to my charge; there being a war-"rant out for the sending me to the fleet. For his kind "advertisement I gave him thanks; but told him withal, "because I knew the present occasion would soon discover "itself, that it came too late; for I had engaged myself in "another matter. He further inquiring of me, what it "was? I told him, there were two thousand gentlemen "who had resolved that day to live or die free men. He "protested unto me he heard not of it until that morning, "but did not see what they were able to do against the

His conference with sir Ferd. Gorges, an accomplice in Essex's insurrection.

"queen's authority. My answer was, it was the abuse of "that by him and others, which made so many honest men "resolve to seek a reformation thereof. His reply was, "that no man is without a colour for his intent; and ad-"vised me to look to myself, and to remember my duty "and allegiance. I answered, that I knew not any man "who did not more respect his allegiance than his life, as "the end would make apparent: and thus we parted; he "to the court, and I to Essex-house[h]." In the confession made by this Gorges, eight days after that of their insurrection above named, before some of the privy-council, it appears, sir Christopher Blount had persuaded him to murder or seize sir Walter Ralegh at this meeting upon the water[i]. For not doing either, Gorges apologizes in the manuscript aforesaid after this manner. "If it be de-"manded of me why I did not then take sir Walter Ra-"legh? First, it was not a matter I ever proposed; though "many persuaded me so to do. Secondly, I never held it "an act fitting among men to betray any that repose trust "in us; and he putting himself into my hands, with what "honesty could I have avowed so barbarous a deed, unless "he had given me the first occasion by violent deeds or un-"kind words; for either of which, I was both resolved and "prepared. And at my return, I delivered unto my lord "what had passed between sir Walter Ralegh and myself, "which he received with applause, as may be testified by "those who were present, and yet alive[k]." Lastly, in another part of the said manuscript, Gorges says, "The "reason why I acknowledge I had means to have taken or "killed sir Walter Ralegh was, the better to make it ap-"pear, that there was neither malicious or butcherous

[h] A Brief Answer to certain false, slanderous, and idle objections made against sir Ferdinando Gorges, knt.; as if he had been a man on purpose employed to practise the ruin of the late earl of Essex, &c. written by himself in the Gate-house, June 14, 1601. containing four sheets. In the Cotton library, under the effigy of Julius F. VII. fol. 428. cap. 2.

[i] See a Declaration of the practices and treasons attempted and committed by Robert, late earl of Essex, and his accomplices, against her majesty and her kingdoms, and imprinted by Robert Barker, the queen's printer. 4to. 1601.

[k] Sir Ferdinando Gorges's Brief Answer, as before.

"course intended to him or any; and also to give him "cause to acknowledge himself in that respect beholden "unto me; whereby to take from him occasion to exercise "his power (which I knew to be great at that juncture) "to my ruin. For I did believe, he could not in reason "be so void of human respect, as not to requite one cour-"tesy with another; as also it was no matter of treason "against her majesty, but rather a manifestation of the "contrary, approving this intent to be particular against "sir Walter Ralegh, and others[1]." This is the conference which passed between them a few hours before the insurrection, as Gorges has represented it.

After Essex, with his party, had made several excursions, and some persons had been slain both on his side and the queen's: after he had been proclaimed a traitor by the king of arms in several parts of the city, and was driven, by water, to seek garrison in his own house; we find Ralegh mentioned among the several nobles and knights who invested it; though he appears in no particular action against the said earl or his company. But when the earl soon after surrendered himself, and was brought to examination, he professed that he was to have been assaulted or assassinated by his private enemies; of this we have the following account published by authority. "As in all "former discontentments he had gone the beaten path of "traitors, turning their imputation upon counsellors and "persons of credit with their sovereign: so now he was "forced to descend to the pretext of a private quarrel; "giving out, how that evening, when he should have "been called before the lords of the council, there was "an ambuscade of musketeers placed upon the water, by "the device of my lord Cobham and sir Walter Ra-"legh, to have murdered him in the way as he passed. A "matter of no probability," continues my author, "those "persons having no such desperate estates or minds as to "ruin themselves and their posterity by committing so

Slandered by Essex.

[1] Sir Ferdinando Gorges's Brief Answer, cap. 5.

"odious a crime. On the contrary, it was certain sir Fer-
"dinando Gorges accused Blount of persuading him to kill,
"or at least apprehend sir Walter Ralegh; and that Gor-
"ges rejecting this advice, Blount sent four shot after him
"in a boat, which Blount denied not; and asked Ralegh
"forgiveness for it at the time of his death [m]." But there were other improbabilities to discredit this slander, (as we may safely call it, since the state called it by a grosser name,) besides that the persons so accused had reputations and estates better established, than to overthrow them by such a detestable deed; "as Essex's declining to produce
"or name any author of such an information: besides his
"varying from himself (like the judges, in the story of Su-
"sannah, from one another) in the place; as one while, he
"was to have been murdered in his bed; and another, on
"the water: also in the time and persons; as that it was to
"have been done by Jesuits, and some days before: so
"that in the end, this accusation by Essex was resembled
"to the action of Pisistratus, who proceeded so far in this
"kind of fiction and dissimulation, that he lanced his own
"body, and came wounded before the people, as though
"he had been assaulted by his private enemies; thus ob-
"tained a guard about his own person, whereby he after-
"wards usurped upon the state [n]." Further, what may perfectly clear up the innocence of Cobham and Ralegh from this unworthy calumny is the acknowledgment which Blount made at his own trial; when, being asked by secretary Cecil, "Whether he thought my lord Cobham and
"sir Walter Ralegh intended any such assassination of the
"earl?" he answered, "That he did not believe they ever
"meant any such thing, nor that the earl himself feared it;
"only it was a word cast out to colour other matters [o]."

Cleared.

[m] See the first confession of sir Ferdinando Gorges in the declaration of Essex's treasons, as before, in the last leaf of the letter E.

[n] Idem, in the second leaf of H. See also Mr. Fra. Bacon's speech at the earl of Essex's trial, in the first vol. of State Trials, 2d edit. 1730, fol. 197.

[o] The trial of sir Christopher Blount, &c. from a very old MS. of Peter le Neve, esq. Norroy, in the additional collection of State Trials, vol. 7. now at the press, fol. 50.

And lastly, what may tend to prove that Ralegh did rather compassionate and incline to befriend the earl, than harbour any enmity that was implacable against him, is, that one of the earl's own faction, captain Thomas Lee, should have such hopes, that Ralegh might be persuaded into the danger of disobliging the queen by importunity, or other violent means, for retrieving both Essex and Southampton from the jaws of death, as, by way of proposition, to tell sir Robert Cross, who had been an old officer under Ralegh in several engagements at sea, "That sir Walter Ralegh "might get himself eternal honour and love, more than "ever he can otherwise, if he would procure her majesty's "warrant to free the lords; which he might compass, by "undertaking her person[p]:" for this does not only shew the opinion that was held of Ralegh's power with the queen, but the probability that he might be induced to exert it for the rescue of those noblemen. We find he did use his interest for some who were drawn in unawares, and got a pardon for sir Edmund Bainham; also for John Littleton, and Orell, a brave old soldier: the two former were men of fortune, and their purses might bleed, or be threatened upon this occasion. But, as Camden observes, few paid the fines laid on them.

Procures a pardon for some of the confederates.

On the 19th of February, Essex was arraigned at Westminster; and we find, in his trial, that sir Walter Ralegh, with forty of the queen's guard, was, as captain thereof, there present upon duty[q]. Ralegh was here examined about the conference before mentioned; and all he said was, "That Gorges told him on the water, Essex had put "himself into a strong guard at his house, and this would "be the bloodiest day's work that ever was; wishing he "would speed to court for the prevention of it; and that "he himself wished Gorges to refuse their company, else "he would be undone[r]." This is all Ralegh said of that conference; which Gorges, here also in court, confirmed.

[p] The arraignment and judgment of captain Thomas Lee, &c. in the same volume, fol. 45.

[q] The earl of Essex's trial in the first vol. of Trials, as before, fol. 190.

[r] Idem, fol. 194.

But Essex seems to charge Gorges with prevarication, where he replies, "Whatsoever sir Walter Ralegh hath said, "differeth altogether from that which sir Ferdinando told "us at Essex-house, upon his return from the water." And indeed it is not likely he should tell Essex he advised Ralegh to go to court and prevent the insurrection. Six days after, Essex was beheaded in the court-yard of London Tower. Among the many persons of distinction there present was sir Walter Ralegh, probably in his charge again as captain of the guard. He stood near the scaffold, according to his own assertion; that he might better answer, if Essex should be desirous of speaking to him. But his enemies expounded his presence there in such a barbarous sense, says Camden, as if he had pressed near the place of execution, only to feast his eyes with the tragedy of the earl's sufferings; and the greatest or most notorious of Ralegh's enemies, (who is known to us,) he who betrayed him to his own untimely end, as will be observed, did after Ralegh's death, when he could not answer for himself, insinuate, that he not only insulted upon Essex being dead, but even plotted his downfall; as that "he had called "the earl's saintship in question," had writ in some letters, "that the great boy died like a calf and like a craven;" and that, soon after the execution, a gentleman returning from Spain, touched at Sherborne, who, being asked by Ralegh, "What they said in Spain of Essex's death?" answered, "They had not heard of it; but he was sorry to "hear, that in the island voyage the earl had brought him "to his mercy;" to which, that Ralegh answered, "But I "trust I am now quit with him;" and, as a more evident demonstration, says, that the night before the earl's suffering, "Ralegh gave instructions to the lieutenant of the "Tower for the execution of the warrant:" which surely he did not do without authority. But these particulars, it must be observed, come from the person stigmatized with having ensnared Ralegh to his destruction, and to the person who destroyed him, with endeavour to palliate the con-

duct of both to the world[s]. And as we find those obloquies gave not satisfaction to their author's contemporaries; so we have produced them, that they may not escape the reception they deserve of posterity. As for Ralegh's comportment to Essex, we may guess what it was while the earl was alive, since he made no exceptions to it at his death, when he had free liberty of speech; and when Ralegh came to the same end, it appears by his last words, that he had relented more at the earl's fate, than any thing we hear of in his pretended friends; and that he retired from the sight of the earl at the time of his death, in compliance with the misconstruction of the populace, though he afterwards repented it; since the earl had a desire to see and speak with him before he took his farewell of the world.

This desire was in all probability to ask Ralegh forgiveness, for having so dishonourably treated and traduced him, to countenance his own rash purposes. For just such a desire had sir Christopher Blount, when his own execution approached on the 18th of March following at Tower-hill; where, understanding that Ralegh, as captain of the guard, was near the scaffold, he said, "Sir Walter Ralegh, "I thank God that you are present: I had an infinite de-"sire to speak with you, to ask you forgiveness ere I died; "both for the wrong done you, and for my particular ill "intent towards you: I beseech you forgive me." Ralegh answered, "that he most willingly forgave him, and be-"sought God to forgive him, and to give him his divine "comfort; protesting before the Lord, that whatever sir "Christopher Blount meant towards him, for his part, he "never bore him any ill intent:" and further said to him, "I pray you, without offence, let me put you in mind, "that you have been esteemed, not only a principal provoker "and persuader of the earl of Essex in all his undutiful

Blount asks him forgiveness.

[s] The humble petition and information of sir Lewis Stucley, knt. &c. touching his behaviour in bringing up sir Walter Ralegh, &c. To the king's most excellent majesty, 4to. 1618. p. 9, 10.

"courses, but especially an adviser in that which has been "confessed, of his purpose to transport a great part of her "majesty's army out of Ireland into England, to land at "Milford, and thence to turn it against her sacred person: "you will do well to tell the truth herein, and to satisfy "the world." Blount replied, "When I was brought from "Reban to Dublin, and lodged in the castle, his lordship "and the earl of Southampton came to visit me; and he "began thus plainly with me: that he intended to trans-"port a choice part of the army of Ireland into England, "and land them in Wales, at Milford, or thereabouts: and "so securing his descent, would gather such other forces "as would enable him to march to London." I answered, "I would that night consider of it." Next day the earls came again; I told them, "Such an enterprise, as it was "most dangerous, would cost much blood; so as I could "not like it. But I rather advised him to go over himself, "with a good train, and make sure of the court, than make "his own conditions; and though we never resolved to "hurt her majesty's person, yet I know, and must confess, "if we had failed of our ends, we should, rather than have "been disappointed, even have drawn blood from herself." Then giving a few further hints of their progress in general, he leaves the rest to his confessions made before the privy-counsellors, whom he names, and to whom he beseeches sir Walter Ralegh to commend him for their favourable and charitable dealing. Lastly, having also declared he died in the catholic faith, and bid farewell to the lords Gray, Compton, and the rest, he made a decent end[t]. Thus have we connected all the passages of Essex's insurrection, wherein we have found Ralegh any ways mentioned or concerned; which, with several other remarkable parts of his story, those authors, who had read many of the tracts, letters, records, and other manuscripts whence it is here drawn out, have visibly curtailed and suppressed in their annals and chronicles of this reign, which were published in the next.

[t] Sir Christopher Blount's dying speech, in the declaration of the treasons of Essex and his complices, as before, fol. penult.

The following summer, in the year 1601, it appears that Ralegh attended upon the queen in her progress; and, when the king of France came to Calais, on the alarm of the archduke's besieging of Ostend, her majesty was at Dover. Ambassadors were sent over to each other on this occasion; and, in that private despatch of the marquis of Rosney, afterwards duke of Sully, related only by himself, we find, that upon his landing at Dover, he was received by Ralegh, in company with the lords Cobham, Sidney, and others [u]. The interview then expected between these two princes was not brought to pass; nor seem the proposals, made to her majesty about the war with Spain, to have had the full effect that was hoped for; because, not long after, on the 5th of September, there arrived at London another ambassador from France, named the duke of Biron, with a very noble, numerous, and stately equipage, to the number of three or four hundred persons. The queen was then in Hantshire; and, during the thirteen days she was entertained at Basing, the marquis of Winchester's seat, the duke of Biron, with his retinue, was brought to the Vine, a fair house in the said county of the lord Sandys, which was furnished with seven score beds by the neighbouring gentry, and with all other accommodations from the queen's palaces, for the reception of the said ambassador. I leave this entertainment to the description of the French and English historians, who observe it was one discontinued festival, and that the like was never made by any of our princes in a progress. It is more particularly to be expected that Ralegh did here attend upon the court, because he was commonly appointed to entertain the foreign ministers, especially of France or the States, being so well acquainted with those people and their policies: and when the queen left the country, we find, among the ten persons she there knighted, (a greater number than ever she had conferred that honour upon at one time,) that one of them was Ca-

Receives the French ambassador at Dover.

[u] Mémoires ou Oeconomies Royales d'Estat de Henri le Grand, par Maximilien de Bethune, duc de Sully, in 12 volumes 12°. Amsterd. 1725. vol. 5. p. 60.

rew [x], the brother of sir Walter Ralegh. But as for that passage, in a French historian lately quoted, between the queen and the ambassador when they were in London, of her shewing him, among the heads of those rebels which were stuck upon the Tower, that of the earl of Essex [y]; it has been proved fabulous by Camden [z], who would doubtless have detected other such falsities in the said French author, relating to our English history, and in particular to sir Walter Ralegh, had his Annals extended to the year in which we shall be obliged to take notice thereof.

Soon after the queen's return from this progress, her last parliament met at Westminster, and that was on the 27th day of October. This was a session full of important business, and Ralegh appears frequently engaged in it. The first or most ancient list of the members of the house of commons, at least extant, is, as I have been told by an eminent antiquary, that which we have of this parliament [a]; and herein it appears, that sir Walter Ralegh was one of

In parliament.

[x] John Stow's Annals, edit. 1615, fol. 797. This is that sir Carew Ralegh, who appears, in the court-rolls of Gillingham in Gloucestershire, to have been one of the stewards, his brother sir Walter being the other of that manor, in these times belonging to the crown; as I have it from a letter of some obliging remarks upon the family of the Raleghs, written by William Nicholas, esq. of West-Horsely in Surrey, to a friend. This must be also the same sir Carew Ralegh, who had, in 1616, for what consideration is not mentioned, a hundred pounds paid him from the government, as I find in an Abstract of the State of his Majesty's Revenue, reprinted 8vo. 1692, p. 30. Likewise the same who sold Widdycombe Ralegh to one of the Martyns, as is before observed; and the ancient patrimony of Fardel to Walter Heale, esq. of Brixton, as John Prince informs us in the Worthies of Devon, fol. 402. Lastly, the same sir Carew Ralegh, who married Dorothy, daughter of sir William Wroughton, and relict of sir John Thynne, by whom he had Gilbert, heir of Downton; and he, by Lucy, daughter of sir Gilly Wroughton, of Broad-Hinton in Wilts, had several children, as Gilbert, George, Walter, Katharine, Anne, &c. This I gather from a pedigree of the Raleghs, in the possession of Browne Willis, esq. mentioned at the beginning of this work; wherein it further appears, the said sir Carew, his son and grandchildren, were all alive in 1623. And hence the Wiltshire Raleghs have flourished to these latter times.

[y] Chronologie Septenaire de l'Histoire de la Paix entre les Roys de France et d'Espagne, par P. Victor Cayet, 8vo. 1605. p. 233. b.

[z] "Whereas certain French writers "have mentioned," says Camden, "that the queen shewed to Biron "the earl of Essex's skull in her "closet, or, according to others, fixed "upon a pole; it must needs be a "story as ridiculous as false; since "that was interred with his body." Annal. Eliz. 1601.

[a] At the end of Heywood Townshend's Historical Collections of queen Elizabeth's four last parliaments.

the knights of the shire for the county of Cornwall, John Arundell, esq. being the other; and that sir Carew Ralegh was one of the burgesses for Foway in the same county. The first speech we have of sir Walter's upon record in this parliament was on November the 4th, and in opposition to the act for sowing of hemp; "For my part," said he, "I do not like this constraining of men to manure or use "their ground at our wills; but rather let every man use "his ground to that which it is most fit for, and therein "use his own discretion. For halsers, cables, cordage, "and the like, we have plentifully enough from foreign "nations; and we have countries here in England that "make use thereof in abundance: and the bill of tillage "may be a sufficient motive to us in this case, not to take "the course that this bill intends. For where the law pro-"vides that every man must plough the third part of his "land; I know divers poor people have done so, to avoid "the penalty of the statute, when their abilities have been "so poor, that they have not been able to buy seed-corn to "sow it withal; nay, they have been fain to hire others to "plough it; which, if it had been unploughed, would have "been good pasture for beasts, or might have been con-"verted to other good uses[b]." Upon this motion, all the house bid away with the bill: but it was put to the question, whether it should be committed or no? Some doubt arising, the house was divided; and the yeas were 103, the noes 162: so the bill was not committed. It was afterwards put to the question for engrossing; and, notwithstanding Mr. Comptroller's speech for the weight of it, (which is not preserved,) it was denied, and so absolutely rejected. Three days after, sir Walter Ralegh was at the committee in the house, touching the subsidy. Here he moved them to consider for what intent they came thither, and now in their coming, what was to be considered. "For "the subsidy," said he, "the manner and quality thereof, I

Opposes the act for sowing of hemp.

His speech for the subsidy.

[b] Townshend's Hist. Coll. fol. 188. Sir Simonds D'Ewes omits this speech by sir Walter Ralegh upon that bill, and makes some errors in his account of its commitment. See his Journal, fol. 1708. p. 626.

"will now only intimate thus much to you; that the last "parliament, only three subsidies were granted, upon fear "that the Spaniards were coming; but now we see they are "come, and have set foot even in the queen's territories al-"ready; therefore, are the more of us to be respected and "regarded. And seeing the sale of her majesty's own "jewels; the great loans her subjects have lent her, yet "unpaid; the continual selling of her lands, and decaying "of her revenues; the sparing even out of her own purse "and apparel for our own sakes, will not serve; but she "must yet be fain to call her court of parliament for our "advice and aid in this case; I wish, for my part, as a par-"ticular member of the commonwealth, that we may not "do less than we did before; and that we may also boun-"tifully, according to our estates, contribute to her ma-"jesty's necessities, as they now stand." This speech was confirmed by many other members, and met with no opposition that we read of. But the manner of raising this subsidy created some short debate; in which sir Francis Hastings moved, that the three pound men might be exempted; and all others, above that rate, to pay according to the rate, to make up a full subsidy. To this sir Walter Ralegh answered, "If all pay, none will be aggrieved; if any be "exempted, doubtless it will breed much grief; the feeling "will be great to those three pound men that will feel any "thing, but it will be nothing to them that know any "thing." Sir Edward Hobby, who, it seems, sat near the door, not hearing well this speech, said, "You should speak "standing, that the house might hear you." Ralegh answered, "That being in a committee, he might speak sit-"ting or standing:" so (without rising) repeated his former words. In the end this proposal was agreed to, and secretary Cecil reported to the whole house, "that most voices "concluded there should be no exception of the three "pound men, because, according to their rate, some were as-"sessed under value; besides, separation might breed emu-"lation, suspicion of partiality and confusion." Yet when

Cecil, among those who launched out [c], carried the matter so high, as to say, "that neither pots or pans, nor dish nor "spoon, should be spared, when danger is at our elbows; "nor would by any means have the three pound men ex-"cluded, because he would have the king of Spain know, "how willing we are to sell all in defence of God's religion, "our prince, and our country;" and when Mr. Francis Bacon, in his speech, concluded it was "*dulcis tractus pari* "*jugo;* therefore the poor, as well as the rich, not to be "exempted:" Ralegh did answer; "I like it not, that the "Spaniards, our enemies, should know of our selling our "pots and pans to pay subsidies; well may you call it po-"licy, as an honourable person alleged; but I am sure it "argues poverty in the state. And for the motion that "was last made, *dulcis tractus pari jugo;* call you this "*par jugum*, when a poor man pays as much as a rich? "and peradventure his estate is no better than it is set at, "or but little better; while our estates are three or four "pounds [d] in the queen's books, and it is not the hundredth "part of our wealth; therefore it is neither *dulcis* nor *par*." This might flow as well from the natural source of his own benignity, as from any compliance with the queen's inclination to favour the poorer sort, for whom Ralegh seems, by her command, to have before indeed been a chosen advocate [e]: but he knowing, as well as the rest of the members,

[c] Of whom, none more remarkable than sergeant Heale; who marvelled much the house should demur upon granting this subsidy, or in the time of payment; "When all we have," said he, "is her majesty's; and she "may lawfully, at pleasure, take it "from us: yea, she has as much "right to all our lands and goods, "as to any revenue of her crown." At which the house hummed and laughed. "Well, all your hum-"ming," said the sergeant, "shall "not put me out of countenance." So to mend the matter, he told them, "he could prove his former position "in the time of king Henry III. "king John, king Stephen," &c. At this the house was louder than before, till they hummed the sergeant into his seat; but he was afterwards more particularly exposed for these slavish principles.

[d] So Heywood Townshend, fol. 204. but thirty or forty pound in sir Simonds D'Ewes, fol. 633.

[e] Sir Walter, speaking of a parliament in the reign of king Richard II. wherein a subsidy was given only by the better sort, and the commons spared, says, (in the person of a justice of peace,) "I myself once moved "it in parliament, in the time of "queen Elizabeth, who desired much "to spare the common people, and I "did it by her commandment; but, "when we cast up the subsidy-books, "we found the sum but small, when

by former experience, that such a supply, as her majesty now wanted, being no less than three hundred thousand pounds, according to Cecil's representation, could not be raised, if such an exemption were admitted of; the former proposition prevailed, and the three pound men were necessarily included.

When the complaint against monopolies was made on the 20th of November, and Dr. Bennet mentioned that of cards, I cannot perceive how it could be justly observed in the Journals, to make any change in the countenance of sir Walter Ralegh; since in the same Journals it is also observed, that the patent for cards was now granted to Edward Darcy[f]. But, when Mr. Martin spoke of a "country that "groaned under the burden of monstrous and unconscion- "able substitutes to monopolitans of starch, tin, fish, cloth, "oil, vinegar, salt, and what not;" sir Walter Ralegh replied, "I am urged to speak in two respects; the one, be- "cause I find myself touched upon in particular; the "other, in that I take some imputation and slander to be "offered unto her majesty: I mean by the gentleman who "first mentioned tin. For that being one of the principal "commodities of this kingdom, and being in Cornwall, it "has ever (so long as there were any) belonged to the dukes "of Cornwall; and they had special patents of privilege. "It has pleased her majesty freely to bestow on me that "privilege and that patent; being word for word the very "same the duke's is. And because, by reason of my office "of lord-warden of the stannaries, I can sufficiently inform "this house of the state thereof, I will make bold to de- "liver it unto you. When the tin is taken out of the "mine, and molten and refined, then is every piece, con- "taining a hundred weight, sealed with the duke's seal. "And by reason of this privilege (which I now have) he "ever had the refusal in buying thereof; for the words of "the patent are, *nisi nos emere voluimus*. Now I will

In right of his patent for the preemption of tin.

"the 30 pound men" (perhaps the cipher is added by mistake) "were "left out." See Ralegh's Prerogative of Parliaments.

[f] Heywood Townshend, fol. 244, 245.

"tell you, that before the granting of my patent, whether "tin were but at seventeen shillings, and so upward to fifty "shillings a hundred; yet the poor workman never had "but two shillings a week, finding himself: but since my "patent, whosoever will work, be tin at what price soever, "they have four shillings a week truly paid: there is no "poor that will work there, but may, and have that wages." But, notwithstanding his merit, as well as right, Ralegh concluded, saying, "Yet if all others may be repealed, I "will give my consent as freely to the cancelling of this, as "any member of this house." It is noted, that a great and uncommon silence followed this speech. At last sir Francis Hastings said, in respect thereto; "I joy to see so great a "reformation, that we may speak quietly, and be heard "peaceably; every man has not alike sense or judgment, "neither is every man's memory alike. I wish, that if any "gentleman, who speaks of this, or any other subject as cu-"rious, shall let fall any word amiss or unpleasing, that it "may be attributed rather to earnestness than want of "duty." Throughout the further proceedings against the numerous monopolies now in force, we find not any mention made of his patent aforesaid, among those which were particularly promised to be revoked or abolished as grievances to the state. On the 24th of November, sir Edmund Morgan and Mr. Pemberton, both members of the house, being served with subpœnas to appear in the court of Chancery the same day, at the suit of sir Walter and sir Carew Ralegh, they had the privilege granted them. The officers, who served those subpœnas, were taken into the custody of the sergeant, but soon released, upon pleading they knew not those gentlemen to be members of parliament[g]. This is all I find of that suit concerning sir Walter Ralegh. On the 2d of December, he spoke against the defects and hardships in a bill that was read for reformation of abuses in inns; as that, "it would deprive those, who, by their lord-"ships or manors, had right to inquire into the defaults "of selling liquors by full measure, of their privilege; that,

And against the defects of a bill for reforming of inns.

[g] D'Ewes' Journal, fol. 651, &c.

"by disabling a man for ever after of being an innkeeper, "how detrimental it might be to the inheritance of those "who had inns, some at a hundred pounds per annum; "and how dangerous to innkeepers, who might, by the "negligence of a servant, suffer: all which he left to the "discretion of the house[h]." After other like objections, by another member or two, we hear no more of it. Soon after, the means of suppressing the pirates of Dunkirk, now grown strong both in arms and shipping, came under the consideration of this house. As one remedy against them, it was proposed to restrain the transportation of ordnance, and a bill to prohibit the same was read a second time on the 8th of December; but, before it was committed, there passed many speeches upon this important argument. It seems a patent for transporting them had been granted to sir Henry Nevill, and the queen's duty thereby rose to three thousand pounds a year; yet this profit no ways balanced the inconveniences. For, being carried into all countries that were friends with Dunkirk, and confederates with Spain, the Spaniards had such plenty, that they now usually sold a hundred weight of iron ordnance for seven ducats and a half. The laws were moreover urged in 33 of Henry VIII. and 2 of Edward VI. which prohibited the transporting of gun metal; and though guns were not then made of iron, they now were; therefore it was within the power of those laws. Sir Walter Ralegh, in approbation of this motion, said, "I am sure heretofore one ship of her "majesty's was able to beat ten Spaniards; but now, by "reason of our own ordnance, we are hardly matched one "to one. And if the Low Countries should either be sub-"dued by the Spaniard, or yield unto him upon a condi-"tional peace, or shall join in amity with the French, as we "see them daily inclining, I say there is nothing does so "much threaten the conquest of this kingdom, as the trans-"portation of ordnance; and therefore I think it a good "and speedy course to proceed by way of petition, lest we "be cut off from our desires, either by the upper house, or

Against the transportation of ordnance.

[h] Townshend's Hist. Coll. fol. 278.

" before, by the shortness and sudden ending of the parlia-
" ment[i]." The generality agreed with him in the needful-

[i] Sir Walter Ralegh has also written upon this subject in two or three places. In his discourse, touching a war with Spain, and the protecting of the Netherlands, written not long after he made the aforesaid speech, having told king James how he remembered, that within these thirty years two of her majesty's ships would have commanded one hundred sail of theirs; and that when he was a captain in Ireland, a hundred foot and a hundred horse would have beaten all the force of the strongest provinces; he adds, " but of late I " have known an easterling fight " hand to hand with one of her ma- " jesty's ships; and that the Irish " have, in this last war, overthrown " with even, or far less number. " The Netherlands," continues he, " in those days, had wooden guns, " and the Irish had darts; but the " one is now furnished with as great " a number of English ordnance as " ourselves, and the other with as " good pikes and muskets as Eng- " land hath." See Ralegh's three Discourses, 8vo. 1702. p. 16. In another discourse he afterwards writ, touching a marriage between prince Henry of England and a daughter of Savoy, speaking of the Netherlands, he has these words; " Where- " as, in my time, I have known one " of her majesty's ships command " forty of theirs to strike sail, they " will now undertake us one to one, " and not give us a good morrow: " they master us both in their num- " ber and in their mariners; and " they have our own ordnance to " break our own bones withal. We " had reason to help them; but not " to help them up to that height, as " to make them able to tread upon " our own heads." Thus in the old MS. of that discourse communicated by the noble earl of Oxford. Lastly, in another discourse sir Walter Ralegh wrote after this, I mean that on the Invention of Shipping, he has more copiously argued upon this head. These arguments I shall here also annex, both as what will exemplify the constancy of his judgment, and prove the genuineness of these discourses; though two of them are posthumous publications, and the other was never published. " There " is no state," says he, " grown in " haste, but that of the United Pro- " vinces, especially in their sea- " forces; and by a contrary way to " that of France or Spain; the lat- " ter by invasion, the former by op- " pression. For I myself may re- " member, when one ship of her ma- " jesty's would have made forty Hol- " landers strike sail, and to come to " anchor; they did not then dispute " *de mari libero;* but readily ac- " knowledged the English to be *do-* " *mini maris Britannici.*" And a little further: " But whence comes " this dispute? not from the increase " of numbers, not because our neigh- " bours breed more mariners than " we do, nor from the greatness of " their trade in all parts of the world; " for the French creep into all cor- " ners of America as they do, and " the Spaniards and Portuguese em- " ploy more ships by many (fishing " trades excepted) than the Nether- " lands: but it comes from the de- " testable covetousness of such par- " ticular persons as have gotten li- " cences, and given way to the trans- " porting of English ordnance. *Fuit* " *hæc sapientia quondam, publica* " *privatis secernere, sacra profa-* " *nis;* and that in so great abun- " dance, that not only our good " friends, the Hollanders and Zealan- " ders, have furnished themselves, " and have them lying on their wharfs " to sell to others; but all other na- " tions have had from us, not only to " furnish their fleets, but to garnish " all their forts and other places, " fortifying their coasts; without " which, the Spanish king durst not " have dismounted so many pieces " of brass in Naples, and elsewhere, " to arm his great fleet in 1588. " But it was directly proved in the " lower house of parliament, anno " . . . . of queen Elizabeth, that there " were landed in Naples above 140 " culverins English; since which " time, and not long since, it is la-

ness of restraining this privilege; however, they proceeded by way of bill, which passed the commons, but not the lords; for other business interfering, it fell asleep till the end of the session, and then the speaker Crook, who was to represent it to her majesty, forgetting his promise, it came to nothing.

For repealing the statute of tillage.

On the 9th of December the dispute was renewed, whether the statute of tillage should be continued? This statute was made in the time of dearth, and sir Walter Ralegh agreed with those who were for having it now repealed. His reason for it was, because "many poor men are not "able to find seed to sow so much ground as they are "bound to plough, which they must do, or incur the pe-"nalty of the law. Besides, all nations abound with corn. "France offered the queen to serve Ireland with corn for "sixteen shillings a quarter, which is but two shillings the "bushel: if we should sell it so here, the ploughman would "be beggared. The Low-Countryman and the Hollander, "who never sow corn, have, by their industry, such plenty, "that they will serve other nations. The Spaniard, who "often wants corn, had we never so much plenty, would

"mentable that so many have been "transported into Spain. But those "belike who then determined it, and "the transporters, have now forsaken "the country; and though the pro-"curers remain, I am resolved they "also have forsaken the care of his "majesty's estate, and the honour "of this nation. I urge not this "point, as thinking it unfit to fur-"nish his majesty's good friends and "allies, who have had with us one "common enemy for many years. "But all politic states have well ob-"served this precept, *Ut sic tracta-"rent amicum, tanquam inimicum "futurum;* for what are all the ships "in the world to be valued at, other "than a company of floating tubs, "were they not furnished with ord-"nance, either to offend others, or "defend themselves? If a ship of one "thousand tons had in her one thou-"sand musketeers, and never a great "gun, with one crumster, carrying "ten or thirteen culverins, she may "be beaten to pieces, and her men "slaughtered. Certainly the advan-"tage, which the English had by "their bows and arrows in former "times, was never so great as we "might now have had by our iron "ordnance, if we had either kept it "within the land, kept it from our "enemies, or imparted it to our "friends moderately: for as by the "former we obtained many notable "victories, and made ourselves mas-"ters of many parts of France, so "by the latter we might have com-"manded the seas, and thereby the "trade of the world itself. But we "have now, to our future prejudice, "and how far to our prejudice I "know not, forged hammers, and "delivered them out of our hands, to "break our own bones withal." See judicious and select Essays by sir Walter Ralegh, 8vo. 1650. p. 27, 32, &c.

"never be beholden to the Englishman for it, neither to the "Low-Countryman, nor to France, but will fetch it even "of the very Barbarian; and that which the Barbarian has "been suing for these two hundred years, (I mean for "traffic of corn into Spain,) this king, in policy, has set at "liberty of himself, because he will not be beholden to other "nations. And therefore, I think, the best course is, to set "it at liberty, and leave every man free, which is the desire "of a true Englishman[k]." After other speeches, it was put to the question, whether the bill of tillage should be committed? and it passed in the affirmative. But it having pleased her majesty to license Mr. Dormer, under her letters patents, with a *Non obstante*, this statute, to enclose three hundred acres of ground, he prayed the house to admit of this proviso; therefore it was put to the question, and carried. The noes demanded a division of the house: whereupon Mr. Richard Martin observed, the noes had always carried it in this parliament when they came to a division; many staying with the yeas, because they would not lose their places. Sir Walter Ralegh rose to answer him; but many hurrying out to the division, he and Cecil, it seems, took some displeasure; for, after the division, when Mr. Dormer's proviso carried it again by a majority, whereby the house was set quiet, sir Walter Ralegh said, "I "thought I had deserved of the house to have been heard "to speak, as well as he that spake before the division; and "in that I offered to speak, and was not heard, I had wrong: "for him that last spake, it was out of humour, and not "out of judgment. Notwithstanding, I think it a monopoly, and the speech to be both persuasion, and to lay a "great imputation upon the house: and this is all I would "have said before."

For liberty of speech.

Against an enclosure.

Next day came on the question, whether the tax for Dover haven should be continued by force of the statute; which was threepence a ton for the burden of every ship. One member, Mr. Swale, objected, that the charge amounted

[k] Townshend, fol. 299.

to at least a thousand marks a year, yet the haven was never the better; and that it was grown a proverbial wish of any tax, that it would not continue like that of Dover haven. But Mr. John Boys shewed the conveniency of this haven, and how many hundred pounds worth of stones were ready to repair it: sir John Fortescue also observed, what large ships of burden it would receive; how necessary it is for the passage of all merchants: as also that the tax was small, and the time might be, when it would need a great tax at one time. Lastly, Mr. Comptroller having likewise expressed how imprudent it was to take away this tax, now they were debating how to defend themselves from the Dunkirkers, which would weaken the most necessary haven of England, sir Walter Ralegh was more particular in these words: "There are divers havens which have been "famous, and now are grown to decay, as Tinmouth, Sea-"ton, and Winchelsey; Rye is of little receipt; Sandwich "(as a burgess of that town, Mr. Peak, said this parlia-"ment) is even a going. The tax being employed as it "should be, I hold it both good and necessary; and there "is no trade of fishermen to Newfoundland, but by this "haven of Dover; which, if the tax be taken away, and "that go to decay, her majesty shall lose one of the best "and most necessary havens of England, which hath all the "commodities that Mr. Comptroller shewed, and lies oppo-"site to all our enemies' countries, who may soon be with "us, and we not able to resist them, or help ourselves, "should we want this haven. I think it therefore fit this "matter should be considered of and committed:" and so it was [1].

For the tax to repair Dover-haven.

[1] Idem, fol. 309. See further on this subject, sir Walter Ralegh's Memorial to queen Elizabeth, touching the port of Dover; being a brief discourse, declaring how honourable and profitable to her majesty, and how necessary and commodious for the realm, the making of Dover haven shall be, and in what sort; with how little charge and great perfection the same may be accomplished: printed in a pamphlet, entitled, An Essay on Ways and Means to maintain the honour and safety of England, &c. published by sir Henry Sheers, knt. 4to. 1701. There was a certificate, touching Dover haven, from Mr. William Borough, author of several other maritime discourses, in a volume of sir Francis Walsingham's State-Papers, relating to the navy, fol. 216. as I find in his Table-book of their contents, before mentioned, p. 41.

The 12th of December was read, the third time, a bill for the more diligent resort to church on Sundays, which produced several speeches in the house. The recusants were very numerous at this time, no less than fifteen hundred in Yorkshire, as Dr. Bennet affirmed, which might be one reason for now urging this bill; but those, who were no ways popishly inclined, perceived several insufferable defects in it; as Mr. John Bond, who, among other arguments, was not for exposing the ecclesiastical authority among their enemies, as more impotent than a twelvepenny fine. At last there was a proviso added to it, "That if "any man came eight times a year to church, and said the "usual divine service twice every Sunday and holyday in "his house, with his whole family, that should be a suffi-"cient dispensation." But the bill, weak enough of itself, was overthrown by this conjunction, after sir Walter Ralegh had shewed, "That all the churchwardens of every "shire must come to the assizes, to give information to the "grand jury. Say then there be a hundred and twenty "parishes in a shire, there must now come extraordinarily "two hundred and forty churchwardens; and say, that "but two in a parish offend in a quarter of a year, that "makes four hundred and eighty persons (with the offend-"ers) to appear: what great multitudes this will bring to-"gether! what quarrelling and danger may happen, be-"sides giving authority to a mean churchwarden! how "prejudicial this may be!" with divers other reasons against it, and instances of the ambiguities and equivocations in it: and as for the proviso newly added, "it was a plain tole-"ration from coming to church; and the parson could not "prevent or constrain any, if they read service at home." Hereupon it was put to the question, and the house was divided; the yeas went forth, and were a hundred and five, and the noes within were a hundred and six: so it was thrown out by one voice. But the yeas urging they had the speaker's voice, which would make it even; this grew a question, whether he had a vote? Sir Edward Hobby thought he had one; but sir Walter Ralegh argued, "that "he was foreclosed of his voice, by taking that place which

Against the defects in the sabbath bill.

" it had pleased them to impose upon him; and that he was " to be indifferent for both parties;" withal shewed, " that " by the old order of the house the bill was lost:" the speaker himself confirmed his observation, and confessed, he had not, by custom, any vote. Then Mr. Boyer, secretary to the lord-treasurer Buckhurst, would have retrieved it, by suggesting there was some foul play; declaring, a member was pulled back by the sleeve at going out, and charged Mr. Dale of the Middle Temple: to which sir Walter Ralegh answered, in a humorous manner, " Why, " if it please you, it is a small matter to pull one by the " sleeve, for so I have done myself oftentimes;" which, though a familiar phrase for checking or reproving one's self for any weakness or error, yet a very disingenuous and incongruous construction was forced upon it by the comptroller and Cecil; as if, " large was his conscience, or very " flexible, that, in a matter of this consequence, would be " drawn backwards or forwards by the sleeve." Ralegh took no notice of them, and the speaker being allowed to have no voice, the bill was thrown up, and they took their leave of it. Besides the speeches Ralegh made in parliament, which we have thus drawn together, as far as they are upon record, he appears in the committees of many other bills, and in several conferences with the lords, as may be seen in the journal books of both houses; but being only mentioned in general, we need not here be so particular as to recite them: therefore shall only observe, that the commons, having granted the queen a liberal subsidy, and her majesty given her royal assent to nineteen public and ten private acts, this last parliament, in her reign, was dissolved on the 19th of December.

In the beginning of the year 1602, Mr. Carew's Dedication of his Survey of Cornwall is dated, as was before intimated; wherein that author has, with such energy, copied forth the most amiable distinctions of Ralegh's mind: this agreeable picture thereof, and the many other noble attitudes in which we have seen it displayed, have made me inquisitive what portraitures remained of his person, that we His picture.

might better judge of the correspondence between them; how well, in one aspect, the sprightliness of genius consorted with the solidity of judgment; how well, in one figure, the roughness of war, with the splendour and magnificence of courts. I have, at last, had the satisfaction of seeing these characters united in that portrait of sir Walter Ralegh, still remaining with the descendants of his family [m]. It is a half length, representing him in the silver armour before mentioned, and richly adorned in the skirts, the sword and belt with diamonds, rubies, and pearls. It seems, by the darkness and fulness of the hair, with the freshness and clearness of the countenance, to have been the picture of him before his Guianian expedition above related; but the inscription, upon another very old draught in the same posture and habit, mentions his government of Jersey [n]. Further to describe this piece here will be needless, since it is now brought into sculpture by an excellent hand, and ready to be made public. Another painting I have also seen of him, and this is at full length; probably an original. It agrees very well with the foregoing, in the form of the face and colour of the hair and beard; at least as far as may be expected from the hands of different artists, some alteration perhaps by repairs, and some difference of years in the object; whereby he seems, in this last, more ruddy and tanned than the other. For, by the inscription thereon, partly still legible, it appears that this picture was painted in this last year of the queen, above mentioned: and that his son Walter, who is likewise here drawn by him, was then eight years of age. Further, in this picture the stature of sir Walter Ralegh measures about six feet, is well shaped, and not too slender: he is apparelled in a white satin pinked vest, close-sleeved to the wrist, and over the body of it a brown doublet, finely flowered and embroidered with pearl; his belt of the same colour and ornament, in

[m] It is in the possession of captain William Elwes, nephew of the lady Elwes, great grandaughter of sir Walter Ralegh; and to that gentleman we are obliged for the liberty of bringing the same into print.

[n] Among the collections of his grace the duke of Dorset, at Knowle in Kent.

which hangs his sword; and on the other side, over the right hip, is seen the pommel of his dagger. In his hat, which he has on, is a little black feather, with a large ruby and pearl-drop at the bottom of the sprig in place of the button. His trunks or breeches, with his stockings and ribbon-garters, fringed at the end, are all white; and buff shoes, tied with white ribbons. His son, standing under his left elbow, is fair, and prettily featured; dressed in a blue silk jacket and trowsers, guarded down with narrow silver galloon; stockings blue, and white shoes; gloves in the right hand, hat or cap in the left, and a silver sword by his side[o]. A year before this, the lady Ralegh's picture was also painted, as appears by the date upon it. It is a half-length, like the first, but painted on board; a high finished piece, in the laboured manner of those times, by some masterly hand; has been well kept, and is doubtless an original. It represents her a fair handsome woman, turned perhaps of thirty. She has on a dark-coloured hanging-sleeve robe, tufted on the arms; and under it a close-bodied gown of white satin, flowered with black, with close sleeves down to her wrist; has a rich ruby in her ear, bedropped with large pearls; a laced whisk rising above the shoulders; her bosom uncovered, and a jewel hanging thereon; with a large chain of pearl round her neck, down to her waist[p]. These are all the paintings I have seen of them, that I can count authentic, or most likely to bear any true resemblance; but have been credibly informed of a picture of sir Walter Ralegh, in miniature, taken not long before his death; and another at large, representing him also in a white suit, which he had, beset with jewels, to the value of threescore thousand pounds; and that one diamond thereof, worth a hundred pounds, remained in the family till the beginning of the late queen's reign. In this

His son's.

And his lady's.

His rich apparel.

[o] This picture of sir Walter and his son did belong to the Carews of Beddington, whence, by marriage with a daughter of the late sir Stephen Leonard, baronet, it was removed to West Wickham in Kent; near which place, at a gentleman's seat, where there is a copy that was taken from it, I lately saw it.

[p] This also remains with captain Elwes, before mentioned.

picture there is a ribbon-garter, fringed at the ends, tied about his left arm. This, according to the tradition that remains in his family, was his lady's, (otherwise might be thought one of the queen's favours at the Tilt-yard,) which he brought one morning, when he was obliged to attend her majesty early, as a token, that, for despatch, he had rode a hundred and twenty miles since he took leave of her late the night before. But such a number of jewels, which might be called extravagance in others, was no expense to sir Walter Ralegh, who had many other kinds of treasure, as well as this in Spanish prizes, or otherwise in traffic with foreign nations; and as for his stately appearance in, by wearing of them upon some special occasions, it is not only confirmed by circumstances, in part before mentioned, but also by some authors, who are not expected to take notice of it with great commendation: yet the Jesuit Drexelius might perhaps have found more dazzling examples to dress out his Dialogue upon Attire, nearer the time he wrote it [q], and to have paralleled with the Roman emperors he produces, than Ralegh; even though sir Walter might, upon some great assemblies at court, have his very shoes bedecked with precious stones, that exceeded the value of six thousand six hundred pieces of gold, as that author relates [r]. All I think here further observable upon the pictures of sir Walter Ralegh is, that after so many which may be called

[q] As lord Hay and others in king James's reign, but above all the duke of Buckingham, with whom it was common, at an ordinary dancing, to have his clothes trimmed with great diamond buttons, and to have diamond hatbands, cockades, and earrings; to be yoked with great and manifold ropes and knots of pearl; in short, to be manacled, fettered, and imprisoned in jewels; insomuch, that, "at his going over to Paris in "1625, he had twenty-seven suits of "clothes made, the richest that em-"broidery, lace, silk, velvet, silver, "gold, and gems could contribute: "one of which was a white uncut vel-"vet, set all over, both suit and cloak, "with diamonds, valued at fourscore "thousand pounds, besides a great "feather stuck all over with dia-"monds; as were also his sword, "girdle, hatband, and spurs." This from a MS. in the Harleian library. B. H. 90. C. 7. fol. 642.

[r] His words are, "Gualterus "Raiolæus, ille apud Anglicanam "Cleopatram nimis gratiosus homo, "visus est in aula crepidas gestare "ita gemmis distinctas, ut 6600, hoc "est, sex millium sexcentorum au-"reorum, et amplius, æstimarentur. "Vide Trismegistus Christianus: "seu triplex cultus, conscientiæ, cæ-"litum, corporis." Authore Hieremia Drexelio. Duaci 8vo. 1633. lib. 3. cap. 10. sect. 5. p. 469.

genuine, and many more pretended to be so, still in being, there have been such frequent occasions of engraving his effigies for his books; yet we have never had, till now, more than two sculptures, which can pretend to have been taken from any paintings; that even these are different from any above described; and that all the rest of the copper prints we have of him, whereof near half a score might be reckoned, are copies only from the last of those two [s].

Among the rest of the particulars we shall briefly relate of sir Walter Ralegh in this last year of the queen's reign, a voyage, which he now set out for the supply of his colony in Virginia, is principally to be remembered. For though he had made an assignment of his patent to other undertakers, as is before observed; yet they making no successful progress, he was so regardful of the English he had planted there, that he sent to them almost every other year, even from the time of the said assignment. For, besides the five

[s] Of these two sculptures or prints of sir Walter Ralegh, the first is an extraordinary rarity; insomuch, that many virtuosi and antiquaries, who have searched after, and collected the graved heads of eminent persons, for many years together, have not so much as ever heard of it: the felicity and the favour are therefore the greater, that I have been obliged with the sight of it by general Dormer, who has procured a fresh and fair impression of it from France into his choice and costly collections; for it is a French piece, in the octavo size, and graved by Thomas Leau, an artist, who was encouraged by some of our nobility in these times for the excellence of his hand. It represents him in a close-bodied silk coat, laced; agrees pretty well in the features with those before described, especially the high forehead and cornering up of the hair above the right temple. It has a compartment or group at the bottom, displaying his victory over the fleet in the bay of Cadiz; yet, in the large Latin inscription, expressing his titles and offices of command, there is mention made of his government of Jersey: so I conclude it was graved between his preferment thereto, and the queen's death. The other print of him is that which we see prefixed to most of the editions of his History of the World, whether to the first edition I am not yet certain, the oldest that I have seen being among the heads annexed to Henry Holland's Basilogia, was graved by Simon Pass in the year 1617, representing him in a close-bodied suit, thickly laced; a full laced ruff and truncheon in his hand: also when he was more aged and corpulent, than we see him in any of those before mentioned. By the visible erasement of a long inscription that was at the bottom, for the substitution of that which is more brief, the plate should seem to have been graved before that year; but by the truncheon in his hand, not till he had his command as general for his last expedition; yet, being probably taken from some authentic painting, it lay most ready to be copied, when any print was wanting for his lesser works. This is all I shall here observe upon the pictures of sir Walter Ralegh; and for much of this we are obliged to the knowledge and industry of the ingenious Mr. Vertue.

The number of voyages he set forth to Virginia.

voyages before epitomised, which himself chiefly was at the expense of, for the first plantation of Virginia, we are well informed of five voyages more; which, since those, he set forth thither[t] for the relief of his countrymen, as well as for further discoveries of those parts, and alliance with the people; and that the last of these voyages, under the command of captain Samuel Mace, was made this year. In all which, sir Walter Ralegh might very well have disbursed forty thousand pounds, as was before observed; since, in a French author (lately come to hand) I have found the two first voyages only to Virginia cost him and his friends threescore thousand crowns[u]: yet were not the English so securely established in this most promising plantation, as sir Walter Ralegh would have had them; for, from the short account we have of this last voyage, and other circumstances, we may observe the said colony was much impaired by the barbarous Indians, as indeed Ralegh's purse seems also to have been by these frequent communications to it. Nor was it without much blood, as well as money, that this settlement was at last fixed by the succeeding undertakers in the next reign: and all owing to the want of that timely and competent assistance from the queen or state, whereby the

[t] See an excellent discourse upon the benefits that may grow to England by American plantations, entitled, Virginia's Verger; in Purchas's Pilgrims, vol. 4.

[u] This particular I find in that scarce book mentioned before in this Life, fol. 34. entitled, l'Histoire Notable de la Floride, &c. 8vo. Paris, 1586, dedicated by M. Basanier, an eminent mathematician, "A illustre "et vertueuse seigneur Walter Ra-"legh, chevalier Anglois," &c. That editor, in this dedication, expressing, among other commendations, the laudable and unshaken constancy wherewith Ralegh persevered in advancing the honour and profit of his country, instances, as most evident and fresh in memory, "Les deux voy-"ages faits depuis deux ans ença, "par vos vaisseaux, vers les parties "occidentales; où vous et aucuns "de vos amys n'avez moins employé "de soixante mille escus." This dedication is followed with some Latin verses on sir Walter Ralegh, by Johannes Auratus, the French king's poet and interpreter of the Greek tongue, an epigram in Latin, and an anagram upon sir Walter Ralegh's name, in French, by Martin Basanier: and lastly, another Latin poem, in praise of those who had made discoveries in the new world, by Richard Hakluyt, then in France; from all which it will appear, how highly sir Walter Ralegh was distinguished by his said contemporaries among and even above the preceding discoverers of unknown countries. For the sight and use of this scarce treatise among others, as well as several curious observations relating to sir Walter Ralegh, I must acknowledge myself much beholden to the rare library and courteous communications of sir Hans Sloane.

most worthy attempts for the public good were even in these, as well as other times, so generally starved. But Ralegh afterwards gave some emphatical reasons for this unhappiness; whence we may evidently perceive, it was to the queen's consulting so much, and relying upon the persuasions of her scribes, men unexperienced in all warlike or adventurous enterprises, narrow domestic politicians, or mere courtiers, who were most constant at her ear, that she so frequently did things by halves[x], as well in conquests and discoveries, as in rewards and preferments, especially of military men[y]. Thus those speculative counsellors, though they could not hinder brave and active spirits from budding out into noble beginnings, of most hopeful benefit to the commonwealth; yet could, by stopping the channel of supplies or encouragements, blight them from advancing to any fruitful or profitable conclusions; and this, only to bring down those of superior service and merit to a level with themselves.

Whether the expense of those voyages was the cause of sir Walter Ralegh's selling, about this time, his estate, or some part of it, in Ireland, is not so expressly told us, as that it was become less advantageous to him since the late rebellion in that kingdom. But we find, that a little before sir George Carew, now president of Munster, took the castle of Carrigfoyl Kerry, Mr. Richard Boyle (afterwards earl of

[x] Sir Walter Ralegh's discourse, touching a marriage between prince Henry of England and a daughter of Savoy, fol. MS. p. 14.

[y] "That her majesty, in her advancement of her men of war," says sir Walter Ralegh, "did sooner believe other men than herself; a disease unto which many wise princes beside herself have been subject: I say, that such a confidence, although it may seem altogether to excuse her noble nature, yet can it not, but in some sort, accuse her of weakness. And exceeding strange it were, were not the cause manifest enough, that where the prosperous actions are so exceedingly prized, the actors are so unprosperous and neglected. The cause, I say, which hath wrought one and the same effect in all times, and among all nations, is this; that those who are nearest the person of princes (which martial men seldom are) can with no good grace commend, or at least magnify, a profession far more noble than their own; seeing therein, they should only remind their masters of the wrong they did unto others, in giving less honour and reward to men of far greater deserving, and of far greater use, than themselves." History of the World, lib. 5. cap. 6. sect. 2.

Cork) not only bought a ship of sir Walter Ralegh's, called the Pilgrim, but soon after the said president conquered Bere-haven castle, he, having advised the said Mr. Boyle to buy also sir Walter's lands in Munster, sent him into England with two letters; the one to secretary Cecil, giving an account of Mr. Boyle's abilities, desired that he would introduce him to sir Walter Ralegh, and recommended him to this great man, says my author, as a proper purchaser of his said lands; the other letter was written by sir George Carew, to sir Walter Ralegh himself, acquainting him that the bearer was capable of making the purchase; and that he thought he might be willing to dispose of it, since the management thereof, in those turbulent times, gave him a great deal of trouble, and the income it produced was very inconsiderable: so, after a meeting, the bargain was struck up, and conveyances executed. These lands soon after, in the peaceable times, became a great estate to Mr. Boyle: and this purchase, as he afterwards gratefully remembered in the memoirs he wrote of his own life when he was earl of Cork, "was the third addition and rise to his estate[z]."

Sells his estate in Ireland.

Settles his estate in England.

As for the estate at Sherborne, it appears he now settled it upon his son Walter; and that the deeds were drawn in Midsummer, this present year, for so we have it from his own words[a]. This settlement, as I understand it, was of the remainder of the lease for ninety-nine years: for though the bishop of Sarum, Dr. Henry Cotton, had the last year assigned over to the queen the fee and inheritance also of the said premises, and her majesty granted the same by her

[z] See an extract of the said memoirs, in the Life of the late earl of Orrery, by Eustace Budgell, esq. 8vo. 1732. p. 13, 18, 19. But it seems the said earl of Cork was afterwards sadly plundered of his great estate; for, at the breaking out of the civil wars, he wrote these words in a letter to another nobleman. "Thus your lordship sees in what "miserable condition we are fighting, night and day, to preserve our-"selves and our castles; for all we "had without doors is lost; and "poor I, that, besides my house, de-"mesnes, parks, iron-works, fish-"ings, and other commodities, had "a revenue of fifty pounds per diem, "cannot now truly say that I have "fifty pounds per annum in certain "revenue." Thus in the earl of Cork's letter to the lord Newbourgh, chancellor of the exchequer in Ireland, MS. in the Harleian library, B. H. 90. C. 7. fol. 706.

[a] Sir Walter Ralegh's letter to his lady, anno 1603, in his Remains, (last edition, 12mo. 1726.) p. 194.

letters patent to sir Walter Ralegh before her death, yet he did not make them over to his son till the seventh year of her successor [b]. The reason of settling his estate upon his son at this time appears also to have risen from a challenge, which he had lately received from sir Amias Preston, (who had been knighted at Cadiz by the earl of Essex since we last spoke of him,) and which Ralegh says himself "he intended to answer [c]." The cause of their quarrel I never could meet with in print or manuscript; yet conceive Ralegh had good reason on his side, because he afterwards shewed publicly himself how deliberate he was in his preparations for it, by sorting his writings, and how resolved, by settling his estate [d]. But from what excellent hands soever Dr. Fuller received his information, that, upon some distaste, sir Amias sent Ralegh this challenge; we may be pretty certain from what Ralegh has mentioned, that the said information, or this author's account of it, is erroneous, where he adds, "that sir Walter declined it." Indeed, I agree he might do so, "without any abatement to his valour, "wherein he had abundantly satisfied all possibility of sus-"picion, and with great advancement of his judgment; for "having," continues Fuller, "a fair and fixed estate, with "wife and children, [child, he should have said,] being a "privy-counsellor, [here he mistakes again,] and lord-warden "of the stannaries:" my said author thinks, "sir Walter "looked upon it as an uneven lay to stake himself against "sir Amias, a private and single person, though of good "birth and courage, yet of no considerable estate [e]." But if Ralegh did accept of the challenge, as it appears plainly he did, when he might have had such fair reasons of evasion, those inequalities in Preston will either prove sir Walter a generous adversary, or that the injury he received from sir Amias was indispensable. Now this representation

In a challenge.

[b] The case of Carew Ralegh, esq. at the committee for sale of delinquents' estates, MS. from the collections of the reverend Mr. Thomas Baker, of St. John's college, Cambridge.

[c] See the Trial of sir Walter Ralegh.

[d] Idem.

[e] Fuller's Worthies of England in Somersetshire.

seems to have been officiously and unnecessarily shaped to make Ralegh's actions conformable with his writings; "for," continues our said author, "this is consonant to what he "has written so judiciously about duels, condemning those "for ill honours where the hangman gives the garland[f]." However, they were afterwards reconciled, as Fuller concludes; and, upon the whole, sir Walter Ralegh seems to have shewn a much more creditable conduct herein, than sir Francis Vere a little while before had done in the difference between him and a certain nobleman[g].

But here we are no longer to take notice of such open adversaries; for now, in the very close of this year, on the 24th of March, ends the long reign of glorious Elizabeth, and now sets the sun of Ralegh's external honour and felicity; yet, like that ever active planet, will shine resplendently to the heavens, when he is clouded or eclipsed to mankind. How he fell into this eclipse, record, the only or greatest luminary of time past, does but dimly or doubtfully discover. All we can do is diligently to assemble every unextinguished spark which darts any light this way; then see if they will afford that guidance to the truth, by being congregated, which they have not yet been observed to yield asunder. And first, we may remember to have before read of the prepossessions which Essex is affirmed to have instilled unto king James against Ralegh; and, after the earl's death, there are several circumstances implying

Circumstances preliminary to his fall.

[f] This curious and copious digression against duels, which that author alludes to, is in sir Walter Ralegh's History of the World, lib. 5. cap. 3. sect. 17. §. 2. Sir Walter has also, in his Instructions to his Son, written a chapter against Private Quarrels; in which he no less wisely than bravely says, "Thou shalt be in as much "danger in contending with a "brawler in a private quarrel, as in "a battle, wherein thou mayest get "honour to thyself, and safety to "thy prince and country; but, if "thou be once engaged, carry thy-"self bravely, that they may fear "thee after." And a little further, "I would not have thee, for any re-"spect, lose thy reputation, or en-"dure public disgrace; for better it "were not to live, than to live a "coward, if the offence proceed not "from thyself; if it does, it shall be "better to compound it upon good "terms, than to hazard thyself; for, "if thou overcome, thou art under "the cruelty of the law; if thou "art overcome, thou art dead or dis-"honoured," &c.

[g] See the earl of Northumberland's challenge, sent to sir Francis Vere, with a narrative of the whole proceedings upon it, in the Cottonian library, Titus c. IV. 3.

that Cecil did the like. For though Cecil and Ralegh joined against Essex and his faction; yet, when these were overthrown, they divided, and seemed to have had a trial of skill with one another. And one author says, that "Ra-"legh, wanting strength, though not wit, to be the trea-"surer's rival, perished, because not thought to own hu-"mility enough to be his servant; it being more safe at "court to have many enemies of equal power, than one "false ambitious friend that has attained to the absolute-"ness of command[h]." In short, Cecil seems to have used those arts of insinuation with king James before his coming into England, to which Ralegh could not bend himself. That he then held clandestine correspondences with Scotland, is apparent from that story in sir Henry Wotton, who tells us, "that her majesty, taking the air on Blackheath, "attended by Cecil when the post rode by; and hearing "he came from Scotland, she called for his packet: Cecil, "though he knew it contained letters, which, to discover, "were as so many serpents, yet, making more show of dili-"gence than doubt, to obey, called in great haste for a "knife, to rip it up; but, approaching at some distance "with it, he told the queen it looked and smelled so ill fa-"vouredly, coming out of the filthy budget, that it must "needs be aired first, because he knew how offensive ill "scents were to her majesty: so got opportunity to separate "what he would not have seen[i]," and she smelt nothing of the matter. One talent above the rest Cecil was not wanting in to recommend him to this new sovereign; and this was such a faculty of discovering plots, as if he thought he should be looked on as useless without them. "For," as a noble author observes, "it seemed as necessary for him "that there should be treasons, as for the state that they "should be prevented. And though he created none, yet "he fomented some conspiracies, that he might give fre-"quent evidences of his loyalty; having not the advantage

[h] See the miscellaneous works of Francis Osborne, esq. the eleventh edit. 1722. vol. 2. p. 75. in his political deductions from the history and death of the earl of Essex.

[i] Sir Henry Wotton's Parallel, &c.

"of others in person to gain estimation, therefore did it by "these eminent services[k]:" and as for king James, he was so apprehensive, so susceptible of such impressions, that, when he was but crossed or disturbed in his sports, he would charge people with treason: nay, we are particularly told by those who were otherwise friends to his memory, that his carver, once at table, giving him accidentally a nick on the finger, (as he was routing in the dish,) his majesty, at the sight of his own blood, could not forbear calling out treason; and that Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, was wont to make himself merry with this expression: and all this instanced by my said author, to shew, that for any clamour of this kind king James's word was no slander[l]. But more directly to our purpose, there is another writer, who, making some critical inquiry into the preliminaries of sir Walter's fall, says, "Sir Robert Cecil, principal secre-"tary of state, fearing the great abilities of Ralegh, and "being wearied with the troublesome impertinences of Gray "and Cobham, all which had joined with him in design "against the earl of Essex, their common enemy; had done "their errand to king James (whose counsels he desired to "engross to himself alone) before his coming into Eng-"land[m]." And when the king was arrived, there was matter enough to exasperate Cecil against Ralegh, if, through any design of recrimination, sir Walter did present to his majesty a memorial; wherein "he reflected heavily upon "Cecil in the matter of Essex; and vindicating himself, "threw the whole blame upon the other: further laying "open (at the end thereof) the conduct of Cecil and his "father also, in the matter of the queen of Scots, (his ma-

[k] Earl of Clarendon's Disparity, &c.

[l] See the Regal Apology: or, the Declaration of the Commons, &c. canvassed; wherein every objection, and their whole charge against his majesty, is cleared, and for the most part retorted, 4to. 1648, p. 24. where that instance of king James's fearfulness above related is mentioned, to clear king Charles for continuing Buckingham in favour, after king James had charged the increase of his last fatal illness to Buckingham's applying a plaster, and administering a posset-drink to him.

[m] Dr. Peter Heylin's Examen Historicum: or, a Discovery and Examination of the mistakes, falsities, and defects in some modern histories, 8vo. 1659. in his animadversions on Fuller's Church History, p. 170.

"jesty's mother,) bitterly charging the death of this unfor-
"tunate queen upon them. However," says my author,
"this had no influence over the king, and only irritated Ce-
"cil the more against Ralegh [n]." But what seems sufficient to have incensed the king also against Ralegh, was his being of that party, who, in regard of the inveterate feuds between England and Scotland, desired the king might be obliged to articles; "for," as another writes, "among these "noble and public spirits, were sir John Fortescue, sir "Walter Ralegh, the lord Cobham, &c. all frowned upon "after by the king, who had yet the luck to live so long as "to change his opinion, and wish the number of his country-"men had been limited, and they not suffered, like locusts, "to devour this kingdom [o]." There were not wanting still other particulars, which might render Ralegh obnoxious to a man of the king's jealous disposition; "for he had (at the "time of his majesty's accession to the throne) the daughter "and heir of Basset to his ward, who was to be married to "his son Walter, her estate worth three thousand pounds "per annum; but she was (after his condemnation, we "suppose) taken from him, and married to Mr. Henry "Howard, who died suddenly at table; and she was after-"wards married to the earl of Newcastle, who professed he "would never have wedded her, if young Walter Ralegh "had been alive; conceiving her, before God, to be his "wife, for they were married as much as children could "be [p]." Now these Bassets, as we find elsewhere, were those of Umberlegh and Heanton-court in Devonshire; who, being descended from the Plantagenets, laid some

[n] Dr. Welwood's notes on Arthur Wilson's history of king James, in the second volume of that collection, which is called Dr. Kennet's Complete History of England, fol. 1706, p. 664; and in a note on the preceding page, the doctor tells us, that memorial of Ralegh's to the king against Cecil above mentioned is spoken of in a manuscript written by one Buck, secretary to chancellor Egerton.

[o] Francis Osborne's Trad. Memorials of the reign of king James, in the second volume of his works, p. 102.

[p] Observations on some particular persons and passages, in a book lately made public, (by William Sanderson,) entitled, a Complete History of the lives and reigns of Mary queen of Scotland, and her son James the sixth of Scotland and first of England, &c. by a Lover of Truth, 4to. 1656. p. 12.

claim at this very time of the king's entrance to the crown of England[q]. But whatever discountenance Ralegh might receive at his first meeting of the king, in his journey from Scotland[r], whence he set out on the 5th of April, 1603, and arrived at Theobalds, which was Cecil's seat, on the 3d of May, and at London four days after; it seems not to have amounted to a peremptory dismission from his majesty's service or presence: for we are told, "the king used "Ralegh for some weeks with great kindness, and was "pleased to acknowledge divers presents which he had re-"ceived from him being in Scotland; for which he gave "him thanks. But, finding him a martial man, addicted "to foreign affairs and great actions, he feared lest he "should engage him in a war[s]." That Ralegh was in company with the king; and that some of his conversation turned upon this subject we have from his own words, where he says, "I offered his majesty, at my uncle Carew's, "to carry two thousand men to invade the Spaniards with-"out the king's charge[t]." And this agrees with his writing a discourse, which he did or intended to deliver to his majesty against the peace with Spain now in treaty, which

His writings against the peace with Spain.

[q] "Sir Robert Basset, by his "grandmother, descended from the "Plantagenets, and of the blood "royal, in the beginning of king "James's reign, made some preten-"sions to the crown of England; "but, not being able to make them "good, was forced to fly into France "to save his head; to compound for "which, together with his generous "way of living, he greatly exhausted "his estate, selling off no less than "thirty manors of land; though "there is now a fair estate belong-"ing to the heir of the family." Prince's Worthies of Devon, fol. 114. See also Wood's Ath. Oxon. vol. 1. col. 366.

[r] Sir Richard Baker's Chronicle. Also sir John Hawles, in his Reply to the magistracy and government of England, vindicated, &c. fol. 1689. more expressly says, "Cobham and "Ralegh were not permitted to come "at the king, upon his journey into "England, and had word sent them, "they might spare their labour." But Stow says, when the king came towards York, his train increased by such numbers of gentlemen from the south, as made provision so dear, that he was fain to publish an inhibition against the inordinate access: so that many were stopped in their way. Thus perhaps the countermand might not be particular of any person; however some, as we see, apply it to Ralegh, as others have also done to Cobham; affirming, the king checked him for his absence from his charge at that dangerous time, being then lord-warden of the Cinque-ports. Dr. Heylin as before.

[s] A brief relation of sir Walter Ralegh's troubles, &c. 4to. 1669. p. 1. A scarce tract in the Harleian library, B. H.

[t] Sir Walter Ralegh's Remains, the last edit. 12°. 1726. p. 190.

seems to be the same that was a hundred years afterwards published by his grandson [u]. Herein he advised his majesty to protect the Netherlands; "for," says he, "a poor "neighbour's house set on fire, is to be better guarded or "watched, than a great city afar off." Herein he persuades the king to deliberate, and not come to a hasty conclusion of peace with the Spaniards; "for, when the house is built, "it is ill mending the foundation." Herein he says, "I dare "not write all I desire; for I know not to whose hands "these may come. This I beseech your majesty to know, "that it proceeds from an humble and a faithful heart, "which your majesty cannot beat from the love of your "royal person and good estate [x]." And lastly, I shall observe, that herein he also mentions another discourse, "how "war may be made against Spain and the Indies; which I "will," says he, "also present your majesty, if you will "vouchsafe the reading thereof [y]:" but this, I think, has never appeared in print. The former of these discourses is humbly and discreetly addressed with variety of arguments and observations from his own knowledge and experience; also strengthened with many historical examples of foreign countries, and political maxims or sentences from the ancient classics: all which he had plentifully at command in any topic he undertook to write, or even speak of: such the extensiveness of his remarks and his reading; such the felicity of his memory and talents of application. But, if reason would have prevailed, it was not wanting also from other hands; so that sir Walter Ralegh was not singular in his dissuasions of the king, but had the satisfaction of seeing foreigners, as well as his own countrymen, subscribe to his sentiments [z]; and the lord Henry Howard, though other-

[u] Being one of the three discourses of sir Walter Ralegh, published by Philip Ralegh, esq. 8vo. 1702.

[x] So in a MS. of this discourse, with which I have been favoured by a noble hand; but the latter part of the period is wanting in the printed copy, p. 45.

[y] Idem, p. 26.

[z] The learned Dominicus Baudius, among his poems, reprinted at Leyden, 8vo. 1607, has one elaborately written to king James against this peace. At the end of his epistles also, reprinted at Amsterd. 8vo. 1642. p. 523. there is a long oration by this author to that prince on the same subject. And at home, besides

wise brought into the court-measures, yet could not, it seems, consent to these of a general pacification; therefore was, as well as Ralegh, excluded from the benefit of those rich presents, which the marquis of Rosny, ambassador from France, made to all those courtiers who promoted the same; insomuch that Howard, being asked by the king how it happened he had not a jewel as well as the rest? answered, in allusion to Esop's fable, *Non sum gallus, itaque non reperi gemmam*[a]. The causes, which moved the king of Spain to sue for this peace, Ralegh did afterwards, with great perspicuity, lay open[b]; but his present opposition of it, and the consequences of that, seem to have been the hinges upon which his whole fortune now turned; I say, the most apparent cause to me of all those sorrows and sufferings which fill up the melancholy remains of his story. This unfortunate event, which he was above shunning, by trimming and temporising in a matter which he knew so highly concerned the honour and advantage of his country, he has himself so excellently accounted for, where he shews the ill success which attends such sincere conduct, and how prosperity is the fruit of slavish or hypocritical

others, a discourse against this peace with Spain was written, and dedicated by John Askham to his majesty, anno 1603. the MS. whereof is extant in the Harleian library, 35. C. 18.

[a] Lord Bacon's Apophthegms, new and old, p. 222.

[b] Ralegh lays down five reasons for the king of Spain's making this peace with England and the Netherlands: "as first, his having so exhausted his treasure, that he was no longer able to maintain the archduke's army. Secondly, the great interruption of his trade, and losses of his merchants, to the breaking of both his banks at Seville. Thirdly, his fear that the English and Netherlands would plant in the West Indies. Fourthly, to recruit his coffers, and enable himself to break into war again. Fifthly, that the English may decline, and forget the passages and pilotage to the West Indies, and their sea officers may be worn out; for, except a little trade for tobacco, there is not a ship that sails that way: and seeing the Spaniards may hang up the English, or put them to death by torments, as they do; and that the English dare not offend the Spaniards in those parts, a most notable advantage gotten in the conclusion of the peace! it is certain, that the English will give over that navigation to the infinite advantage of the Spanish king both present and future. For these causes of importance it was, that the catholic king sought the peace of England and the Netherlands; and so much all men of judgment discern." See these reasons more at large in sir Walter Ralegh's Dialogue between a Jesuit and a recusant, among the Genuine Remains, published at the end of an abridgement of his History of the World, by Philip Ralegh, esq. 8vo. 1700.

compliances[c]; that I could not, but from the said occasion of the greatest vicissitude in his life, form the introduction to this account of it.

Thus have we seen several circumstances, and these are all I have met with in this interval, whereby Ralegh might undesignedly and unluckily become disagreeable to a man

[c] In a curious discourse, where he learnedly and religiously reconciles fortune with reason and providence, Ralegh has these words. "But it "may be objected, that, if fortune "and chance were not sometimes "the causes of good and evil in men, "but an idle voice whereby we ex-"press success, how comes it then, "that so many worthy and wise "men depend upon so many un-"worthy and empty-headed fools? "that riches and honour are given "to external men, and without "kernel; and so many learned, vir-"tuous, and valiant men, wear out "their lives in poor and dejected "estates? In a word, there is no "other inferior or apparent cause, "besides the partiality of men's af-"fection, but the fashioning and not "fashioning ourselves according to "the nature of the times wherein "we live. For whosoever is most "able, and best sufficient to discern, "and has withal an honest and open "heart, and loving truth; if princes, "or those who govern, endure no "other discourse than their own "flatteries; then, I say, such a one, "whose virtue and courage forbids "him to be base, and a dissembler, "shall evermore hang under the "wheel; which kind of deserving "well, and receiving ill, we always "falsely charge fortune withal: for "whosoever shall tell any great man "or magistrate that he is not just; "the general of an army, that he is "not valiant; and great ladies, that "they are not fair; shall never be "made a counsellor, a captain, or a "courtier. Neither is it sufficient "to be wise with a wise prince, va-"liant with a valiant, and just with "him that is just; for such a one "has no estate in his prosperity; "but he must also change with the "successor, if he be of contrary "qualities; sail with the tide of the "time, and alter form and condi-"tion, as the state or state's master "changes: otherwise, how were it "possible that the most base men, "and separate from all imitable "qualities, could so often attain to "honour and riches, but by such an "observant slavish course?" A little further, having quoted out of Menander, "That every fool is won with "his own pride, and the flattering "applause of others;" he infers, "That whosoever will live altogether "out of himself, study other men's "humours, and observe them, shall "never be unfortunate. On the "contrary, that man who prizes "truth and virtue, except the season "wherein he lives be of these and "all sorts of goodness fruitful, shall "never prosper by the possession or "profession thereof." So, after other learned authorities and proper examples, concludes with the following ingenious allusions, "Whosoever "therefore will set before him Ma-"chiavel's two marks to shoot at, "riches and glory, must set on, and "take off, a back of iron to a weak "wooden bow, that he may fit both "the strong and the feeble. For as "he who first devised to add sails "to rowing vessels, did either so "proportion them, as, being fastened "aloft, and towards the head of his "mast, he might abide all winds "and storms, or else be some time "or other perished by his own inven-"tion: so that man who prizes "virtue for itself, and cannot en-"dure to hoist and strike sail, as "the divers natures of calms and "storms require, must cut his sails "and his cloth of mean length and "breadth, and content himself with "a slow and sure navigation; to "wit, a mean and free estate." Sir Walter Ralegh's History of the World, lib. 1. cap. 1. sect. 15.

of king James's temper; but, on the other side, little or nothing that could so inflame Ralegh against the king, as to make him run headlong into such violent conspiracies, as could only end in his own ruin. Suppose the king did discourage Ralegh's attendance upon him at his entrance, dislike his patent for wines, or removed him from the guards, to oblige sir Thomas Erskin, his countryman and favourite, whom he afterwards preferred to higher dignities; and this is all I have met with that could give offence on the king's part: will this be thought sufficient provocation for a man of Ralegh's reason and judgment, so tender of fame and reputation, so settled in family, so well situated in his fortune, no less than three thousand pounds a year, as was confessed at his trial, besides many other profitable, and I may say princely possessions on the seas, as well as the land, to plot commotions or insurrections; yet enervate himself for the execution of them, by resigning, as he says himself he did, his office of chiefest power, the wardship of the stannaries? Nay, further, to herd with a motley and disjointed crew of priests, also with professed enemies to himself, not to mention knaves and fools; and, on a sudden, resolve to turn rebel, ruffian, and cut-throat; to be the Coryphæus, to murder the king with his own hand, and all his innocent progeny! for this is the charge that the fertile pens of French writers have heaped upon him. Indeed, I was somewhat startled, when I read it in a history that bears the name and character of Thuanus, though I thought he might possibly come at it by ministerial direction to an English resident, till at last I found his author to be no other than one of his own countrymen, whom Camden, as I have before observed, has refuted in other passages that are even more credible. Now these tell over this desperate story thus. In the month of June sir Walter Ralegh, a man equally dexterous at consultation or action, says Thuanus, and famous for his memorable expeditions to the Indies, taking leave of his sister at London, entreated her to commend him to God in her prayers, for he was going to a place from whence he expected never to return. She, sus-

Accounts of his pretended treason.

pecting that he was going to fight a duel, with the same levity dispersed it among the ladies of her acquaintance, till the rumour came to court. Then Ralegh's friends and relations flocked about him to know this enterprise; he, apprehending himself detected, readily made a whole confession and discovery of the matter. The king was informed, and greatly astonished, but would needs have Ralegh before him, who, then asking his pardon, acknowledged, that seeing his majesty give more countenance to the Scots than the English, and had deprived him of his command in the guards, and that many great men expected, when he was established on the throne, he would be revenged for the death of his mother, he had therefore entered into a conspiracy with others, whom he named, to shed his royal blood; and that they had unanimously deputed him to be his majesty's executioner, when he rode a hunting. Hereupon the said conspirators were taken up and tried, as these authors proceed to relate [d]. If there had been any truth in this ridiculous story, which I think no one has before taken the pains to relate in English, that confession had neither escaped the attorney-general Coke at Ralegh's trial, when they were so lamely put to it to bring him in guilty without sufficient proof, nor king James's apologetical Declaration after Ralegh's death, in which his majesty and his council together have no less lamely offered weaker reasons for taking away his life, as will be fully represented in its proper place.

By our English accounts it appears there was somewhat of a plot, but it was never proved that Ralegh was engaged in it; however, his great enemy, the attorney-general Coke, affected to compare him with the conspirators, "to Samp-"son's foxes, which were joined in the tails, though their "heads were severed." What share he had in that plot may further be judged by the promotions which the conspi-

[d] Chronologie Septenaire de l'Histoire de la Paix entre les Roys de France et d'Espagne; par P. Victor Cayet. 8vo. Paris. 1605. p. 424. Also, l'unziesme tome du Mercure François: ou l'Histoire de nostre Temps. 8vo. Paris. 1626. p. 352. Also Thuanus, tom. 5. lib. 129. fol. 1056.

rators intended themselves upon the success of it; for whereas one was to be lord-chancellor, another lord-marshal, this lord-treasurer, that master of the horse, and the other secretary of state: how comes it, as one author well observes, that Ralegh, able to officiate any, had no office in the state assigned him[e]? But perhaps the best means to clear him may be the very trial by which he was condemned. It is too common, and too tedious, to be thought needful of transcribing it here at length; not to say so full of barbarous partiality and foul language, especially by Coke himself, that he was exposed for it upon the public theatre[f]; and those who revere the laws of our country have been so ashamed of it, as rather to wish the proceedings have been falsely related, than believe such a sentence could pass upon such unsufficient evidence. But the character of this trial, and of that attorney-general, I leave to others[g]; and shall here only, from the several copies or ac-

[e] Fuller's Church History, lib. 10.

[f] See Mr. Theobald's Shakspeare, 8vo. 1733. vol. 2. in the comedy called, The Twelfth-Night; act 3. p. 503.

[g] The learned and ingenious author of the preface to the collection of State Trials, in six volumes folio, having spoken of such counsel as are wont to press nothing illegal against the prisoner, or unreasonable, nor use any artifices to deprive him of his just defence, adds, "These will "appear in a different light from "those, who, with rude and boisterous language, abuse and revile "the unfortunate prisoner, who stick "not to take all advantages of him, "however hard and unjust, which "either his ignorance or the strict "rigour of the law may give them; "who, by force or stratagem, endeavour to disable him from making his defence; who browbeat his "witnesses as soon as they appear, "though ever so willing to declare "the whole truth; and do all they "can to put them out of countenance, "and confound them in delivering "their evidence, as if it were the "duty of their place to convict all "who are brought to trial, right or "wrong, guilty or not guilty; and "as if they, above all others, had a "peculiar dispensation from the "obligations of truth and justice. "Such methods as these should be "below men of honour, not to say "men of conscience; yet, in the perusal of this work, such persons "will too often arise to view: and I "could wish, for the credit of the "law, that that great oracle of it, "the lord chief justice Coke, had "given less reason to be numbered "among this sort." So, as a most notorious example, refers us to the trial of sir Walter Ralegh.

Another author before this, having shewn us with what temper and superior command sir Walter Ralegh behaved himself under all the scurrilities which the attorney-general threw upon him, goes on thus. "We have given the reader a taste "of the eloquence of the bar in that "reign, to shew how far the hopes "of places and preferment will sometimes carry men of sense and learning from reason and justice. This "Billingsgate way of arguing is the "more remarkable in a person of

counts of it I have met with, draw out a short regular narrative of the most material matters of fact, wherein Ralegh appears any way concerned; and it is as follows:

There was one Matthew de Laurencie, a merchant of Antwerp, attendant on count Aremberg, who now, about the beginning of June, came over ambassador extraordinary from Albert, archduke of Austria, to congratulate king James, and assist in composing the general peace. With this merchant the lord Cobham had held intelligence some years before, upon matters of state, with licence. Five days after Aremberg's arrival, that is to say, about the 9th of the same month, Cobham repaired to him with Laurencie, and that night Cobham supped with sir Walter Ralegh at Durham-house in the Strand; whereby Ralegh came to understand that Cobham had fresh negotiations with Aremberg; and was, as the chief of those who opposed the peace, offered a sum of money by Cobham to be

"the lord Coke's character, whose "writings are still oracles in West-"minster-hall; and scolding and "calling of names were commonly "the refuge of such wretched lawyers "as were the tools of a party; who, "having neither sense, law, nor "language on their side, thought to "supply the want of them with rail-"ing and impudence: which kind "of baiting and worrying of state "prisoners to death, by the king's "counsel, was revived by judge "Jefferies in king Charles and king "James II.'s reign; and it being "much easier to call a man rogue, "than to prove him so, the example "he set was followed by too many, "till the reverend bench of judges, "in the reign of king William and "our present sovereign queen Anne, "frowned upon that cruel practice, "and put an end to it." The Life of Sir Walter Ralegh, in Lives English and Foreign. 8vo. 1704. vol. 1. p. 124.

And before all this, even to Coke's own face, as much was objected, when he himself was humbled and fallen into disgrace, by one of his own acquaintance, who told him, "As your pleadings were wont to "insult over misery, and inveigh "bitterly against the person, so are "you still careless in this point, to "praise and disgrace upon slight "grounds, and that suddenly; so "that your reproofs or commenda-"tions are for the most part neg-"lected and contemned, when the "censure of a judge, coming slow, "but sure, should be a brand to the "guilty, and a crown to the virtuous. "You will jest at any man in public, "without respect to the person's "dignity or your own. This dis-"graces your gravity, more than it "can advance the opinion of your "wit; and so do all actions which "we see you do directly with a "touch of vain-glory. You make "the laws too much lean to your "opinion; whereby you shew your-"self to be a legal tyrant," &c. Thus in a letter admonitory to the lord Coke, MS. signed A. B. in a volume of State Letters, among the curious collections of the lord Coleraine, fol. 772. This letter is also printed in the Cabala, and an extract of it in Arthur Wilson's History of king James.

a promoter of it; though that offer, also made to Ralegh before Aremberg came[h], was afterwards pretended, as will appear, to have been for treasonable purposes. In the next month, those persons with whom Cobham transacted the conspiracy, or part of it, then on foot, were discovered; either by the Spanish faction, in revenge to Ralegh, the greatest enemy of Spain alive, thinking he was then too far hampered in or acquainted with it to escape; or by some one of the English conspirators, to secure himself: and when the lord Cecil (for he was lately made baron of Essenden) found, upon the first news of Anthony Copley, one of these conspirators, who was apprehended the 6th of July[i], that the king's person was to be surprised by the lord Grey of Wilton, and George Brook, brother to the lord Cobham, he suspected Cobham himself was in the secret; and Cobham's great intimacy with Ralegh at this time, who was now buying an estate for him, and settling his household affairs, drew Ralegh also into suspicion. Hereupon Cecil, meeting Ralegh upon Windsor terrace, tells him, "the "lords of the council had something to say to him:" so he was examined about the surprising treason, and particularly about Cobham, as appears from his own words[k], whom he fully cleared. After examination, Ralegh further said; "Whatsoever correspondence there was between Cobham "and Aremberg, Laurencie might be better able to give "account of it, therefore advised to the calling upon him;" though, as he further explained, "he knew of no intelli-"gence between them, but such as might be warranted[l]:" and that advice he wrote also in a letter to Cecil. When Ralegh returned from examination a private prisoner to his own house, Cobham sent to him to know what had passed; Ralegh writ an answer by captain Keymis, "that he was "examined, and had cleared him of all;" and Keymis bid Cobham "be of good comfort, for one witness could not "condemn him:" this precaution, to arm Cobham against

[h] The Arraignment of sir Walter Ralegh, printed in J. Shirley's Account of his Life. 8vo. 1677. p. 124.

[i] Stow's Annals, fol. 826.

[k] Arraignment, in Shirley's Life of sir Walter Ralegh, &c. p. 98.

[l] Idem, p. 110.

making discoveries, was, after his confession of it, objected against Ralegh; but he utterly denied that he sent any such verbal message[m]. Now when Cobham was brought to his examination at Richmond, one date whereof appears to have been July 18; and after he had, by a constant denial, cleared both himself and Ralegh of all that was questioned against them, Cobham was, by device, says my author, (in an epistolary narrative of his trial, at which he was present[n],) induced to think that Ralegh had first impeached and betrayed him. For that part of Ralegh's letter aforesaid to Cecil, referring the lords to Laurencie for Cobham's transactions with Aremberg, being shewed to Cobham, and accompanied, it seems, with such artful suggestions as were proper to inflame a man of Cobham's weakness, had the desired effect; for he being led thereby to imagine that Ralegh had accused him of all, or more than he knew, burst out into vehement exclamations against Ralegh, and in his rage or madness made the following confession. "That "having a passport to go to the Spanish king, he intended "first to confer with the archduke; and, because he knew "he had not money to pay his own army, meant from "thence to go to Spain, to deal with the king for six hun-"dred thousand crowns, then to return by Jersey; and "that nothing should be done about the distribution of that "money to the discontented in England, till he had spoken "with sir Walter Ralegh: further, that he had never "entered into these courses but by his instigation. He "spake also of plots, but of the particulars could give no "account; yet acknowledged he was afraid that Ralegh, "upon his return to Jersey, would have him and the mo-"ney to the king[o]." After all this, before Cobham departed to the stair-foot, he retracted his confession, and professed he had done Ralegh wrong[p]: nor does it appear,

Accused by lord Cobham.

Who retracts the accusation.

[m] Arraignment, in Shirley's Life of sir Walter Ralegh, &c. p. 140.

[n] Letter from a member of parliament to Mr. John Donne, concerning the arraignment of sir Walter Ralegh, MS. among the collections of Rodney Fane, esq. The same is also printed in sir Toby Matthews's Collection of Letters, 8vo. 1660. p. 281.

[o] Arraignment of sir Walter Ralegh as before, p. 97.

[p] Idem, p. 100.

says my author, that he did subscribe it[q]. In another branch of his examination, Cobham said he had of Ralegh a book, written against the king's title, which he gave to his brother Brook, and that Ralegh said it was foolishly written. But this he also retracted, as we shall hear. Upon this, and other parts of his confession more foreign to Ralegh, concerning the advancement of lady Arabella Stuart to the crown, as also from that of George Brook, a known enemy to Ralegh, as Cecil could not deny; "asserting his brother "Cobham told him, (though Cobham, in his confession, re-"fused to own it,) the lord Grey and others were only on "the bye, but he and Ralegh were on the main; thereby "meaning, said Brook, the taking away of the king and "his issue;" together with what Ralegh acknowledged in his own examination; "that Cobham offered him eight "thousand crowns for his furtherance of the peace, though "the lord Cecil and earl of Northumberland were to have "the same proffers[r];" and that in some discourses he might have said, "the way to invade England was to begin with "stirs in Scotland." Upon these circumstances, I say, Ralegh was indicted at Stains on the 21st of September following[s]; and from hence that heavy indictment appears to have been accumulated upon him, which we see prefixed to his trial. Three days afterwards Cobham and Grey were also indicted at the same place; and, not long after this, they were all three returned prisoners to the Tower of London. When the time of their trial drew nigh, that is to say in the beginning of November, Ralegh got a poor fellow in the Tower to cast up a letter, fastened to an apple, in at Cobham's window, while the lieutenant was at supper, to entreat him, (because he then knew not but Cobham might be arraigned before him,) "for God's sake, to do him jus-"tice by his answer, and signify to him, that he had wronged "him in his accusation;" and Cobham did, by an answer under his hand, confess the same; which not being perhaps

And acknowledges the wrong.

[q] Sir Thomas Overbury's copy of sir Walter Ralegh's arraignment, printed, 4to. 1648. p. 15.

[r] Idem, p. 12.

[s] Stow's Annals, fol. 830.

so full and expressive as Ralegh expected, he afterwards sent Cobham another letter, desiring he would publish his innocence at his arraignment. But, notwithstanding that Ralegh did not now request any further justification under his hand, Cobham sent him another answer [t], clearing him in the most solemn and perfect manner, as will presently appear. Now by reason of the plague, which raged so violently in and about London, the term having been proclaimed to be held at Winchester, the state-prisoners, who were thus indicted for the plot, were conveyed thither in great pomp. I find that Ralegh went in his own coach, under the custody of sir Robert Mansell, on the 10th of November, to Bagshot in Surry, twenty-four miles from London; and, two days after, from thence, the other thirty miles, to the castle at Winchester. The conspirators conducted thither at the same time were, George Brook, under the charge of sir William Wade; sir Griffin Markham, under sir Rober Wroth; besides sir Edward Parham, Bartholomew Brooksby, Anthony Copley; also William Watson and William Clark, two priests, under-wardens of the Tower, and the keeper of the Gate-house, together with a guard of fifty light horse: as for Cobham and Grey, they set out six days, and arrived three days before, at the said castle, under the like guard [u].

Arraigned at Winchester.

And here Cobham having been prevailed on to make fresh accusations in a letter to the lords, at least subscribed with his name, which will be produced a little further, Ralegh's trial was first brought on; and this was on the 17th of the month aforesaid. He excepted not against his jury, being all strangers: but we are told by one, who seems to have had good intelligence of this matter, "That there was "appointed for Ralegh another jury, the foreman of which "was sir Michael Stanhope, the next sir Edward Darcy, "the next sir William Killegrew, all men of honour, and "near servants to the late queen Elizabeth: but these be-"ing found not for their turn, they were all changed over "night, and those others" (named in the common printed

[t] Overbury's Arraignment, p. 23. [u] Stow's Annals, fol. 828, 829.

trial) "put in their places[x]." After the indictment had been opened, and aggravated by sergeant Heath and attorney Coke, in speeches manifestly fathering the treasons of the rest upon Ralegh, for no other reason that I can see, but because he was a man of wit and a swordsman, Cobham's examination was read as before quoted. Here Ralegh first shewed the unreasonableness and improbability of the accusation therein against him, as follows: "It is "strange for me," said he, "to devise with Cobham, that "he should go to Spain to persuade the king to disburse so "much money, he being a man of no love in England; and "I having resigned my room of chiefest command, the "wardenship of the stannaries; it is strange for me to "make myself a Robin Hood, or a Ket, or a Cade, I "knowing England to be in better state than ever it was. "I knew Scotland united, Ireland quieted, Denmark as-"sured, which before was suspected. I knew, that having "a lady, whom time had surprised, we had now a lawful "successor. The state of Spain was not unknown to me. "I had written a discourse, which I intended to present "unto the king against the peace with Spain. I knew the "Spaniard had six repulses, three in Ireland, and three at "sea; and once in 1588, by my lord-admiral, also at Ca-"diz. I knew he was discouraged and dishonoured. I "knew the king of Spain to be the proudest prince living, "but now he comes creeping to my master for a peace. "I knew, whereas he had before in his ports six or seven "score sail of ships, he has now but six or seven. I knew, "of twenty-five millions he had from his Indies, he has "scarce one left. I knew him so poor, that the Jesuits in "Spain were fain to beg at the church door. Was it ever "read or heard, that any prince should disburse so much "money, without a sufficient pawn? I knew her own sub-"jects, the citizens of London, would not lend her majesty "money, without lands in mortgage. I knew the queen "did not lend the States money, without Flushing, Brill,

[x] Observations on the history of Mary queen of Scots and king James, a scarce tract in the Harleian library, printed, 4to. 1656. p. 8.

"and other towns, for a pawn; and can it be thought he "would let Cobham have so great a sum? I never came to "the lord Cobham's but about matters of his profit, as the "ordering of his house; and I had of his, when I was "examined, four thousand pounds worth of jewels for a "purchase, a pearl of three thousand pounds, and a ring "worth five hundred pounds. If he had had a fancy to "run away, he would not have left so much money to have "purchased a lease in fee-farm. I saw him buy three "hundred pounds worth of books to send to his library at "Canterbury, and a cabinet of three hundred pounds to "give Mr. Attorney for drawing the conveyances; and God "in heaven knows, not I, whether he intended to travel: "but for the practice with Arabella, or letters to Aremberg, "or any discourse with him, or in what language he spake "unto him; if I knew any of these things, I would abso-"lutely confess the indictment, and acknowledge myself "worthy of a thousand deaths." And a little further concerning Cobham's examination: "He that hath been ex-"amined has ever been asked, if it be according to his mean-"ing, and then to subscribe. Methinks, my lords, when "he accuses a man, he should give some account and rea-"son of it; it is not sufficient to say we talked of it. If I "had been the plotter, would not I have given Cobham "some arguments, whereby to persuade the king of Spain, "and answer his objections? I knew Westmoreland and "Bothwell, men of other understandings than Cobham, "were ready to beg their bread[y]." Here being obstructed by other matters, the attorney fell at last into that passage of Cobham's telling Brook, "You are on the bye, Ralegh "and I are on the main." But Cobham would not confirm his ever having said such words[z]. Brook, who had pretended he did say them, was allowed to have been Ralegh's enemy[a]; so the expression was not proved. Another matter they kept some coil about was, the book Cobham said

[y] Arraignment of sir Walter Ralegh, in his Life aforesaid, p. 101, 106.

[z] Idem, p. 133.

[a] Overbury's Arraignment of Ralegh, p. 7.

he had of Ralegh, written against the king's title. This was nothing more than a defence of the queen's proceedings against Mary queen of Scotland, written by one Robert Snag, a lawyer, and found by Ralegh in the library of the late lord treasurer Burghley, which he had liberty of searching for some geographical descriptions of the West Indies. Ralegh had declared to Cobham that it was foolishly written, but denied that he gave it him; and though Cobham, in his examination, said it was given him by Ralegh, he revoked that confession upon being further questioned about it, (as one of the lords of the council owned,) and said, the truth was, "he took the same of himself out of sir Walter "Ralegh's study when he was asleep [b];" so much to be depended on were lord Cobham's accusations. But there was nothing acted thereby to the king's prejudice, for the book was burnt [c]. As for the evidence of a rumour in Lisbon, brought into court by one Dyer, a pilot, who answering to a question, "when the king would be crowned?" made by somebody or other there, that "he hoped it would be "shortly;" was told again, "it should never be, for don "Ralegh and don Cobham would cut his throat first:" Ralegh made light of it, as of such a rumour and such a witness he might; and said, "if Cobham had practice with "Aremberg, it might well be known abroad: and that the "duke of Buckingham was named with Jack Straw's trea-"son to countenance it [d]." But none of these little circumstances were much insisted on; and we are told by one who was present, that, "touching the setting up of Arabella, "nothing at all was proved; nor touching the invasion "here, or sedition in Scotland, or even the destruction of "the king, &c. The proof against Ralegh (as the same "writer continues a little further) did rest only upon Cob-"ham's accusation, and some presumptions, whereof that "only was the ground: therefore Ralegh spent most of the "time in disabling that accusation, as being only uttered in

[b] Overbury's Arraignment of Ralegh, p. 8.

[c] Aulicus Coquinariæ, 8vo. 1650. p. 83.

[d] Arraignment of Ralegh in Shirley, p. 147, 148.

"fury and passion[e]," through the device aforesaid, of making Cobham believe that Ralegh had first accused him. Besides, that he had renounced and repented it; and although, "afterwards by practice," says my said author, "he "did affirm it, yet would he never be brought to set his "hand to the examination: all which was clear." Then Ralegh, seeing this retraction so unjustly overlooked, "la-"boured to prove these two points out of scripture, civil "law, statute law, common law, and conscience; in every of "which he had been plentifully read;" as the same auditor of his arraignment goes on; "first, that there ought to be "produced against him two witnesses: secondly, that his "accuser might be brought to accuse him face to face." Agreeable hereto are Ralegh's own words, after he had urged the statutes of Edward III. Edward VI. and queen Elizabeth; produced the opinions of judges in the law, and precedents from their writings; besides testimonies from the Old and New Testament; where he says, "If by "the statute, civil law, and God's word, it be required that "there must be two witnesses at least, bear with me, if I "desire but one[f]." But truly it was an unreasonable request; those statutes were repealed, and the law would not allow of it now; though we are informed that king James himself, taking notice how Cobham was withheld, should say, "If he could have spoken any thing against Ralegh, "they would have brought him from Constantinople to "have accused him[g]." Well therefore might he desire the jury to consider, "There is no cause so doubtful, which "the king's counsel cannot make good against the law[h]. "These men do usually defend bad causes every day against "men of their own profession, and as able as themselves: if "they can do so, what may they not do with me, who "never studied law till I came into the Tower of London; "who have been practised in other affairs; am weak of "memory, and feeble as you see?" (for he was fain to have

[e] Letter of a member of parliament in sir Toby Matthews, as before, p. 280.

[f] Arraignment in Shirley, p. 115.

[g] Observations on Sanderson's history of Mary queen of Scots and king James, 4to. as before, p. 8.

[h] Arraignment in Shirley, p. 148.

a pen and ink to help him in the long speeches that were made against him.) Then said he, more closely to them, "If you would be content to be judged upon suspicions "and inferences: if you would not have your accusation "subscribed by your accuser: if you would not have your "accuser brought to your face (being in the same house "too) where you are arraigned: if you would be con-"demned by an accusation of one that has recanted, and is "truly sorrowful for it: if you, in my case, would yield "your bodies to torture, lose your lives, your wives and "children, and all your fortunes, upon so slender a proof; "then am I ready to suffer all these things[i];" or, (as the common trial has it,) "if you would be contented to be so "judged, judge so of me[k]." Now though Ralegh at last put himself on it, that if Cobham would only speak before God and the king, "that ever he knew either of Arabella's "matter, or the money out of Spain, or of the surprising "treason, or would accuse him with things equivalent, in "any main point, or any ways to have been an instigator of "him to deal with the king of Spain[l];" yet would they not let Cobham confront him, or give his testimony *viva voce:* and though Ralegh did not directly consent to be determined by Cobham's accusation, if they should now produce it justified under his hand[m]; yet he was forced to submit to what they had in reserve of this kind, which was the letter above mentioned, written to the lords at Winchester the day before the trial. Some say this letter was not written by Cobham himself; but that sir William Wade, one of Cecil's creatures, tampering with his weakness, got Cobham to write his name to a blank; to which, says my author, Wade no question wrote the accusation[n]. Others imply, that Cobham did himself write it; though after he was instructed by a letter from his lady, that there was no way to save his own life, but to accuse Ralegh; and that it

[i] Overbury's Arraignment, p. 21.
[k] In Shirley, p. 149.
[l] Idem, p. 145.
[m] Overbury, p. 19.
[n] Sir Anthony Weldon's Court and Character of King James. 8vo. 1650. p. 35.

was so reported upon the going together of the jury [o]. This letter was read with great triumph and exultation by Coke, as follows: "I have thought it fit to set down this to my "lords, wherein I profess on my soul to write nothing but "the truth. I am come now near to the period of my "time; therefore I confess the truth before God and his "angels. Ralegh, four days before I came from the "Tower, caused an apple to be thrown in at my chamber "window; the effect of it was, to entreat me to write the "wrong I had done him, in saying that I would come "home by Jersey; which under my hand to him I have "retracted. His first letter was thrown in the same man-"ner; wherein he prayed me to write him a letter, which "I did. He sent me word the judges met at Mr. Attor-"ney's house; and that there was good hope the proceed-"ings against us should be stayed; he sent me another "time a little tobacco. At Aremberg's coming, Ralegh "dealt with me to procure him a pension of fifteen hun-"dred pounds a year, for which he promised, that no ac-"tion should be against Spain, but he would give knowledge "beforehand. He told me the States had audience with "the king. He hath been the original cause of my ruin; "for I had no dealing with Aremberg, but by his instiga-"tion. He hath been the cause of my discontentment; he "advised me not to be overtaken with preachers, as Essex "was; and that the king would better allow of a constant "denial, than to accuse any [p]." But this advice to a denial, and by that example, and the desire of any such pension from Spain, Ralegh protested to be false. And further, to shew them what a base dishonourable recreant Cobham was, he pulled out the letter which Cobham a few days before wrote to him voluntarily in the Tower, desiring the lord Cecil to read it, because he knew his hand; and that the jury would observe, if Cobham's testimony were of any credit with them, how much more solemnly it was writ to clear, than the other to condemn him; being in these words:

Accused by Cobham again.

[o] Overbury's Arraignment, p. 24.
[p] The Arraignment in Shirley, as before, p. 156.

"Seeing myself so near my end; for the discharge of my "own conscience, and freeing myself from your blood, "which else will cry vengeance against me: I protest, "upon my salvation, I never practised with Spain by your "procurement; God so comfort me in this my affliction, as "you are a true subject for any thing that I know. I will "say with Daniel, *Purus sum a sanguine hujus:* so God "have mercy on my soul, as I know no treason by you [q]."

Cleared by him again.

This was the last evidence given; yet the jury brought in their verdict Guilty: this letter, last produced to acquit Ralegh, not prevailing with them so much, it seems, as the letter before, which was last, though less forcibly, written by Cobham to accuse him, "which, all things considered," says the person who heard the whole trial, "was no more "to be weighed than the barking of a dog; and I would "not," continues he, "for much, to have been of the jury, "to have found him guilty [r]." Some of his jury, we are further told, "were, after he was cast, so far touched in "conscience, as to demand of him pardon on their knees [s]." "And even Coke, the attorney himself, being retired into a "garden to take some air, when his man brought him word "that the jury had condemned Ralegh of treason, answered, "Surely thou art mistaken, for I myself accused him but "of misprision of treason; and this relation, upon the word "of a Christian, I have received," says my author, "from "Sir Edward Coke's own mouth [t]." Sentence being given, Ralegh humbly desired the king might know the proofs against him; that he still persisted in his loyalty, notwithstanding that verdict; which he would pray that his said jury might never answer for: and only craved pardon for concealing lord Cobham's offer to him, which he did through a confidence that he had diverted him from those humours. So accompanied the sheriff to the prison "with admirable "erection, yet in such sort as a condemned man should do [u]."

Condemned.

[q] The Arraignment in Shirley, as before, p. 160.

[r] In sir Toby Matthews, as before, p. 283.

[s] F. Osborne's Memoirs of king James, in the 2d vol. of his works, p. 108.

[t] Observations on the history of Mary queen of Scots and her son James, as before, p. 9.

[u] Overbury's Arraignment, p. 25.

Thus was he "tired out of his life," as one observes, "by the bawling of the king's counsel on one side, and the "bench's insisting on a confession, extorted from the lord "Cobham out of fear, on the other, rather than convinced[x]:" and thus did his adversaries reap dishonour and reproach in their victory, while he received triumphant applauses in his overthrow, like some flowers which are sweeter in their fall, than others in their bloom. He stood at a bay with them from morning till night, "to the great admiration of "the hearers[y], who all thought that a man of such under-"standing and experience would hardly be drawn into a "plot so foul and so foolish[z]." "Divers, who went thi-"ther his enemies, went away with commiseration of his in-"juries and misfortunes, thinking never man spake better "for himself[a]." One of his auditors says, "He behaved "himself so worthily, so wisely, so temperately, that in half "a day the mind of all the company was changed, from the "extremest fate, to the extremest pity[b]." And another says, that "sir Walter Ralegh's carriage was most remark-"able: first, to the lords, humble, yet not prostrate: towards "the jury, affable, but not fawning; rather shewing love "of life, than fear of death: towards the king's counsel, "patient, but not insensibly neglecting; not yielding to im-"putations laid against him in words: and it was wondered, "that a man of his heroic spirit could be so valiant in "suffering; that he was never overtaken in passion[c]," &c. On the other side, as to Coke's behaviour, we shall, to what has been said, only observe, as one means to account for it, that if Essex was known to have ever been in any wise a friend or patron to him, as it appears he was in a private memorial of an honourable person, who was of the same college in Oxford with Ralegh, and almost of the same standing; then Coke might perhaps think of retrieving

[x] Osborne, p. 108.

[y] Speed's Chronicle, fol. 1243.

[z] Bishop Carleton's Hist. Collect. of Deliverances, &c. 4to. 1624. p. 179.

[a] Observations on the history of the queen of Scots and her son, &c. as before.

[b] In sir Toby Matthews, p. 279.

[c] See this character more at large in sir Thomas Overbury's Arraignment of sir Walter Ralegh, p. 6.

himself in the eye of the world, and making atonement for his ingratitude to the said earl also at his trial, and to his memory after his death, by his inhumanity now to one of the contrary faction. Cecil, on the other side, played a smooth edge upon Ralegh throughout the trial; his blade seemed ever anointed with the balsam of compliment or apology, whereby he gave not such rough and smarting wounds, though they were as deep and fatal as the other. But Ralegh could distinguish crooked friendship, and perhaps the grounds of it, in this place, as well as he has done crooked wisdom in another[d]; when, to those speeches, where Cecil said, "My affection to you, sir Walter Ralegh, "was not extinguished, but slaked, in regard of your de-"serts; and, excepting your faults, (I call them no worse,) "by God I am your friend:" he answered, "Whoever is "the workman, it is reason he should give account of his "work to the workmaster[e]." As to any impertinences that occurred in the trial, they appear no where so much as in the personal reflections made by the said attorney Coke, and the lord chief justice Popham, whom Camden justly calls a censorious man[f]; they being foreign to the matters Ralegh was charged with, therefore he wisely looked over them. But these, and the other irregularities throughout the whole proceedings, which have left men so unsatisfied in the justice of them against sir Walter Ralegh, and so little inclined to believe him the criminal his enemies made him[g], being summed up by an able hand, and one whose province it more properly was to judge of them, I shall take my leave of the said trial with a reference to his observations on it[h].

[d] History of the World, lib. 5. cap. 6. sect. 7.

[e] Arraignment of sir Walter Ralegh in his Life, as before, p. 144, 146.

[f] Annal. Eliz. 1592.

[g] Dr. Heylin's Examen Historicum, as before, p. 171.

[h] Sir John Hawles, solicitor-general to the late king William, in his Reply to a sheet of paper, entitled, The Magistracy and Government of England vindicated, printed in fol. 1689. having observed that the accusations of sir Walter Ralegh did not amount to a legal proof, says further, p. 35. as follows. "Not to "mention all that might be excepted "to in the trial of the case cited; I "would know, by what law is the "deposition of a person, who might "be brought face to face to the pri-

That Ralegh expected nothing less than this kind of treatment from those hands, is plain by the letter which he wrote to the king himself just before his trial; wherein having said, "I know, that, among many presumptions "gathered against me, your majesty has been persuaded "that I was one of those who were greatly discontented, "and therefore the more likely to prove disloyal; but the "great God of heaven and earth disclaim me from both "worlds, if I were not the contrary, and if I took not great "comfort to behold your majesty; always learning some "good, and bettering my knowledge by your majesty's dis-"course:" and having humbly beseeched him not to believe any of those, who, under pretence of offences to kings, do easily work their particular revenge; he says a little further, "For my part, I protest before the ever-living God, "that I never intended treason, consented to treason, or "performed treason against you; and yet I know I shall "fall into their hands, *e quibus non possum evadere*, un-

"soner, read as evidence? I would "know, by what law it is forbidden "that the accuser should be brought "face to face to the accused? I "would know, by what law Brook's "deposition of what the lord Cob-"ham told him of Ralegh, was evi-"dence against Ralegh? I would "know, by what law the story Dyer "told of what an unknown man said "to him at Lisbon of don Ralegh, "was evidence against Ralegh? I "would know, by what statute the "statutes of the 25th of Edward III. "and 5th of Edward VI. are re-"pealed? This trial was so very ir-"regular throughout, that I would "willingly believe it was not so as "it is related; but, if it were so, "I am sure none can defend it: "and even for that reason, if any "such resolution was in the case, "as is cited, I am sure it ought to "carry no credit with it: and there "is no reason to believe there was "any such resolution; there being "no occasion for it; the question "being only fact, which sir Walter "denied. The circumstances of his "trial, in which the court always "overruled the prisoner, were some-"what like the lord Russel's; he "complained of the ill usage of the "king's counsel, as well as the lord "Russel; and both had reason so to "do. Hearsay was admitted to be "given in evidence against both; "all that either of them said for "themselves, though very material, "was slighted. The one was put in "mind, at his trial, of the death of "the earl of Essex; as the other "was, of the death of the viscount "Stafford; both, in their dying "speeches, vindicated themselves of "those aspersions. The principal "witnesses, in both cases, had, be-"fore the trials, affirmed, they knew "nothing against them: they were "both accused with having heard "what other persons had said in their "company, and had not discovered "it; they both gave the same an-"swer, that they could not help "other men's talk. I think it is "plain, at this day, that of sir Wal-"ter Ralegh is thought a sham-plot; "what the lord Russel's is thought, "let the author say."

"less by your majesty's gracious compassion I be sus-
"tained[1]." Another letter, which he wrote to the lords, gives us some further light or assurance, that the offer made to him for one intention, and to others for another, was construed as made to him for both; where, speaking of the two principal accusations against him, he says, "the first "was, that money was offered me with a pretence to main-"tain the amity, but the intent was to have assisted his ma-"jesty's surprise: the other, that I was privy to my lord "Cobham's Spanish journey. For the first, it seems, this "money was offered to others long after it was offered to "me, and upon other considerations than it was to me. "For myself I avow, upon my allegiance, that I never "knew or suspected either the man or the new intention. "To me it was but once propounded, and in three weeks "after I never heard more of it; neither did I believe "that he had any commission to offer it: for, if that word "*amity* had been used to me colourably, I must have "been also made acquainted with the true end for which "it should have been given; which, it seems, was for the "surprise: but of any such horrible purpose, if ever I "had so much as a suspicion, I refuse your lordships' "favour, and the king's mercy. I know your lordships "have omitted nothing to find out the truth; but, as "you have not erred, like ill surgeons, to lay on plas-"ters too narrow for so great wounds, so I trust that "you will not imitate unlearned physicians, to give medi-"cines more cruel than the disease itself. For the jour-"ney into Spain, I know I was accused to be privy there-"to; but I know your lordships have a reputation of con-"science, as well as industry. By what means that re-"vengeful accusation was stirred, you, my lord Cecil, "know right well that it was my letter about Keymis; and "your lordships all know whether it be maintained, or

[1] Sir Walter Ralegh's letter to king James, before his trial at Winchester; in the supplement to the Cabala, called Scrinia Sacra, 4to. 1654, p. 85. and in Ralegh's Remains, edit. 1726, p. 185. collated with MS. copies thereof, in the Harleian library, &c.

"whether, out of truth, and out of a Christian considera-
"tion, it be revoked." A little further he says, "God
"knows, and I can give an account of it, that I have spent
"forty thousand pounds of my own against that king and
"nation [k]; that I never reserved so much of all my for-
"tunes, as to purchase forty pounds per annum land; that
"I have been a violent persecutor and furtherer of all en-
"terprises against that nation: I have served against them
"in person; and how, my lord-admiral and my lord of
"Suffolk can witness. I discovered, myself, the richest
"part of all his Indies; I have planted in his territories.
"I offered his majesty, at my uncle Carew's, to carry two
"thousand men to invade him without the king's charge.
"Alas! to what end should we live in the world, if all the
"endeavours of so many testimonies shall be blown off with
"one blast of breath, or be prevented by one man's word?"
"Think, therefore," says he, a little further, "I beseech
"you, on my great affliction with compassion; who have
"lost my estate, and the king's favour, upon one man's
"word; and as you would that God should deal with you,
"deal with me." He concludes in this manner: "Your
"lordships know that I am guiltless of the surprise in-
"tended; you know, or may know, that I never accepted
"of the money, and that it was not offered me for any ill;
"and of the Spanish journey, I trust your consciences are
"resolved. Keep not then, I beseech you, these my an-
"swers and humble desires from my sovereign lord, *qui est*
"*rex pius et misericors, et non leo coronatus*[l]." In an-
other letter, which he wrote to the king after his trial, he has
these words: "Lost I am for hearing a vain man, for hear-
"ing only, and never believing or approving; and so little
"account I made of that speech of his, which was my con-

[k] As the king's counsel, in Ralegh's trial, used arguments, grounded on presumptions, to prove him guilty; so did he there also use others to clear himself, grounded on these of his great expenses against the Spaniards, and his having always been such a noted enemy to their faction. But the sum of 40,000*l.* in this letter above, is only called so many crowns in the said common trial.

[l] Ralegh's Remains, the last edit. as before, p. 188, &c.

"demnation, that I never remembered any such thing, till it "was at my trial objected against me." This letter he nobly concludes, with a desire only to repay a lent life with a love and affection equal to the goodness wherewith his majesty should please to bestow it [m].

If these letters had any good effect, it appeared not immediately, Ralegh being kept near a month at Winchester after he was condemned, in daily expectation of death. We find, that when the report of the arraignments was made to the king in his privy-chamber at Wilton, he carried himself so reservedly, that nobody could guess how well he was satisfied with the equality of condemnation, till he made, himself, a difference in the punishment. The two priests were executed on the 29th of November, and George Brook on the 5th of December following. His majesty also signed warrants for Cobham, Grey, and Markham, to be beheaded on the 9th day of the said month. But, in the particular narrative of this proceeding to execution, Ralegh is not so much as mentioned; and this might be owing to the extraordinary disappointment of that purgation which was expected from one of those three next to be executed: for the day aforesaid being come, Markham was first brought to the scaffold; and, having ended his speech, prayers, with all he had to say, and being on his knees, ready to receive the stroke of the axe, up steps John Gibb, groom of the king's bedchamber, to sir Benjamin Tichbourne, the sheriff of Hampshire, with his majesty's warrant to stay the execution; so Markham was told he must withdraw a while into the hall, to be confronted by the lords. Then lord Grey was brought upon the stage; and he is said to have poured out his prayers and his confession, though not one word of them recorded in our narrative aforesaid; then was he also called aside. Lastly, Cobham was brought, and exposed in the same manner, and his devotions to God are mentioned; but not a word of the treason, his guilt or innocence, or concerning any promoter of his disloyalty or

[m] Ralegh's Remains, the last edit. as before, p. 192. &c.

discontent: so when he had done, the sheriff found it time to unravel the plot, by proclaiming and magnifying his majesty's mercy, as we have it in the same author; who yet cannot forbear comparing his own relation to a comedy, "representing so many lively figures of justice and mercy "in a king, of terror and penitence in offenders, and of so "great admiration and applause in all others as appeared in "this action, carried on only and wholly by his majesty's "own direction [n]." But whereas Coke had (after his outrageous manner) charged Ralegh in the trial frequently with being the chief plotter and traitor in all this conspiracy; we now see the king, in his warrant aforesaid, contradicting him, where he says, to use his own dialect, that "the tuo priestis, and George Brooke, vaire the principall "plotteris and intisairs of all the rest, to the embracing of "the saidis treasonabill machinations [o]:" and yet you find, in the trial again, that Brook's treason was distinct, and to be kept secret from Ralegh, because there Brook tells Markham, "Take heed how you make lord Cobham ac-"quainted; for, whatever he knows, Ralegh the witch will "get it out of him [p]." In short, the whole proceeding is so full of inconsistences, slanders, and other like odious effects of a false and malicious prosecution, that we may well conclude with that historian, who says, "the king had "ground enough to shew mercy, which some of the con-"demned party obtained [q]."

But Ralegh, it seems, did last taste of it, and for no other apparent reason, but because he was the only one whom his enemies still wanted matter to exclude from it; as may be gathered from what Cecil wrote to a correspondent three days after the king's warrant of suspense, to the others be-

[n] The copy of a letter, written from master T. M. near Salisbury, to master H. A. at London, concerning the proceeding at Winchester, where the late lord Cobham, lord Grey, and sir Griffin Markham, all attainted of high treason, were ready to be executed on Friday the 9th of December, &c. imprinted at London by R. B. (i. e. Barker, the king's printer,) 4to. 1603. reprinted in Stow's Annals, and lately in Mr. Joseph Morgan's Phœnix Britannicus.

[o] See king James's warrant in the pamphlet aforesaid, p. 11.

[p] The Arraignment in Ralegh's Life, as before, p. 91.

[q] Rushworth's Historical Collections, vol. 1. fol. 4.

fore mentioned; where, among these wonderful instances of his majesty's clemency, we are told, "He pretended to "forbear sir Walter Ralegh for the present, till the lord "Cobham's death had given some light how far he would "make good his accusation[r]:" and though we hear not that he ever did make it good, yet was the pretended time of Ralegh's execution so determined, however we find not that he, like the rest, was ever brought to the place; that he wrote, what he intended for his last words, to his wife, the night before he expected to be put to death, in a very moving letter, full of the most generous acknowledgments, of the wisest, most religious, and affectionate advice to her, no less than of the most heroic and magnanimous sentiments in regard to himself, and to that suffering which ordinary souls so naturally shrink at. It is too long to recite in this place, besides has been often printed, and may be easily met with in his works. The historical passages in it acquaint us, that his lands were conveyed to his son, as is before mentioned: that he intended his wife the profits of his wine-office, half his goods, and all his jewels, except some one to his son: that Baily owed him two hundred, or, as other editions have it, a thousand pounds[s]; and his brother Adrian Gilbert six hundred: that he had also much money owing him in Jersey, besides the arrearages of the wines, which would pay all his debts. Towards the conclusion, he entreats her "to get those letters, if it be possible, which "I writ," said he, "to the lords, wherein I sued for my "life. God is my witness, that it was for you and yours "that I desired life. But it is true that I disdain myself "for begging it; for know it, dear wife, that your son is "the son of a true man; and one, who, in his own respect, "despises death, and all his mishapen and ugly forms. I "cannot write much; God knows how hardly I steal this "time, while others sleep; and it is also high time that I "should separate my thoughts from the world. Beg my "dead body, which living was denied thee, and either lay

[r] Sir Ralph Winwood's Memoirs, vol. 2. fol. 11.

[s] See this letter in the edit. of Ralegh's Remains, 12°. 1651.

"it at Sherborne, if the land continue, or in Exeter church, "by my father and mother. I can say no more; time and "death call me away." And as in the former part of this letter "he trusts that his blood will quench their malice "who had thus cruelly murdered him;" so in the conclusion "he prays to God, that he may forgive his persecu-"tors and accusers[t]."

But after all this usage, Cobham never confirming his accusation of sir Walter Ralegh, they both were, with the rest of the prisoners, returned, on the 15th of December, to the Tower of London[u]: those, of whom the least profit was to be made, were either acquitted, or did afterwards get their liberty; among whom was Markham, who travelled abroad, but endured greater distress in his state of freedom, than he had in his restraint[x]. But Grey, it seems, died in the Tower[y], and with Cobham it went nigh to fare still worse; for he would have starved there, being so closely fleeced as he was by the court-beggars of his great estate, had they not also laid thereby a kind of a fine upon his majesty for his offences; the crown being imposed upon to support him in his many years' confinement, as Ralegh himself has sufficiently discovered[z]. And here, to despatch

Prisoner in the Tower of London.

[t] Idem, and, besides the other editions of his Remains, also at the end of sir Thomas Overbury's relation of his arraignment, and at the end of Ralegh's Life in Prince's Worthies of Devon, fol. 543.

[u] Stow's Annals, as before.

[x] James Wadsworth, in his English Spanish Pilgrim, 4to. 1630. p. 66. speaking of the state and demeanor of the English fugitives under the king of Spain's dominions, says, "This sir Griffin Markham, at "his first arrival in Bruxels, being "kept under by the Jesuits, was "driven to such an exigency, that he "was constrained to pluck out the "inlaid silver of the hilts of his "sword, to buy flour to make a "hasty-pudding for his dinner: but "he afterwards," says the same author, "took the best way to raise his "fortunes; having got into favour "with the duke of Nuburge, who "gives him the surest pension of "all."

[y] Osborne's Memorials of king James, p. 106. also sir William Dugdale, who says, that this Thomas lord Grey (son of Arthur before mentioned in this Life) died in the Tower on the 6th of July 1614, being the last lord Grey of Wilton. Baronage of England, vol. 1. 1675. fol. 716.

[z] The lord Cecil, who was created earl of Salisbury in 1605, and lord-treasurer, upon the death of Buckhurst, earl of Dorset, in 1608, did very much engross the revenues of the crown, as Ralegh made appear to the king himself, in an excellent dialogue he dedicated to his majesty; where, among the particulars of Cecil's neglecting an increase of 40,000*l.* to the king's estate, the conferring a 10,000*l.* fine upon Devonshire and his mistress, the engrossing to himself many goodly manors, and

what more remains of this lord relating to our present history, we may observe, that some years after their confinement Ralegh is said to have himself procured a reexamination of Cobham, and to have been absolutely cleared by him. But the practices which were used against him therein are represented so foul and wicked, as to have given some, whose interest it was to favour the administrations of these times, occasion to suspect the assertion; though it is corroborated by several material circumstances, as well as the testimony of coeval writers. The author, in whom we first meet with this passage, and whose shorter account of it is before related, to shew that Ralegh's life was surreptitiously taken away, gives it us again more circumstantially, and as a true story, thus; "Queen Anne, that brave prin-"cess, was in a desperate, and some believed incurable dis-"ease, whereof the physicians were at the furthest end of "their studies to find the cause, at a nonplus for the cure. "Sir Walter Ralegh being, by his long studies, an ad-"mirable chymist[a], undertook and performed the cure[b];

His cure of queen Anne.

the exchange of Theobald's for Hatfield, which the greatest subject or favourite queen Elizabeth had, never durst have named to her; he further instances, that "it had been an "honest service to the king, to have "also added 7000*l.* lands of the lord "Cobham's, with his woods and "goods, worth 30,000*l.* more. For "those lands, remaining with George "Brook's children but during their "lives, had been the king's for ever "in effect; but to wrest them from "the king, and draw the inheritance "upon himself, the treasurer per-"suaded his majesty to relinquish "his interest for a petty sum of mo-"ney; and, that there might be no "counter-working, he sent Brook "six thousand pounds to make "friends; whereof lord Hume had "two thousand pounds back again, "Buckhurst and Berwick had the "other four thousand pounds, and "the treasurer and his heirs the mass "of land for ever." What then came to the king by this confiscation? (says one of the correspondents in the said dialogue.) "His majesty," answers the other, "by all those "goodly possessions, woods, and "goods, loses five hundred pounds a "year, which he gives in pension to "Cobham, to maintain him in pri-"son." See sir Walter Ralegh's Prerogative of Parliaments, in his Remains, last edit. p. 249, &c.

[a] The author here quoted seems to have been well acquainted with sir Walter Ralegh's character, by this circumstance; for there is still in being a volume of Chymical and Medicinal Preparations, in Ralegh's own handwriting, as will more particularly be observed a few pages further.

[b] The author of Aulicus Coquinariæ thinks he sufficiently answers this passage, where he says, p. 97. "the queen was never cured of her "disease, but by death, that ends all "maladies." Now the disease which this queen Anne died of was a dropsy, but not till after sir Walter Ralegh's death, and above fifteen year after this his imprisonment; whereas the disease from which Ralegh re-

" for which he would receive no other reward, but that her " majesty would procure, that certain lords might be sent to " examine Cobham, whether he had accused sir Walter Ra- " legh of treason at any time under his hand? the king, at " the queen's request, (and in justice could do no less,) sends " some lords and others of the council, (which, as our au- " thor goes on, were the duke of Lenox, Salisbury, Wor- " cester, Suffolk, sir George Carew, and sir Julius Cæsar,) " to demand of Cobham, whether he had not, under his " hand, accused sir Walter Ralegh at Winchester, upon " that treason he was arraigned for? Cobham did protest, " Never, nor could he [c]; but," said he, " that villain Wade " did often solicit me, and, not prevailing that way, got me, " by a trick, to write my name upon a piece of white paper, " which I, thinking nothing, did; so that, if any charge " came under my hand, it was forged by that villain Wade, " by writing something above my hand, without my con- " sent or knowledge [d]. These six returning to the king, " the rest made Salisbury their spokesman, who said; Sir, " my lord Cobham hath made good all that ever he wrote " or said. Where it is to be noted, that this was but an " equivocating trick in Salisbury; for it was true, that

covered her was a fever, as Dr. Welwood informs us in his Notes on Wilson's history of king James. In the same place he says, it was some time before the illness of prince Henry. And Camden, in his Annals of king James, telling us, when sir Julius Cæsar was made a privy-counsellor, we may conclude this cure was performed between the years 1607 and 1612.

[c] Thus much is confirmed by another writer, who observes, " that " Ralegh and Cobham being pri- " soners, upon the suit of queen " Anne, (who was thereunto pressed " by sir Walter Ralegh,) Cobham " was reexamined before some of " the lords of the council at the " Tower, and did clear sir Walter " Ralegh from all treasons whatso- " ever." Observations upon some persons and passages in the Complete History of Mary queen of Scotland, and her son James, 4to. 1656. p. 12.

[d] An author before cited has attempted to disprove this particular thus: " How could Wade tamper " with Cobham to write his name to " a blank, to which Wade framed the " accusation against Ralegh; when " it appears Cobham never signed " at all to his examinations?" Aulic. Coquin. p. 190. But it is plain this trick of Wade's, if such he committed, could not be meant of Cobham's examinations, for they were taken at Richmond and at London; but the question put here was, whether Cobham had not, under his hand, accused sir Walter Ralegh at Winchester? which could relate only to this letter of accusation before quoted, which was subscribed with Cobham's name, and pretended to be written by him the night before Ralegh's trial there.

"Cobham had made good whatever he had writ, but never "wrote any thing to accuse Ralegh; by which you see the "baseness of this lord, the credulity of the king, and the "ruin of sir Walter Ralegh [e]." As for the miserable end this lord Cobham made, the same author relates it [f]; and it is also confirmed by others, who were well acquainted with the history of these times, and from whom we learn, that Cobham survived not sir Walter Ralegh above two or three months [g].

But to return to more early passages in Ralegh's imprisonment, and to consider his state, as it appears at his entrance therein, we may very easily believe he was at first in very great trouble to be so suddenly, and in such a manner, deprived of power, fortune, liberty, and reputation; but find nothing to confirm the extraordinary dejection one writer, who has been before spoken of, describes him under; where he says, "In the public joy and jubilee of the whole "realm, when favour, peace, and pardon were offered even "to offenders; he, who in wit, in wealth, in courage, was "inferior to few, fell suddenly (he cannot tell how) into "such a downfall of despair, that his greatest enemies would

[e] Sir Anthony Weldon's Court and Character of King James, p. 38, 39, 40.

[f] He tells us, that, "as lord Grey "died pitied, Cobham died scorned, "and his death as base; for he died "lousy, for want of apparel and li-"nen; and had starved, had not a "trencher-scraper, some time his "servant in court, relieved him with "scraps, in whose house he died, "being so poor a house, as he was "forced to creep up a ladder into a "little hole to his chamber; which "was a strange judgment and un-"precedented for a man of seven "thousand pounds per annum; and "of a personal estate of thirty thou-"sand pounds; of all which the king "was so cheated, (or of what should "have escheated to him,) that he "could not give him any mainte-"nance, as in all cases the king "does, unless out of his own reve-"nue of the crown; which was the "occasion of this lord's want, (his "wife being very rich, and would "not give him the crumbs that fell "from her table:) and this was a just "judgment of God on him." Thus Weldon, p. 37. &c. Osborne also, much to the same sense, tells us, from the authority of William earl of Pembroke, "that Cobham died in a "room ascended by a ladder, at a "poor woman's house in the Mino-"ries, formerly his laundress, rather "of hunger, than of any more natu-"ral disease. Thus miserable was "his fate, in meeting with a prince "so inconsiderably profuse to stran-"gers, that he forgot the owner, not "leaving him wherewithal to buy "bread: an impiety not found among "infidels, who ever deemed it less "injustice to take away life, than "the means to maintain it."

[g] Camden's Annals of King James, and Dugdale's Baronage.

"not have wished him so much harm, as he would have "done himself[h];" for we have seen he had enemies, who would have done him the injury that could not be exceeded, had not the king in some degree of justice, rather than mercy to him, interposed, and secured him, as well from being quite destroyed by, as taking revenge on them: besides, that letter to his wife before mentioned, when his fate appeared nearest and most unavoidable to him, demonstrates the firmness and fortitude of a man, who could receive death as an acquaintance, rather than a stranger, or one, who, having so often gone to face him among the foes to his country abroad, could, with equal steadiness and composure of mind, meet him from those at home. Indeed, the affairs of a person who had such various and extensive dealings or commerce with mankind, could not but be somewhat perplexed and embarrassed, upon a fall so sudden and precipitous; therefore, to find him employing agents for collecting in debts, and satisfying creditors, is to be expected. Thus, in one of his letters to sir Michael Hext, he desires him to spare John Shellbury for a little time, he being bound for him in a sum of fifteen hundred pounds; and, if he was restrained, so that he could not recover the wine-arrearages, which (as we find from Ralegh's letter before to his wife) would clear all his debts, they must remain unpaid. The date endorsed upon this letter, probably by sir Michael himself, is November 12, 1604[i]. In the middle of February following, we find a grant made by the king, to that John Shellbury and another person, to this effect: "That sir Walter Ralegh, late of Sherborne, &c. being at-"tainted of high treason, whereby all his goods and chat-"tels, real and personal, moveable and immoveable, debts, "duties, sums of money, bonds, &c. are forfeited: his "majesty therefore, in consideration that the said debts, "which sir Walter Ralegh did truly owe before the said "attainder and conviction, may be justly and truly paid;

[h] Sir John Harrington's Brief View of the Church, p. 93.

[i] Sir Walter Ralegh to sir Michael Hext, the original in the choice and valuable library of James West, esq. F. R. S.

"as also for the help and maintenance of dame Elizabeth "his wife, his child, and family; and for other considera- "tions, grants to John Shellbury and Robert Smith of "London, gentlemen, all the said goods[a]," &c.

Thus we see a great distinction made already between him and Cobham, and shall find more favour extending towards him in a little while. It is said to be much owing to the earnest and unwearied intercessions of his lady at court, who, that she might be more serviceable to him, soon after he was committed to the Tower, petitioned the king, that she might be a prisoner with her husband, or live with him there in his confinement; and her request was granted. Here, manifestly after the grant aforesaid to Ralegh's trustees, because that mentions but one of his sons, she was delivered of the other, and he was christened Carew, who was yet born, as authors compute, within the year above mentioned. To this satisfaction, Ralegh had others afterwards, which greatly alleviated the loss of his liberty; so that his restraint, which was intended as a mortification, his prudence in time so converted, that it proved only a retirement, or the quiet enjoyment of a domestic life; and he felt certain comforts arise from the constant company of his little family, which, in the pomp of courts, the pride of conquests, the glory of discoveries, and the sweetness of freedom itself, he had never tasted. But this tranquillity appears not to have suddenly arrived, being for a while divested of all his estate; and having some contentions at law with those who were considerably indebted to him, and could not otherwise be brought to account; one instance whereof we have in William Sanderson the elder, "who was of kin "to Ralegh[b]; and," as we are told, "in the time of his pros-

his younger son born.

[a] De Concessione Johanni Shelbery et Roberto Smyth, de bonis et catallis quæ fuerunt Walteri Ralegh militis attincti. In Rymer's Fœdera, tom. 16. fol. 569.

[b] For the said William Sanderson the elder, who was much engaged among the merchant-adventurers in queen Elizabeth's reign, and one of her commissioners for the Spanish prize-goods; also of note for the great globes, which, by his encouragement, were brought to perfection; married, about the year 1571, Margaret Snedale, or Snowdale, the daughter of sir Walter Ralegh's sister Mary, by her husband Hugh Snedale, a commander in the queen's royal navy,

"perity and greatness, was his servant, intrusted with re-
"ceiving great sums of money for him out of his office of
"wines, and his other places, by which he became in arrear
"to Ralegh in divers great sums; which, after his trou-
"bles, he sent for to Sanderson, who was so far from pay-
"ing them, that he pretended Ralegh should owe him two
"thousand pounds: whereupon sir Walter, in great anger,
"commenced a suit against Sanderson, which was managed
"by his servant and solicitor John Shellbury; and San-
"derson being overthrown, and found in arrear to Ralegh
"in very great sums, was cast into prison, where he died a
"beggar. Hence sprung all the spleen and malice of Wil-
"liam Sanderson the younger (in his history of king James's
"reign) towards sir Walter Ralegh," as the author of the pamphlet whence this passage is extracted, and which was written many years after Ralegh's death, to detect the errors and falsities in that history, continues[c]. Now this exposure both of that author's father and his own history, so enraged the son, that he forthwith published an answer to the said pamphlet, in which he not only endeavours to support what he had written of sir Walter Ralegh in his history, though with no authorities or satisfactory reasons, but falls most foully upon Carew Ralegh, as if he was the author of the pamphlet aforesaid against his history; and that, with such womanish spleen and slander as might have betrayed, had not himself owned, that his wife had a hand in writing it. But of the passage here last quoted, though he contradicts several particulars, he does not deny the main point; which is, that sir Walter Ralegh, now after his reprieve, did commence suits by Shellbury against his father, which might naturally sharpen the son's pen, and warp his impartiality, when he was representing him in his history, and the rather if Ralegh was such a debtor besides to his father, as he describes him[d]. But, whoever was the author

as we gather from a pamphlet written by their son William Sanderson, more particularly mentioned a little lower.

[c] Observations on the history of Mary queen of Scotland, and her son James, &c. p. 2.

[d] See an answer to a scurrilous pamphlet, entitled, Observations upon a complete History, &c. of Mary

of those observations on the said history, he has not more unfavourably treated it, than others who examined it afterwards[e].

When Ralegh had got over these troublesome contests, all things appeared for a while about him as serene, as in such a gloomy state could be hoped for; and he, who lately was upon the very brink of dissolution, had all his offices, lands, and goods seized upon, and was himself committed a close prisoner, had not only his life reprieved, and his confinement sweetened with some degrees of latitude, but even his estate also restored to him. For these lands (as should have been before observed, had Carew Ralegh's case, whereof I had then but an imperfect extract, been, as it is now, at hand) were actually made over by sir Walter Ralegh to his son, both inheritance and fee, before queen Elizabeth died, as

His estate restored him.

queen of Scotland, and her son king James, &c. by William Sanderson, esq. 4to. 1656.

[e] The character he gives of Sanderson's said history of king James is as follows: "His whole history "is a rhapsody of notes and scat-"tered papers from other men, col-"lected without order or method; "exceedingly defective both in time, "place, and nominations; and writ-"ten in so unseemly and disjointed "a style, that you may easily per-"ceive he has taken up other men's "words without understanding their "matter; and unless it be where he "rails on persons of honour, (which "he does plainly and often, though "sometimes very falsely,) his lan-"guage is dark, harsh, and unintel-"ligible." Dr. Heylin thought this character so just, that he has recited it in his Survey of Sanderson's history of Charles I. annexed to his advertisements on the said author's history of the queen of Scots and king James, in his Examen Historicum before mentioned; and further confirms it with this character of his own: "Sanderson's method is in-"tricate and perplexed, backwards "and forwards, without care of time "or order; telling the same thing "over and over, and many times "disagreeing in one place, from that "which was affirmed in another: "his language rough and unpolished "in most parts of the book, and in "some parts ungrammatical; so "that no sense can be picked out of "it, but by circumstances, and in "the way of conjecture only." A little further he also gives it as the opinion of a judicious friend, "That "Sanderson writes nothing like an "historian, either for style or com-"posure: his sentences many times "nonsense, and his digressions te-"dious and impertinent."

And Dr. Welwood, in his Notes on Wilson's history of king James, says, nothing could enhance the value of it more than "a most wretch-"ed one published by one William "Sanderson; who pretends, in seve-"ral places, to some secret memoirs "or discourses with great men, to "make good the passages of his his-"tory. But the truth is, the whole "is nothing else but an ill-compiled "collection out of other authors; "wherein he, for the most part, mis-"takes or perverts their meaning. "In cursorily reading over this his-"tory, I have sometimes taken no-"tice of above four or five gross er-"rors, either in names, things, or "chronology, in one single page."

formerly was also the lease for years[f]; so that, as he observes again in another place, "being entailed on sir Walter's heirs, he could not forfeit them, but during his own life; and the king, finding in himself the iniquity of sir Walter's condemnation, gave him all what he had forfeited against." Herewith agrees likewise sir John Harrington, who not only tells us by whose mediation Ralegh recovered his said estate, and his enlargement in prison, but how laudably he employed himself there at the time of this author's writing, which might be about the year 1607; where he says, "God put it into the king's mind, against man's expectation, to save his life; and since, by the suit of his faithful wife, both to preserve his estate, and to ease his restraint, in such sort as many who are at liberty taste not greater comforts than he doth in prison; being not barred of those companions, (meaning books,) that he may, and perhaps does, take more true comfort in them, than ever he took of his courtly companions in his chiefest bravery[h]."

But this prospect was soon overcast; for there was a young Scotchman, named Robert Car, who, soon after the said restitution, sprang up in great favour at court; and, having no fortune of his own, it was contrived by those who had gaped in vain for Ralegh's estate themselves, to lay the foundation of this favourite's future greatness upon his ruin: for, being thus frustrated of the effects of sir Walter's attainder, they pretended to find a flaw in his last conveyance of the fee and inheritance of Sherborne to his son; and to this purpose an information was exhibited in the exchequer by the attorney-general Hobart, to which Ralegh put in his answer; and therein the said grant or conveyance was set forth to be made over, as above: yet, for want of a single word, (which was found notwithstanding in the paper-book, and was only the oversight of the clerk,) they

[f] Carew Ralegh's case at the committee, for sale of delinquents' estates, MS. before quoted.

[g] A Brief Relation of Sir Walter Ralegh's Troubles; with the taking away of the lands and castle of Sherborne in Dorsetshire, &c. 4to. 1669. p. 6.

[h] Brief View of the State of the Church of England, p. 93, 94.

And taken away again.

pronounced the conveyance invalid, and Sherborne absolutely forfeited to the crown; a judgment to be foreseen without witchcraft; since his chief judge was his greatest enemy, and the case argued between a friendless prisoner and the king of England[i].

Then was Sherborne given to this Car, afterwards earl of Somerset. The lady Ralegh and her children earnestly petitioned the king for compassion; but could now obtain no other answer from him, than that he mun have the land, he mun have it for Car. And she, a woman of high spirit, on her knees, prayed to God, that he would punish those who had thus wrongfully exposed her and her children to ruin[k]. We have an elegant letter of Ralegh's extant, to Car himself, upon this occasion; but, having been corruptly printed, as I have elsewhere observed[l], it may appear from several ancient manuscript copies more correct, as follows: "After some great losses, and many years' sorrows, of both "which I have cause to fear I was mistaken in the end; "it is come to my knowledge, that yourself, whom I know "not but by an honourable fame, has been persuaded to "give me and mine our last fatal blow, by obtaining from "his majesty the inheritance of my children and nephews, "lost in the law for want of a word. This done, there re-"mains nothing with me but the name of life, despoiled of "all else but the title and sorrow thereof. His majesty, "whom I never offended, (for I ever held it unnatural and "unmanly to hate goodness,) stayed me at the grave's brink; "not, as I hope, that he thought me worthy of many deaths, "and to behold all mine cast out of the world with myself;

[i] Thus in the Brief Relation of Sir Walter Ralegh's Troubles, and Carew Ralegh's case, as before. Ralegh has himself also made some sharp reflections upon corrupt judges for their deprivations of this kind. In his Discourse of the original and misery of invasive war, p. 19.

[k] A Brief Relation of Sir Walter Ralegh's Troubles, as before, p. 7.

[l] In an essay on epistolary writings, &c. MS. p. 31. from archbishop Tenison's observation in his Baconiana, printed 8vo. 1679. p. 77. where, speaking of the corrupt and embased copies, from which several of the letters in the Cabala were printed, he gives a particular instance in this letter of sir Walter Ralegh's to sir Robert Car; having compared it with the original, and found no fewer than forty differences between them, of which some were of moment.

"but as a king, who, judging the poor in truth, has re-
"ceived a promise from God, *that his throne shall be esta-*
"*blished for ever*. And for yourself, sir, seeing your
"fair day is but now in the dawn, and mine drawn to the
"evening, your own virtues and the king's grace assuring
"you of many favours and much honour, I beseech you
"not to begin your first building upon the ruins of the in-
"nocent; and that their sorrows, with mine, may not at-
"tend your first plantation. I have been ever bound to
"your nation, as well for many other graces, as for their
"true report of my trial to his majesty, against whom had
"I been found malignant, the hearing of my cause would
"not have changed enemies into friends, malice into com-
"passion, and the minds of the greatest number present
"into the commiseration of my state. It is not the nature
"of foul treason to beget such fair passions; neither could
"it agree with the duty and love of faithful subjects, espe-
"cially of your nation, to bewail his overthrow, who had
"conspired against their most liberal and natural lord. I
"therefore trust, sir, that you will not be the first that
"shall kill us outright, cut down the tree with the fruit,
"and undergo their curse, who enter the field of the fa-
"therless; which, if it please you to know the truth, is far
"less fruitful in value than in fame: but that so worthy a
"gentleman as yourself will rather bind us to your service,
"being, sir, gentlemen, not base in birth or alliance, who
"have interest therein; and myself, with my utmost thank-
"fulness, will ever remain ready to obey your command-
"ments." This letter, in one or two old copies, is dated December 1608[m]. But this so little prevailed upon Car, or any other applications Ralegh might make to the king, with his majesty himself; that besides Sherborne, and the manors belonging to it, those other lands which Ralegh himself had purchased, called Pinford and Primesly, Barton, and the manors appertaining also thereunto, forfeited with

[m] One copy is in a thin folio volume of sir Walter Ralegh's letters, among the MS. collections of sir Hans Sloane; and the other, in the library of James West, esq.

the rest by his attainder, were also granted the following year, 1609, or the seventh of his majesty's reign, to the said favourite [n].

How much respected by the prince of Wales.

But now, or not long after, Ralegh was grown into high esteem with that great hope and heir of these kingdoms, prince Henry Frederick, the king's eldest son, who, being satisfied of his loyalty, and well informed of his great qualifications and experience in civil and military affairs, with his hazardous services for the honour and defence of his country, no less than his many public-spirited adventures, both to enlarge and enrich it, testified not his own merits more in any one particular, than in distinguishing those of sir Walter Ralegh; and, notwithstanding the many little envious detractions of some undermining courtiers about him, did both encourage his epistolary addresses to him from the Tower, and send for his counsel or opinion upon several emergent occasions. It was perhaps one of the brightest rays in the shining orb of this rare prince's actions, that he never left invading the king with the most persuasive solicitations, that he would bestow Sherborne upon him, with full design to return it to its just owner, till his majesty at last granted his request: but by what cruel fate Ralegh's hopes were eclipsed again, and indeed those of the whole kingdom, we shall suddenly hear.

In the mean time, we must here endeavour to give such light of that intercourse which passed between the said prince Henry and sir Walter Ralegh, as those letters and discourses which he addressed to his highness, and are extant, will afford. And first, when he found how commendably the prince was inclined to the studies of navigation; how much delighted he was with a view of the fleet at Chatham; how inquisitive, or desirous to inform himself, by consultation with the most experienced commanders, in the knowledge of building ships most artfully, fitting them out most commodiously, sailing them most dexterously, and fighting with them most successfully, in order to execute those great

[n] Carew Ralegh's Case, as before.

designs he had upon the West Indies and Spain itself, whenever the king thereof should give cause of public hostility, as one of his own servants acquaints us, and would have done more distinctly, had he not been manacled in a courtly maxim so discrepant with all personal narrative, That to publish particulars agrees not with rules of state [o]; Ralegh composed and communicated to his highness several tractates upon these subjects. Such was his letter touching the model of a ship, which the prince intended to build [p]; and such his discourse of a maritimal voyage, with the passages and incidents therein [q], which he seconded with some necessary observations on the royal navy and seaservice [r], also dedicated to his highness; and wherein he appears to have been a most worthy and earnest counsellor of the prince, to a due regard and regulation thereof. "For," says Ralegh to him, in answer to any objection that might be made to the maintenance of so great a fleet, in the perfection and readiness which he recommends now in times of peace, "though "the sword is put into the sheath, we must not suffer it to "rust, or stick so fast that we shall not be able to draw it "readily when need requires." And a little further, "We "may be assured, that if those powerful means, whereby we "reduced our enemies to the courtesy of seeking peace of "us, were neglected, so as we could not again, upon occa-"sion, readily assume the use and benefit of them, as we "have done; those proud mastering spirits, finding us at "such advantage, would be more willing to shake us by the "ears as enemies, than to take us by the hands as friends. "Therefore, far be it from our hearts to trust more to that "friendship of strangers, which is but dissembled upon po-"licy and necessity, than to the strength of our own forces, "which has been experienced with so happy success. I "confess that peace is a blessing of God, and blessed are

His advice to the prince about the royal navy.

[o] A Discourse of the most illustrious prince Henry, late prince of Wales, written anno 1626, by sir Charles Cornwallis, kt. some time treasurer of his highness's house. Dedicated to prince Charles by J. B. printed 4to. 1641. p. 12, 13. &c.

[p] In sir Walter Ralegh's Remains, (last edit.) p. 160.

[q] Mentioned by sir Walter Ralegh, in his Observations on the Royal Navy, &c. p. 1.

[r] Printed in his Essays, 8vo. 1650.

"the peacemakers; therefore doubtless blessed are those "means whereby peace is gained and maintained. For well "we know that God works all things here among us me-"diately, and by a secondary means; the which means of "our defence and safety, being shipping and sea-forces, are "to be esteemed as his gifts; and then only available and "beneficial, when he withal vouchsafes his grace to use "them aright[s]." To this end Ralegh also wrote another discourse for the said prince, Of the Art of War by Sea[t]: but the untimely death of his highness, as we shall too soon find, deprived both him and posterity of the advantages which a subject so useful and uncommon, from an author so able and experienced, did promise.

There is nothing in these discourses, or any other I have met with, which shew Ralegh any ways concerned in writing those propositions or arguments for foreign wars, which were delivered to prince Henry by some of his military servants, and which were afterwards abstractedly published, together with an answer at large, written, very conformable to the taste of king James, by the learned sir Robert Cotton[u]; though, to the first edition of this treatise, the booksellers, having prefixed sir Walter Ralegh's picture, have thereby misled some writers of his life carelessly to insert this book into the catalogue of his writings[x]. It is true, Ralegh has obliquely and subordinately touched this branch of the subject in some of his discourses upon war, but in other arguments than are here answered, nay, after this answer was written; nor are they addressed to the prince, but indeed written also after his death[y]. In some places he has given the greatest discouragements to a military life, from

[s] Printed in his Essays, 8vo. p. 44. &c.

[t] Hereafter mentioned more particularly in the catalogue of his writings.

[u] Wars with foreign princes dangerous, or reasons for foreign wars answered, 8vo. 165-, reprinted under the title of an Answer to such motives as were offered by certain military men to prince Henry, inciting him to affect arms more than peace, published by sir John Cotton, bart. 8vo. 1665. But this second edition has very properly exchanged sir Walter Ralegh's picture for sir Robert Cotton's.

[x] Anthony Wood, in Athen. Oxon. vol. 1. col. 440. and Prince's Worthies of Devon, fol. 541.

[y] As in his Discourse of the original and miseries of invasive war, 8vo. 1650, &c.

knowing how many are deluded to be the executioners of other men's ambition, and to lay down their lives for what they should not venture them [z]; yet withal, the greater disproportion of honour and reward which attends that profession, than others of less personal hardship and danger, as was before partly observed [a]. In other places he has written against wanton and causeless invasions, for the mere sake of brutish and vainglorious victory; against waging war with our enemies, till we beat the art of it into them, till cowards are learnt to be courageous, and defenders become assailants; yet has elsewhere, in a very ingenious similitude, shewn, that martial policy is one of the principal supports of government [b]. However, when a prince has thereby got authority, or the sharpest means in his power, he would have the mildest use; and the one acquired in full strength, only that the other may be exercised with perfect safety: for he ever preferred reason and love, as stronger chains of government than constraint or violence [c], and thought that royal dealings were ever surest of meeting with royal success [d].

[z] His words are; "It may be affirmed, the number of those that "have been slaughtered by their fellow-creatures, exceed the number "of all the inhabitants that ever "were at one time living upon the "face of the earth; yet very few "of this infinite number, thus untimely slain, were ever masters of "the grounds of the disputes for "which they suffered, or the true reason of their being led to the battle; "the truth, with much artifice, being "kept from all, but what were parties to the design resolved on. "What deluded wretches then have "a great part of mankind been, who "have either yielded themselves to "be slain in causes, which, if truly "known, their hearts would abhor, "or been the bloody executioners of "other men's ambition! It is a hard "fate to be slain for what a man "should never willingly fight; yet "few soldiers have laid themselves "down in the bed of honour under "better circumstances." Ralegh's Three Discourses, p. 110.

[a] From his reflections on the unhappiness of a military profession, in his History of the World, lib. 5. cap. 6. sect. 2.

[b] It is as follows: "They say, that "the goodliest cedars, which grow "on the high mountains of Libanus, "thrust their roots between the clifts "of hard rocks, the better to bear themselves against the strong storms "that blow there. As nature has "instructed those kings of trees, so "has reason taught the kings of men "to root themselves in the hardy "hearts of their faithful subjects. "And as those kings of trees have "large tops, so have the kings of "men large crowns; whereof, as "the first would soon be broken from "their bodies, were they not underborne by many branches; so would "the other easily totter, were they "not fastened on their heads with "the strong chains of civil justice "and martial discipline." Ralegh's Remains, (last edit.) p. 116.

[c] Idem, p. 119.

[d] Ralegh's Prerogative of Parliaments, in the said edit. of his Remains, p. 236.

Such were the principles sir Walter Ralegh infused, not only into the prince of Wales, but all other readers, throughout his writings; and agreeable hereto is the tenor of that letter he wrote to the said prince, August the 12th, 1611, concerning the most eligible power in an English sovereign; where he has, with the spirit of a true patriot, said, "Let me "not doubt but all plans, which do not carry in them the mu-"tual happiness of prince and people, will appear as absurd "to your great understanding, as disagreeable to your noble "nature[e]."

And concerning the best plan of government.

But now Ralegh's pen was engaged upon a different subject in the prince's service, and by his command: for, "the "first overtures of a marriage between this prince and the "eldest daughter of Spain being put off[f]," the like motion was now made by the Savoyan ambassador, not only for a marriage between prince Henry and a daughter of the duke of Savoy, but for another, of his son don Phillibert, prince of Piedmont, with princess Elizabeth, the daughter of England. Ralegh wrote two discourses upon this occasion in the year last mentioned; and that he particularly was requested by the prince to give his opinion of the said offers, appears in his introduction to the first of those discourses, inscribed to some minister of state about his highness; in which Ralegh has so notably discovered what a tool for "avarice and ambition most of the catholic princes in Eu-"rope had made of this sacrament of matrimony;" and how notoriously "the Castilians, with those of whom these "princes are descended, have gotten no less by the traffic "of their marriages, than they have done by the trade of "their Indies;" that I wonder these excellent political discourses were never made public, for the more easy advertisement of our succeeding princes upon this topic. The second of them, upon the match for prince Henry, is treated under eight heads; and in the fourth page of it Ralegh has these words: "There is a kind of noble and royal de-

[e] See this letter of sir Walter Ralegh to prince Henry, in sir Richard Steele's Englishman, 8vo. 1714. p. 9.

[f] Sir William Cornwallis's Discourse of the most illustrious prince Henry, as before, p. 19. &c.

"ceiving in marriages between great kings and princes; "yea it is, of all others, the fairest and most unsuspected "kind of betraying: it has been as ordinary among them "to adventure or cast away a daughter, to bring some pur-"pose to pass, as at other times, for saving of charges, to "make them nuns." A little further, having represented the duke of Savoy so tied to the see of Rome, both by religion and benefit, that he could no more be separated and subsist, than if his soul was divided from his body, he goes on thus, more directly, concerning the marriage: "What "then remains of profit to our prince by this alliance? A "sum of money and a beautiful lady. For beauty," says he, "it was never more cheap in any age; and it is ever "better loved in the hope, than when it is had. For the "million of crowns offered, which makes but two of our "subsidies, I speak it confidently; when those dukes, lords, "and great ladies, who will attend the princess in her pas-"sage hither, shall be all presented with gifts according to "their degrees and the king's honour; when the prepara-"tions, triumphs, and feastings are paid for, there will no-"thing remain but a great increase of charge, and per-"chance a great deal of melancholy." And a little further, Ralegh comes closer still, to the prince himself, in these words: "Now, if by these dislikes of the former alliances, "you make judgment that it is my desire that the prince "should not marry at all; I say, my desire is not, that the "prince should not marry at all, but not as yet; and I am "exceeding sorry that the prince has not the same desire. "For seeing his majesty is yet but young, and by God's "favour like to live many years; and that his highness, if "he should now marry, may have many children born to "him before he be thirty years old; and seeing all his "children shall be princes, and must be provided for as "princes, I think it will much perplex him to find himself "so environed, till his majesty has somewhat repaired his "estate, and provided beautiful gardens to plant these olive "branches in. While the prince is unmarried, all the eyes "of Christendom are upon him; for, with what king soever

His arguments against the match proposed for his highness.

" he shall be balanced, he will cast the scale; but, to have " him weighed with a little prince, I should be sorry, and " he himself will be as sorry after. All the princes in " Christendom wooed Charles, duke of Burgundy, while " his daughter was unmarried; and while our prince is free, " (our enemies not knowing upon what ground to build " their practices,) his majesty's safety is in the mean while " infinitely assured; but, the prince once disposed of, they " will presently muster our forces, measure our fortunes, " sound us to the bottom, and make their approaches ac- " cordingly: they will then say, We have seen the utmost " of the prince of Wales!" Then having observed, that " since there is none but a catholic lady for us, let us have a " king on our side," says he, " to boot:" so, in consideration of the many motives to enmity between France and Spain, which he enumerates, as also the many obligations which France then lay under, of gratitude to the crown of England, and the advantage of retaining the Netherlands, he proposes the daughter of the French king. On the other side, that it would be a needless hazard both to neglect this love and union, and sustain withal the hatred of the archduke, the pope, and the king of Spain together; however, disunited, they were not to be feared: " For then, if they " should combine against us, from whom should we hope " for help? If it be from Savoy or Florence, God help us! " Our friends inhabit beyond the mountains, our enemies at " hand! We leave those that are strongest, and nearest us, " for those who are weakest, and furthest off! We leave " those that can help us or harm us, for those that can do " neither! Those we leave who depend on themselves, to " wit, the French, for those who depend on others, to wit, the " Savoyans and Florentines!" Thus ends sir Walter Ralegh's discourse upon the marriage proposed for prince Henry.

In his other discourse, on the match that was offered for the ingenious and accomplished lady Elizabeth, that prince's sister, having copiously exemplified, as we have observed, what mercenary sacrifices had been made by crowned heads of their children, in this grand market of matrimony,

and answered the objection he foresaw some espaniolized courtiers might make, that seeing the kings of France, and especially of Spain, had so often matched themselves with the dukes of Savoy, why should not the king of England also accept of their alliance? he proceeds to examine what increase of honour and dignity, or what great comfort or contentment, this excellent young princess could expect or hope for by this match? "For the first, to wit, honour and "dignity," says he, "as she is born the eldest, and now only "daughter of one of the mightiest kings of Christendom, so "is she thereby of higher place and state than the wife of "a duke of Savoy. Besides, in her birth and blood, both "of father and mother, descended of such royal races, as "Savoy cannot add any greater grace or glory to; and by "nature and education endowed with such princely perfec-"tions, both of body and mind, as may well deserve to be "reputed a worthy spouse for the greatest monarch of "Christendom, especially considering the possibilities of a "daughter of England, whereof we have had many prece-"dents, and at this time is happily manifested in the king's "majesty, our sovereign, being descended of a daughter of "England; whereby the whole island, formerly divided, is "again now made one Great Britain, to the mutual strength "of either. Now to confer the possibility of such a fortune "upon a poor popish duke of Savoy, that can return no "recompense of benefit to this state, were greatly for his "glory, though little for the advancement of this noble "princess, and less for the safety of this kingdom, consider-"ing the dangers that it may draw upon our worthy mag-"nanimous prince and the noble duke of York, if the am-"bition of this match should tickle the Savoyan to look af-"ter possibilities, wherein there would want neither means, "persuasions, nor pardons from Rome, to practise any vil-"lainy in that behalf, whereby to benefit or strengthen an "appendix of Spain, and so devoted a son to the Romish "see. For the second, namely, the comfort and content-"ment of this worthy young lady by this match, as there is "little in appearance presently, so there is less to be hoped

And against the match for princess Elizabeth.

" for in the future. For as, first, she must be removed far
" from her nearest blood, both by father and mother, into
" a country far estranged from our nation as any part of
" Christendom, and as far differing from us in religion as in
" climate. And what true correspondence, or matrimonial
" affection, there can be maintained between those persons
" whose minds are different, and opposite in the religious
" points of their Christian faith, is greatly to be doubted.
" Moreover it is greatly to be feared, with what safety and
" security she can long live free from secret practices and
" treacheries, in a country so near the pope's jurisdiction,
" environed with the plots of the Jesuits, who, we see, do
" daily traffic the lives and fortunes of all princes who are
" not wholly devoted to the Romish obedience; and there-
" fore, how they will entertain or tolerate the race of our
" king were too great an error and presumption to trust to:
" so as when the worthy lady hereafter, by her children or
" otherwise, has furnished their desire, and fully served
" their turn, she shall be then either forced to wound her
" conscience, by forsaking her faith, or else to undergo the
" scorns and danger which shall be daily cast upon her and
" her family, for the exercise of her religion. And this also
" we may be well assured of, that, if she shall have any
" issue by the prince of Piedmont, they must all be bred
" and brought up contrary to her conscience, which can be
" no small grief to a virtuous and natural mother, and as
" little comfort to our just religious king, their grandfather.
" Lastly, the very binding cause of amity between all kings,
" princes, and states, is their trade and intercourse of their
" subjects. Now there is not any prince or state of Europe,
" the inland countries of Hungary and Transylvania ex-
" cepted, but the English have trade withal; yea even with
" the Turk, Barbarian, Persian, and Indians; only with the
" subjects of Savoy I do not know that we have any med-
" dling or interchange at all: for the duke has no port, his
" ditch of Villa-Franca excepted, which is only capable of
" a few galleys, either to furnish ships from, or to receive
" them, being strangers. And therefore for his majesty of

"England to match his eldest and only daughter with a "prince who has his dependance on other kings; a prince "jesuited, who can neither head us in time of war, nor trade "with us in time of peace; a prince, by the situation of his "country, every way unprofitable to us; and that, no less "perilous for his majesty's daughter to live in: I resolve "myself, that he is of too excellent a judgment ever to ac-"cept of it, and his honourable council too wise and provi-"dent to advise the prosecution thereof. Now, if his high-"ness should be pleased to ask my opinion, with what "Christian prince he should match his sister, were it in his "own power and choice to make election, I humbly desire "to be excused herein; for would it become me to pre-"sume so far? It is true, I have heard it, that some over-"tures have been made for the prince palatine of the "Rhine; certainly he is as well born as the duke of Savoy, "and as free a prince as he is. The nation is faithful; he "is of our religion; and by him we shall greatly fasten unto "us the Netherlands: and, for the little judgment which "God has given me, I do prize the alliance of the palatine "of the Rhine, and of the house of Nassau, more than I "do the alliance of ten dukes of Savoy." And thus ends his discourse on the marriage of princess Elizabeth [g].

What followed was, that about a twelvemonth after the writing of those discourses, the said princess was married to Frederick, elector palatine of the Rhine[h], afterwards king of Bohemia; a match which might have well answered all the advantages expected from it, at least one that had never been attended with such a series of calamities, were king James to have been moved, if not through honour and power, as a sovereign, yet through nature and affection, as

[g] Of these two MS. discourses, by sir Walter Ralegh, on the marriage betwixt England and Savoy, more will be spoken a few pages further, in the catalogue of his works.

[h] This marriage was celebrated on the 14th of February 1612, in such pomp and splendour, that the jewels only, which were worn by the king, queen, and prince, were valued that day, by his majesty himself, (upon occasion of discourse happening of the bravery then appearing,) at nine hundred thousand pounds sterling. Sir John Finet's Observations touching foreign ambassadors, 8vo. 1656. p. 11.

a father, to have granted them a seasonable supply against their enemies. Instead of which, his indulging, beyond all apprehension of possibility, at least all production of precedent, a blessed peaceable temper, as his flatterers called it, to the sitting down a quiet spectator of his children's overthrow and their fortunes, occasioned, not only all the lamentable wars which succeeded throughout Germany, to the utter ruin of his said son-in-law, and all the princes who assisted him; but also those of his successor at home, throughout his own dominions: for, daring not to draw his sword, through fear of offending the Spaniard, he sat musing at home, one while, how to raise money by privy-seals, benevolences, crown-lands, and woods, either to cram his insatiable favourites, or else to fit out more prodigal and frivolous embassies, than would, by arms, have settled his children unmoveably in their throne; and, at other times, how to improve his sovereignty, or pick quarrels with his parliaments, and entail them to his heirs-general[i].

As for the prince of Wales, he is said to have first encouraged the prince elector to attempt his sister; desiring more to head an army in Germany than he durst make show of, and would, no doubt, have been bravely followed[k]: but, alas! that fate, which so often suffers the unworthy to flourish, deprived this kingdom of prince Henry in less than a month after the arrival of the said elector. Some have insinuated as if the Spaniards, because his highness approved Ralegh's discourse touching a war with Spain, had a hand in his untimely end; alleging, that, if Philip the Second cut off his own hopeful son Charles, for but pitying the people of Flanders, it can be no wonder he, or his son, should promote the destruction of a stranger, who did so far applaud the advice of Ralegh, as to say, No king, but his father, would keep such a bird in a cage[l]. But, from more intestine and unnatural sources, his sudden death

[i] See the Life and Reign of King Charles, &c. 8vo. 1651. in Pref. Also Observations on the History of Mary Queen of Scots and her son James, p. 5.

[k] Osborne's Memoirs of King James, p. 154.

[l] Idem, p. 165.

is surmised by others to have sprung; the disease being so violent, that the combat of nature against it, in the strength of youth, (he being almost nineteen years of age,) lasted but few days. Here it is somewhat remarkable, that after sir Theodore Mayerne, with Dr. Butler, Hamond, and other most eminent physicians, had used the utmost of their skill in vain, and had the least hopes imaginable left of the prince's recovery, that these should be at last centred in some relief that might be had from sir Walter Ralegh, and that a cordial from him (a state-prisoner) should be sent for, and, with consent or approbation, administered, when all other means had failed and were given over, as we may gather from sir William Cornwallis[m], and other historians of those times. As to the effect, though it came too late, so that it might rather prolong pain than life for a few hours, and truly must have been a kind of miracle to have restored one so far exhausted and on the point of expiring, for he died the same evening, being the 6th of November 1612: yet, to observant readers, it is enough to manifest, first, what high reputation sir Walter Ralegh's medicinal knowledge, through this cordial, had now gained (and it afterwards increased[n]) among the most skilful of the faculty;

His great cordial sent for to the prince, at the point of death.

[m] Sir William Cornwallis's Life of prince Henry, in 8vo. a different and more copious work than his discourse in 4to. on the said prince before quoted, though printed the same year 1641. See also Aulicus Coquinariæ, and Sanderson's History of king James.

[n] Insomuch, that there has been a distinct volume written upon this cordial; whereby I find it is not to be taken for that which is called sir Walter Ralegh's cordial, in a book entitled, as I remember, The Lady's Closet opened; for that is only a simple strawberry-water. But this here meant was his *great cordial*, as I find Ralegh, in one of his manuscripts, has styled it himself. This cordial rose into such high repute, for its sovereign virtues, in the reign of king Charles II. and was so much recommended to and admired by him, that he commanded Nicholas le Febvre, the royal professor in chymistry, and apothecary in ordinary to his majesty's household, to prepare a quantity of this precious remedy after the exactest manner; which the said chymist not only did, but composed in French also, under his majesty's auspices and command, a treatise entitled, Discours sur le Grand Cordial de Sir Walter Ralegh, which he dedicates to the said king: and this was at the same time translated into English by Peter Belon, student in chymistry. For they were both licensed on the 23d of April, 1664; though the translation appears to have been printed first, because it is dated that year; and the original the year after: the French is in 12mo. the English in 8vo. After the dedication, follows this introduction of the recipe: "Eximium cordiale re-" gium multis rebus necessariis an-" ctum, secundum consilium et appro-

and secondly, the unsteady and incoherent opinions which were entertained of one and the same man's loyalty; that

"bationem illustrissimorum virorum, "D.D. Kenelmi Digby, equitis aurati, "et serenissimæ reginæ matris cancel-"larii, et D.D. Alex. Fraiser, equitis "aurati, et serenissimi ac potentissimi "regis Caroli Secundi, &c. archiatro-"rum comitis." Next follows the receipt in these words: "Recipe ra-"suræ cornu cervi, libram unam; "*carnis viperarum cum cordibus et* "*hepatibus*, uncias sex; florum bo-"raginis, buglossæ, roris-marini, "calendulæ, vetonicæ, coronariæ "rubræ, roris solis, rosarum rubra-"rum, et sambuci, singulorum li-"bram semissem; herbarum scordii, "cardui benedicti, melissæ, dictam-"ni cretici, menthæ, majoranæ, be-"tonicæ, singularum manipulos duo-"decim; granorum kermes recen-"ter in rob redactorum, cubebarum, "cardamomi majoris, baccarum ju-"niperi, maceris, nucis myristicæ, "caryophyllorum, croci, singulo-"rum uncias duas; cinnamomi acu-"tissimi, corticis ligni sassafras, "flavedinis malorum citriorum et "aurantiorum, singulorum uncias "tres; lignorum aloes et sassafras "uniuscujusque uncias sex; radi-"cum angelicæ, valerianæ, carlinæ, "fraxinellæ seu dictamni albi, ser-"pentariæ virginianæ, zedoariæ, tor-"mentillæ, bistortæ, aristolochiæ "longæ, rotundæ et cavæ, gentianæ "et imperatoriæ, singulorum un-"ciam unam et semissem. Omnia "incisa et grosso modo contusa in "vase idoneo posita cum spiritu vini "rectificato extrahantur secundum "artem. Tincturæ filtratæ in ex-"tractum mediante, in Mariæ bal-"neo, distillatione evaporentur. "Magma expressum comburatur; "cineres reverberati per aquam eli-"xivientur, unde sal purum lege ar-"tis paretur, quod extracto miscea-"tur. His ita peractis, huic extra-"cto adde, ut artis est, pulverem "sequentem cæteraque ingredientia. "Recipe lapidum bezoardicorum ori-"entalium et occidentalium vero-"rum uniuscujusque unciam semis-"sem, magisterii solubilis perlarum "orientalium uncias duas, magiste-"rii solubilis corellorum rubrorum "uncias tres; boli orientalis, terræ "sigillatæ veræ, *unicornu mineralis*, "cornu cervi philosophice præparati, "et cornu cervi calcinati, singulo-"rum unciam unam; ambrægriseæ "electissimæ in essentiam redactæ, "unciam unam; moschi orientalis "optimi essentificati drachmam "unam et semissem; croci solis cum "tinctura antimonii Basilii Valen-"tini parati drachmas duas. Sac-"chari candisati albi subtilissime "pulverisati, libras duas. Ex his "omnibus mixtis et ex arte unitis "fiat confectio vere regia, quæ ad "usum reservetur in pixidibus ap-"prime clausis." Then the author aforesaid begins his discourse with examples among the ancients of those who have made themselves famous by their remedies, as Mithridates, &c. and among the moderns, Matheolus, B. Valentine, Paracelsus, and others; but finds none more worthy, in this particular, than sir Walter Raleigh, because he has not only selected most judiciously whatever is most choice and sovereign in the animal, vegetable, and mineral world; but has also manifested so much art and experience in the preparation of this great and admirable cordial, as will, of itself, render him immortal: wherefore, he says, he could not restrain the applauses owing to his honour and glory, which he has more than merited by that noble labour and profound study, that acquired him the sublime knowledge he had in the virtues and qualities of all those ingredients which unite to the composition of this incomparable remedy. So he proceeds to explain; first, the virtues of every individual drug, which, "together, cause those "rare effects this cordial daily pro-"duces," says he, "as well towards the "healthful as the sick." Secondly, he specifies how art helps nature in the harmonious and exquisite method of the preparation. Thirdly, distinguishes the efficacy of it in maritime or islandic and northerly countries. Lastly, what a preservative it is, as well as restorative; and concludes with the exposition of the dose, the

he, who was accused at his trial of a plot to extirpate the royal family, should yet be so far relied on to save it, as to have the lives first of queen Anne, as was before related, and now of prince Henry, trusted to his experiments. But, in a modern author, we have some further circumstances of this passage, which I have not elsewhere met with. For, having spoken of the particular esteem which prince Henry had contracted for sir Walter Ralegh, the constant correspondence he kept with him by letters and messages, and of the solicitations he had so repeatedly made to the king for his liberty, as what might contribute towards his majesty's personal prejudice against Ralegh, he adds; "When the "prince fell into his last illness, the queen sent to sir Wal-"ter Ralegh for some of his cordial, which she herself had "taken in a fever some time before with remarkable success. "Ralegh sent it, together with a letter to the queen, where-"in he expressed a tender concern for the prince; and, "boasting of his medicine, stumbled unluckily upon an "expression to this purpose, That it would certainly cure "him, or any other, of a fever, except in case of poison. "The prince dying, though he took it; the queen, in the "agony of her grief, shewed Ralegh's letter, and laid so

quantity, time, and method of using it. Thus much concerning this discourse on sir Walter Ralegh's great cordial, of which the following particulars may be here further observed: That the author le Febvre acknowledging he had inserted two ingredients, by the counsel and approbation of the abovesaid sir Kenelm Digby and sir Alexander Fraiser, which were not mentioned in the first prescription, and which I have marked above in a different character, being the flesh, heart, and liver of vipers, and the mineral unicorn, which some would have to be the white loadstone; it may induce the curious to inquire whether more liberties have not been taken with sir Walter Ralegh's own genuine recipe. To this end should be consulted the English copy thereof, in sir Kenelm Digby's collection of receipts, printed a few years after le Febvre's book. Also sir Walter Ralegh's book of chymical receipts, an original MS. in sir Hans Sloane's library, marked B. 387. In which book (all written with Ralegh's own hand) there are, p. 63. b. these words, *our great cordial*, and underneath, several ingredients set down, though not near the number above cited; but scored out again with a pen, though not illegibly. The next leaf is torn out, where it is supposed Ralegh had writ it more completely, and that from this leaf le Febvre's copy was taken. Lastly, there is a receipt of this cordial remaining with a lady who is a descendant from sir Walter Ralegh; but, whether agreeing with those in print, I have not, at this juncture, the leisure for making a request to be satisfied.

"much weight on the expression about poison, that to her "dying day she could never be dissuaded from the opinion, "that her beloved son had foul play done him[o]." If this was true, there might be a stress too confidently laid on this medicine, in supposing that nothing but poison could resist the power of it, and perhaps some inadvertency in starting such a suspicion in a fond mother, which (in the said modern writer's opinion) there might possibly be no ground for, and might, in the consequence, prove fatal to Ralegh himself; though the same author also knew Ralegh was not the only man who started that suspicion; for he knew what the prince's domestic chaplain preached at St. James's on the dissolution of his highness's family; and he knew what the lord chief justice Coke not long after said in open court about the poisoning of sir Thomas Overbury: that it was to prevent the discovery of another crime of the same nature, committed upon one of the highest rank, whom he termed a *sweet prince*[p]; and indeed several histories of these times make no secret of it, where they shew the bickerings between prince Henry and the aforesaid favourite Car, in regard to the countess of Essex, not to mention other motives. However, the physicians about the prince gave it under their hands, which was spread abroad in several copies, that he died of a strong malignant fever, after they had anatomized him to amuse the world, says another writer, and clear the suspicion of poison, as if no venoms could produce the like effects; while the king, to dispel the clouds and monitors of sorrow, commanded that no man should appear at court in mourning[q].

Whatever was the cause of this excellent prince's death, Ralegh had no common share in the loss of him; his highness having, but a few months before he died, obtained Sherborne, with intention to return it him, as is already observed; and we are further informed, that king James, to satisfy his favourite Car, who was now viscount Rochester,

[o] Dr. James Welwood's Notes on Wilson's History of king James, in the Complete History of England, vol. 2. f. 714.

[p] Idem, fol. 689.

[q] Arthur Wilson's Life and Reign of king James I. in the same volume, fol. 690.

gave him, instead thereof, twenty-five thousand pounds in money: so far was the crown from gaining by this purchase[r]. But now, after the prince's death, this Rochester got Sherborne of the king again; however (as some kind of composition or amends) his majesty, we are told by Ralegh himself, also gave his wife and son eight thousand pounds for the said estate[s]. But how it thrived with Rochester is evident enough in the histories of those times; where it appears that, in little more than three years from this prince's death, the said favourite, by the title of earl of Somerset, was arraigned and condemned for that black and shameful business of poisoning sir Thomas Overbury; whereby he not only lost Sherborne, but all those other possessions which the king had so lavishly heaped upon him; for what merits or services, may better appear in those histories than it is needful they should do here. As to Sherborne, on whom it was next bestowed, and upon what consideration, with the attempts made after Ralegh's death by his son Carew to recover it; since the accounts thereof would carry us too far beyond the period in these sheets proposed, and indeed do more properly relate to the story of the son than the father, I shall here refer to an abstract thereof, in a brief memorial of the said Carew Ralegh, at the bottom of the page[t]; for as to his elder brother Wal-

The king's gift for his estate.

[r] Relation of the Troubles of Sir Walter Ralegh, &c. p. 8.

[s] Sir Walter Ralegh's Apology, p. 47.

[t] Carew Ralegh was born, as is before observed, in the Tower, in the latter end of 1604, (or beginning of the next year,) being aged about thirteen years at his father's death, as he tells us himself: became a gentleman commoner of Wadham college in Oxford in 1620, as Anthony Wood informs us; but indeed rather sooner, because Carew Ralegh's own words are, that, after having been five years at Oxford, he came to court, and, by the favour of William earl of Pembroke, his noble kinsman, hoped to obtain some redress in his misfortunes; but the king, not liking his countenance, said, he appeared to him like his father's ghost: whereupon the earl advised him to travel, which he did till the death of king James, which happened about a year after. Then returning, and a parliament sitting, he, according to the custom of this land, petitioned to be restored in blood, that he might be enabled to inherit whatever lands might fall to him, as his father's heir, or any other way: but his petition having been twice read in the house of lords, king Charles sent sir James Fullerton (then of the bedchamber) for Mr. Ralegh, who being brought into the king's chamber by that knight, his majesty (after using him with great civility) told him plainly, that he had formerly promised sir John Digby, now earl of Bristol, to secure his title to Sherborne (it being

ter, whose right it had first been to have pursued whatever prospect there was of retrieving the said estate, he died be-

conferred on him 14 of Jac.) against the heirs of sir Walter Ralegh; whereupon Digby had given him, being then prince, ten thousand pounds; so that now he was bound to make good his promise, being king; and therefore, unless he would quit all his right and title to Sherborne, he neither could nor would pass his bill of restoration. Mr. Ralegh urged the justice of his cause; that he desired only the liberty of a subject, and to be left to the law, which was never denied any freeman: but the king was positive, and so left him. After this, sir James Fullerton used many arguments to persuade submission, as the impossibility of contesting with kingly power, and the many inconveniencies of not being restored in blood: all which considered, together with splendid promises of great preferment in court, and particular favours from the king, not improbable, wrought much in the mind of young Mr. Ralegh, who, being not full twenty years old, (as he says himself,) left friendless and fortuneless, it prevailed so far, that he submitted to the king's will. Whereupon there was afterwards an act passed 3° Caroli for his restoration; and, together with it, a settlement of Sherborne to the earl of Bristol; and, in show of some kind of recompense, four hundred pounds a year pension, during life, was granted to Mr. Ralegh after the death of his mother, who had that sum paid during her life, in lieu of jointure. About a twelvemonth after this, Mr. Carew Ralegh married the lady Philippa, relict of sir Anthony Ashley, a rich young widow, by whom he had two sons and three daughters, and was not long after, at least before the year 1635, made one of the gentlemen of the king's privy-chamber. Among the ingenious poems of Thomas Carew, esq. (who was another of those gentlemen,) printed 8vo. 1640. p. 80. there is a compliment, To his cousin C. R. marrying the lady A.; by which letters are to be understood this Mr. Ralegh, and that lady Ashley. As for the kind token, which Anthony Wood says the king honoured him with at his majesty's leaving Hampton-Court, and going into the Isle of Wight, anno 1647, it was no more than a picture of the lady Stanley, as I remember, which was Mr. Ralegh's own property; therefore the king, among the letters he left on the table, desired, in one of them, the said picture might be returned him, as may appear by those letters which were then printed, or the extract of them in Heath's Chronicle. In the year 1650, and afterwards, several little tracts of his father's were published, and dedicated to him. In 1651, there was a committee for the sale of delinquents' estates; and about that time the earl of Digby being fled to France, Mr. Ralegh had a fair prospect to recover his estate, therefore delivered his case in to the said committee; and it was ordered, "That this case be reported to the "house with the opinion of this "committee; that they conceive "him a fit object of their mercy." He also, about the same time, drew up a brief relation of sir Walter Ralegh's troubles, and addressed it to the parliament. But whether printed before his death I know not, (the edition here used being dated three years after,) nor wherefore his case and petition were laid aside. In 1656, came out the Observations on Sanderson's History of King James, which this historian supposing to be writ by Carew Ralegh, published an Answer to it the same year, with some scandalous and unworthy reflections therein upon him; but no one has given heed to them. He certainly made his court to the commons of England, in hopes of getting Sherborne by their means. Hence Wood says he cringed to men in power, and was made governor of the Isle of Jersey, by the favour of general Monk, in the latter end of January 1659, as Whitlock has recorded. At the restoration of king Charles II. his majesty would have conferred some personal honour upon him, but he declined it in

fore their father, as will be more particularly remembered towards the conclusion of this work.

But which of these two sons was attended on in his adventures by Ben Johnson, is not easy to distinguish from the words of an author, who writes, " That Johnson's mo- " ther, having married to her second husband a bricklayer, " took her son from Westminster school, (where he had " made a hopeful progress under the learned Camden,) and " made him work at her husband's trade; till, being pitied " by some generous gentlemen, Camden got him a better " employment; which was to attend or accompany a son of " sir Walter Ralegh in his adventures, whereby gaining ex- " perience, he made his company acceptable among many[u]." Now if this happened before Ben Johnson took to acting or writing of plays, as our said author relates it did, then sir Walter Ralegh's eldest son was scarce old enough to go to school, much less upon adventures. Besides, this son never made, that we can hear of, more than one adventure abroad, from which he never returned; therefore he could not part with his attendant or companion Ben Johnson in the manner our said author intimates he did after their return. Then if we suppose it the other brother, Carew, he never made any adventures at all, nor stirred out of England, till six years after his father's death, and then only upon a short tour for about a twelvemonth; which was near thirty years after Ben Johnson became a dramatic poet or writer for the stage; and when he seems rather to have wrote himself into his pension from the crown, or otherwise into

hopes of something better; the king therefore knighted his eldest son Walter, who died soon after at West-Horsely, in Surry, his father's seat, which had, I think, been the earl of Dorset's; for his will is dated from thence, as a friend who has seen it informs me. This was sold, after Mr. Ralegh's death, to sir Edward Nicholas, secretary to king Charles. He had another seat at Kenton-Park near Hampton-Court, which, I think, he sold himself; and dying in 1666, was buried in the month of December, according to A. Wood, in his father's grave, who further says, he has seen some sonnets of his composition, and certain ingenious discourses in MS. also a poem set to music by Mr. Henry Lawes. Sir Henry Wotton, in his Letters, gives him the character of a gentleman of dexterous abilities, and he is by others mentioned with honour; " but far, " God wot," says Wood, " was he " from his father's parts, either as " to the sword or pen."

[u] Athen. Oxon. vol. 1. col. 608.

such easy circumstances, as render it unlikely he should attend even on Carew Ralegh in those sorrows and difficulties he was then under; and consequently in the whole, that either one or other should part with him not in cool blood, as our said author thinks, after their return. Had the time of his going abroad with the younger or the elder brother been better adjusted, that particular of their parting would need no regard; seeing by what trifles, what misunderstandings between themselves, or misrepresentations by others, such divisions are made between persons, who would or might otherwise be most serviceable and beneficial to one another. If Ben Johnson was of such a surly and hypercritical disposition, as some men's writings, and indeed some of his own, have represented him; as it makes such parting the more plausible, if there had ever been any such meeting, so it is probable it would have distilled with more acrimony from his pen, when he was giving a character of Ralegh as an author, than that he could find nothing to condemn either in his judgment or his style[x].

His great courtesy towards his dependants.

But as for Ralegh's temper, to all who had dependance upon him, (and they were very numerous in the time of his felicity,) especially towards those of any liberal knowledge and education, it appears to have been of singular candour and benignity. There are examples, further than what have been before mentioned, of his courtesy, superior to that of many other great persons in his time, towards such men of parts as any ways relied on his patronage or protection; and publicly asserted by those themselves who had tasted the benefits thereof[y]. He has also, under his own hand, recommended such generous treatment, as most coercive, especially to such as live under the power or command of others; and exploded the austere, the imperious regimen, as what is liable to betray its practitioners no less into peril than disdain; where he shews, how contemptibly the vain,

[x] Ben Johnson's Discoveries.

[y] See Thomas Churchyard's dedication of his Spark of Friendship to sir Walter Ralegh: a scarce old tract, lately communicated from the Bodleian library at Oxford, or it had been more particularly made use of in the place where it is before mentioned.

with affected sourness, counterfeit the gravity of the wise; because the shadow of reverence, thereby obtained, has power to delude the eyes only of underlings; and how thus, the time, wherein, by using it well, men might attain to be such as they ought, they usually mispend, in seeking to appear such as they are not: yet withal, not only how deceivable, but dangerous a course this is; procuring, instead of the respect that was hoped for, more indignation than was feared [z]. Many other weighty counsels and useful precautions to this purpose are dispersed up and down his writings, both in print and manuscript, which, for brevity, I forbear here to recite.

But here, as Ralegh has been occasionally mentioned in the character of an author, we are reminded, that it is high time he should be considered more particularly in that light; which cannot in any place more properly be done, than in this sedentary part of his life, when most of his works were written. Here then we are arrived at that part of his story, wherein he will appear rather a collegian than a captive; a student in a library, than a prisoner in the Tower. On this occasion we cannot but reflect, how well such productions in such a situation, such spacious exercises of genius in such a contracted state, will prove, that, though the soul of man by a fly or a hair may be separated from the body, tyranny itself cannot confine it to the body; and, at the same time, how trifling a calamity confinement must be to those who have well employed their liberty. Some men, impatient under so many years' restraint, would have pined obscurely away with despair; and others, with rage, have made their bonds more galling: but Ralegh, as in many other disasters, so in this, has left us no common example of an heroic mind. In him we may observe there is no levelling a sublime spirit with the subalterns of nature; press it on one part, it will still rise in another, and be like some hardy plants we may have seen, whose heads will shoot forth and flourish in the sight of mankind, though their

[z] History of the World, lib. 2. cap. 22. sect. 10.

roots are closely fettered in walls of stone. Happy then are they, who in their youth have so fortified themselves with knowledge, and attained to such a relish of literature, that, wheresoever they are driven by the persecutions of power, they can make the contemplation of wisdom beguile the sense of their sufferings; who out of the most prevailing examples in all ages, of patience and prudence in all exigencies, can set themselves lessons of fortitude and tasks of imitation; who can out of the misfortunes of others extract consolations for themselves, or partake in their prosperity, and make it tributary to their own contentment. Such carry with them an infallible and undeprivable solace, which can relieve them in poverty with inestimable treasure, and manumise them in prison with intellectual liberty: for the multitudes of anxieties which surprise illiterate and uncultivated minds, even in the midst of the most splendid affluence or adulation, are inaccessible to them under the darkest clouds of indigence or reproach.

His writings.

That Ralegh, in his greener years, did attain to such a taste of letters as all his succeeding avocations could never remove, and which proved not only an ornament to those his earlier and happier days, but a relief in his age and afflictions, even so as to render him under his darker fortunes and condition more illustrious than he was in his brightest prosperity, may appear by a survey of his writings, from the juvenile productions of his pen, to the more numerous and mature offsprings of his present confinement. But in this survey, we think not the simple chronological method will be either needful or acceptable; which, though easiest and readiest for transcribing, would be most crude and disjointed in reading; and yet be incapable of admitting all into their true order, because we have not the time that several of his pieces were written. Therefore, that we may carry on our discourse with some coherence, we shall attempt at such a digestion as, upon a little review, will naturally arise, or most conveniently, at least in this place, lead us, as out of a flowery garden, into the high road again of public action: for I might perhaps recommend some

variation, in this arrangement, of the same pieces, if they were to be revived in a uniform and methodical edition of sir Walter Ralegh's works; so that the junior efforts of his muse, or more extemporary products of his epistolary correspondence, might not, as here for despatch, lead up the rest.

Now as for these productions of his muse, since several of them are mentioned in the former part of these sheets, they need be here only recapitulated; as, his poem on Gascoign's Steele-Glass; The Excuse; The Silent Lover; the Answer to Marlo's Pastoral; with his poem of Cynthia, and two more on Spenser's Fairy Queen. Since the time that these seven were before spoken of, I have met with four other such like poetical pieces, which seem also to have been composed by the same hand, from those elegant tautologies, or *retornellos*, wherein his sonnets and madrigals are usually so correspondent with one another[a]. These were all written long before this his imprisonment, as were pro- Poetical.

[a] Three of these pieces are to be found in an old collection of several ingenious poems and songs by the wits of the age; printed in 8vo. 1660, and annexed to a comical speech in prose, called Le Prince d'Amour, printed the same year; which, by the latter part thereof, entitled, Noctes Templariæ, or, a brief chronicle of the dark reign of the bright prince of burning love, appears, in a volume of the Harleian MSS. 90. C. 7. fol. 556. to have been written by sir Benjamin Rudyerd. The poems published with this speech are improperly said, in the title, to be written by the wits of the age in regard to the time they were published: for, as the publisher owns, in his dedication to the honourable society of the Middle Temple, the wit in this collection was born long before our unhappy intestine divisions, and as much in the poems themselves is evident; there being among them several written in the time of king James and queen Elizabeth; and one or more as old as king Henry VIII. Among the rest, one we have, page 131, entitled, The Lover's Maze, a poem of four stanzas, beginning thus; "Her face, her "tongue, her wit," &c. It is all composed of monosyllables, and with that ingenious intricacy or transposure which happily answers the title. This is followed in the next page with another, of three stanzas, entitled, Farewell to the Court; beginning thus; "Like truthless dreams, "so are my joys expired:" this is again succeeded in the ensuing page by another of equal length, called, The Advice; with this beginning; "Many desire, but few or none de-"serve:" and all three subscribed W. R. They are apparently, by the style, written at the time that sir Walter Ralegh was celebrated for such kind of compositions, and from the subject, of the two last especially, no less manifestly to me, written by himself; the one just before his first Guianian expedition, the other, to the lady that was his wife. Lastly, the fourth poem above referred to is lately printed in a miscellany called The London Magazine, for Aug. 1734.

bably some also in the Ashmolean library; namely, Erroris Responsio, and his Answer to the Lie, &c. Besides, we find there is a satirical elegy on the death of the treasurer Cecil, earl of Salisbury, written within this period, likewise ascribed to him [b]; and we have still three pieces more of his poetry written afterwards, and but a short time before his own death. These are of a solemn nature; as, his Pilgrim; his Epigram, in allusion to the snuff of a candle; lastly, a divine stanza, which is called his Epitaph [c].

Epistolary. Next we might speak of those shorter pieces also in prose, his Letters; and these, being written in all parts of his life, cannot perhaps be improperly enumerated in this. I have seen of them in print and manuscript to the number of twenty-eight: fourteen or fifteen of them have already been made use of in the foregoing sheets; and the rest, as they likewise are of personal import, will be serviceable in the remainder, so they need not be more particularly distinguished in this place.

But those more continued compositions, which were the result of experience and occasion in his several public professions or engagements of life, will perhaps first demand our observation; such as relate to his character as a warrior, a sailor, a discoverer of unknown countries, and a politician versed in the interest of nations and the arts of government. Among these, we may first mention his military discourses; and these concern either a defence of England in particular, or contain general arguments and examples of the causes and reasons of war among mankind. On the former subject, he seems to have drawn up several

Military.

[b] This pastoral elegy on the earl of Salisbury, who died in May 1612, was first printed by F. Osborne in his Memoirs of king James, and it begins thus: "Here lies Hobinol our "pastor while e'er," &c. That author tells us, "It came from so smart "a pen, in the king's sense, that he "said, He hoped the author would "die before him: who he was," continues he, "God knows." The first person I have met with who ascribes it to sir Walter Ralegh is the author of his Life, printed in 8vo. 1677; (and afterwards in folio;) whom Anthony Wood calls John Shirley, the writer of several romances, and such like things. This writer in that Life, page 179, says, that Ralegh for Cecil's kindness bestowed upon him that epitaph, "Which I am," says he, "upon very good grounds, assured to be his."

[c] These are printed in sir Walter Ralegh's Remains.

remonstrances which are but sparingly and slowly come to light. However, from what has before been observed, of his having had a principal hand in the determinations of the grand council of war for putting the nation in arms when it was under immediate apprehensions of the Spanish invasion, there is good reason to believe he was also the author of a treatise, containing Notes of Direction for such defence of the Kingdom; written three years before, when the said enemies were beginning to shew their designs. To this treatise was also joined a Direction for the best and most orderly Retreat of an Army, whether in Campaign or Straits. And these were then presented in MS. to the privy-council. Herein, one advice is, since frontier forces are unlikely to prevent an enemy from landing, that if they should land, through the deficiency or absence of our shipping, (for this is the force Ralegh was ever for having first used against such foreign invasions,) it were better, by driving or clearing the country of provisions, and temporizing, to endeavour at growing stronger, and rendering the enemy weaker, than to hazard all by a confused and disorderly descent of the populace to oppose the first landing, as their custom heretofore was. But this, chiefly, among the said reasons and positions, for preventing an invading enemy, was a little before the approach of the Spanish armada, oppugned by Thomas Digges, esq. muster master-general of her majesty's forces in the Low Countries, in a Discourse of the best Order for repulsing a foreign Force, &c. which he then exhibited in print. This produced an answer, which, having been found in an old manuscript copy among others of sir Walter Ralegh's discourses, has lately been published; and which, by several circumstances therein, agreeing with many in his life, as well as with several orders in the aforesaid council of war, several passages in his History of the World, and his other writings, offers many reasons to believe it was written by him [d]. But if we would see his

[d] It is entitled, A Military Discourse: whether it be better for England to give an invader present battle, or to temporize and defer the same, &c. Now published by Nathanael Booth, of Gray's Inn, esq. 8vo. 1734.

opinion upon this subject in a more extensive and universal manner, it must be in his Discourses of the original and fundamental cause of natural and necessary, arbitrary and customary, holy and civil wars[e]; which, though also published

containing fifty-two pages. The author, in his introduction, tells us, "He has thought good, first to set "down the reasons alleged on both "sides, as he finds them collected "by his antagonist; and after a re-"ply to his objections, refers him-"self to the censure of the reader, "who is a soldier; not caring, in "this cause, for the disallowance of "any, who will bring a pound of "antique usages and customs to "weigh down only an ounce of true "reason and fresh experience." Then he sets forth that Brief Discourse of the best orders for repulsing foreign forces, &c. above mentioned; which having been reprinted under the title of England's Defence, a treatise against invasion, fol. 1680, and under the name of Thomas Digges, as I have found in the copious library of a learned acquaintance; it is therefore ascribed to him above. That discourse of Digges's, which in this military discourse begins at page 4. and ends page 13. is accompanied in almost every article with our respondent's marginal notes, and attended at the end with a reply to the reasons therein; the whole winding up with the chief points of his former treatise, collected into brief notes of direction, as is above observed, which he had presented to some of the lords of the council in 1585; and which gave occasion to Digges's said Brief Discourse in or near the year 1588, and that produced this Military Discourse about or soon after 1590, including the same, and comprising the whole of the controversy. The editor of this pamphlet, in his dedication to the duke of Argyle, has these words to his grace: "Having lately, among "some other valuable papers of sir "Walter Ralegh, found the follow-"ing dissertation in manuscript, I "thought the publication thereof "was a debt due to my country, as "well as to the memory of that great "man." And I have in the copy which the said gentleman communicated for my perusal, marked out near twenty passages and expressions, which so well agree with others in the life and writings of sir Walter Ralegh, that I cannot think any other person to have been the author of those notes and reply. Such, among the rest, are his being in the wars of France and Flanders, particularly the battle of Moncountour, and that of Rimenant; his perfect knowledge of Dover haven, and other incidents mentioned before in his Life: besides his historical observations of other persons; which, with several reasons and arguments about landing of forces, and the unproportionable speed of marching up an army to keep pace with the sailing of a fleet, almost in the same words as we have before observed out of his History of the World, and his other writings.

[e] So I find two discourses of sir Walter Ralegh's properly titled. The first is printed in his essays, 8vo. 1650, and has been reprinted in the Three Discourses of sir Walter Ralegh, 8vo. 1702, beginning thus; "The ordinary theme and argument "of history is war; which may be "defined, *the exercise of violence* "*under sovereign command, against* "*withstanders' force;* authority and "resistance being the essential parts "thereof:" but in this last edition, improperly divided, and the last division entitled, Of Ecclesiastical Power; whereas in the first edition, and the leaf F 2 b, which would have been page 40. had it been numbered, this new titled division appears only a continuation of The original Cause of War; though indeed, through the papal power and dispensations, by that distinction which is called *holy war*. This division is also misplaced in the said last edition; for there is another discourse of unnatural or civil war interfering. This, though never before printed, I have also rea-

several years after his death, have sufficient marks of genuineness upon them. There are other writings of his besides, which relate to this topic. But as war in them is treated of subordinately, and rather with respect to some national advantages wherewith it might have been maintained against our enemies, as the posture of affairs then was, or the personal behaviour of some particular men, so we may think it more proper to speak of them under other divisions.

Among these, that which admits of his Maritime Discourses may not perhaps be least observable, being a subject so scarcely handled by men of such learning and experience, yet of such importance to a people in our situation. And under this head, that which should here be perhaps first spoken of, though indeed one of the last pieces he wrote in this state of durance, is, his Discourse of the Invention of Shipping[f], &c. wherein he treats of the use, de- Maritimal.

son to believe genuine from some passages in it that might be paralleled with others in his History of the World and elsewhere: but it should be placed or printed last, because the very first words of it are, "The last kind of war we shall "treat of is the unnatural, otherwise "called the intestine or civil war; "and though it has the same mo- "tives of ambition, avarice, or re- "venge, as the arbitrary and custom- "ary war, yet is of a quite differ- "ent nature, and must be otherwise "defined," &c.

[f] This appears in several parts to be a genuine piece of our author, but incorrectly printed, as most of his posthumous works are, especially in the proper names. It is the first discourse in a book called, Judicious and select Essays and Observations of that renowned and learned knight sir Walter Ralegh: printed in 8vo. 1650, 1667, and (this discourse of Shipping) reprinted again, among the Genuine Remains of sir Walter Ralegh, at the end of an abridgment of his History of the World, 8vo. 1700. That book of Essays is dedicated, by the bookseller, to the much honoured Carew Ralegh, esq. &c. and this first discourse therein consists of forty-two pages; yet seems an unfinished piece, and at the end, to our great regret, no more than the first chapter of a larger work. As the time when the discourse before mentioned of the Causes of War was written, may be guessed from that passage in it mentioning the maritime controversy between Selden and Grotius; so the time when this discourse of Shipping was composed may be likewise inferred from sir Walter's reference, page 39, to a pamphlet, called The Trades Encrease, which I have seen and observed to be printed, 4to. 1615: unless there was a prior edition. Of both these discourses I have been obliged with two old manuscript copies by Nathanael Booth, of Gray's Inn, esq. before mentioned. They seem to have been corrected from the printed copies in some places, and indeed will not yield many considerable corrections of them in others. There may need no apology for the following extract from this last Discourse of our author's Observations on the Improvement of Shipping in his own time; since he is affirmed, to his immortal glory, to have had himself so great a share in it.

"Whosoever was the inventor, we

fects, and improvements thereof; the strength and deficiency of the sea forces of England, France, Spain, and

"find that every age has added "somewhat to ships, and to all things "else: and in my own time, the "shape of our English ships has been "greatly bettered. It is not long "since the striking of the topmast "(a wonderful ease to great ships, "both at sea and harbour) has been "devised, together with the chain-"pump, which takes up twice as "much water as the ordinary one "did. We have lately added the "bonnet and the drabler. To the "courses we have devised studding "sails, topgallant sails, spritsails, "topsails; the weighing of anchors "by the capstan is also new. We "have fallen into the consideration "of cables, and thereby resist the "malice of the greatest winds that "can blow; witness our small Mil-"brook men of Cornwall, that ride "it out at anchor half seas over "between England and Ireland, all "the winter quarter: and witness "the Hollanders, who were wont "to ride before Dunkirk with the "wind at north-west, making a lee-"shore in all weathers. For true it "is, that the length of the cable is "the life of the ship in all extremi-"ties; and the reason is, because "it makes so many bendings and "waves, as the ship, riding at that "length, is not able to stretch it, "and nothing breaks that is not "stretched. In extremity, we carry "our ordnance better than we were "wont; because our nether-over-"loops are raised commonly from "the water between the lower part "of the port and the sea. In king "Henry VIII.'s time, and in his pre-"sence at Portsmouth, the Mary "Rose, by a little sway of the ship "in casting about, her ports being "within sixteen inches of the water, "was overset and lost, and in her "that worthy knight sir George Ca-"rew, cousin-german to the lord "Carew now living; and with him, "besides many other gentlemen, the "father of the late renowned sir Ri-"chard Grenvill. We have also "raised our second decks, and given "more vent thereby to their ord-"nance lying on our nether-over-"loops. We have added cross pil-"lars in our royal ships, to strengthen "them, which being fastened from "the kelson to the beams of the se-"cond deck, keep them from settling "or giving way in all distresses. "We have given longer floors to "our ships than in elder times, and "better bearing under water; where-"by they never fall into the sea, "after the head, and shake the "whole body, or sink stern, nor stoop "upon a wind, by which the break-"ing loose of our ordnance, or dis-"use of them, with many other dis-"commodities, are avoided. And to "say the truth, a miserable shame "and dishonour it were for our ship-"wrights, if they did not exceed all "other in setting up of our royal "ships; the errors of other nations "being far more excusable than "ours: for the kings of England "have for many years been at the "charge to build and furnish a navy "of powerful ships for their own de-"fence, and for the wars only; "whereas the French, Spaniards, "Portugals, and Hollanders, till of "late, have had no proper fleet be-"longing to their princes or states." Thus far sir Walter Raleigh, in his said Discourse of Shipping, p. 16. &c. And thus much of it may not be thought impertinent in his Life, at least in this subjunctive manner, since these improvements, or some of them, seem to have a nearer relation to him, than, through his prudence, in the state he now was, or perhaps the notoriety of his share in these improvements, it was needful further to express: for I have read in the appendix to a History of the Inventors of Arts and Sciences, printed 12mo. 1686. that we owe the serviceable model of our modern ship-building to the inventions or directions of sir Walter Raleigh. And to the same purpose of effectually employing this his superior knowledge in naval architecture to the safeguard and strength of the nation, we may presume those grants were made him by queen Elizabeth for

Venice; with five causes of the rise of the Hollanders: his encouragement of a mutual friendship between them and England, as also of the Newcastle trade. This might lead us more particularly to his excellent Observations and Notes concerning the Royal Navy and Sea-Service [g], which he dedicated to the prince of Wales, as is before mentioned; therefore all we need observe more of it in this place is, that herein he discourses, under distinct heads, of the officers of the navy, of some errors to be reformed in ship-building; and others, in harbouring and manning the fleet; of surcharging them with great ordnance; the defects in sheathing and caulking; the abuses in victualling; inconveniency of the cook-rooms; of mustering and pressing mariners; of arms and munition; and lastly, of captains to serve in his majesty's ships. With the second head or chapter in this tract agrees his letter to prince Henry, before spoken of, concerning the model of a ship [h]. And in his introduction to the said observations, as was also said, our author mentions a Discourse of a maritimal voyage, with the passages and incidents therein [i], which he had formerly written to that prince. This, if it is now in being, must, I think, remain still in manuscript; for no other knowledge of it have I elsewhere met with; therefore it has, I fear, endured the same fate with that other work, probably more copious and considerable, and to which, as what might seem designed to bring the others into practice, they may appear only preparatory. This work, though taken notice of by no other author who has written of him, is thus mentioned by himself. "Of the Art of War by Sea, I have written a "treatise to the lord Henry, prince of Wales. A subject, "to my knowledge, never handled by any man ancient or "modern: but God has spared me the labour of finishing

felling of timber; one whereof is extant, entitled, A Warrant to sir Walter Ralegh for two hundred oaks, to be taken in sir Francis Englesfield's woods; and it is preserved in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford.

[g] Printed 8vo. 1650, in the collection of sir Walter Ralegh's essays above mentioned; consisting of forty-six pages.

[h] Printed in sir Walter Ralegh's Remains, 12mo. 1651, and the subsequent editions, containing between three and four pages.

[i] His Observations on the Royal Navy, p. 1.

"it, by the loss of that brave prince; of which, like an "eclipse of the sun, we shall find the effects hereafter. Im-"possible it is to equal words and sorrows: I will therefore "leave him in the hands of God that hath him: *Curæ* "*leves loquuntur; ingentes stupent*[k]." This may lead us up to such of his discourses as represent this art in execution, particularly those two gallant naval actions wherein sir Richard Grenvill lost his life, and himself won a most signal victory, of which his own pen has preserved the faithful memorials in his Report of the Truth of the Fight about the Isles of Azores[l], and his epistolary account of the action at Cadiz[m]: both of them before abstracted into this work. Nor did his care terminate in the best advice for the regulation and maintenance of our shipping, or in recording some of the most notable achievements performed therewith, but extended to the choice and reparation of the most convenient harbours for their reception; and that not only by his speeches in parliament, as we have already seen, but also by a memorial he presented to queen Elizabeth touching the port of Dover in particular; declaring how honourable and profitable to her majesty, how necessary and commodious for the realm, the rebuilding it would be; with the least expensive and most perfect manner of performing the same[n].

[k] Sir Walter Ralegh's History of the World, lib. 5. cap. 1. sect. 6.

[l] Of this Report of the fight about the Azores, containing about two sheets, see, in this narrative of sir Walter Ralegh's Life, the abstract and references from p. 143 to p. 150. also note [e], p. 112. And here further concerning the same, we may observe, that it seems to have given matter for an heroic poem; which was, a few years after the said Report, published; entitled, The most honorable Tragedie of sir Richard Grinvile, knt. 8vo. 1595, dedicated to the lord Montjoy by Jervis Markham. It is composed in stanzas of eight verses, and near ninety pages in length.

[m] This relation of the Cadiz action contains near seven pages, among the Remains, at the end of an abridgment of sir Walter Ralegh's History of the World, 8vo. 1700, was then first published by Philip Ralegh, esq. and is apparently a genuine piece, as may be gathered from those other accounts interwoven and agreeing with it, where it is, mostly, before inserted, p. 238, &c.

[n] This memorial touching Dover port is also before referred to, page 349; it consists of about two sheets in the pamphlet there mentioned, called, An Essay on Ways and Means to maintain the honour and safety of England, published by sir H. Shears, 4to. 1701. The publisher says, page 9. (for the part ascribed to sir Walter Ralegh goes no further,) that he found this part of the memorial, drawn up by sir Walter Ralegh, or sir Dudley

But if we advance to his more extensive pursuits and performances relating to that topic, they will lead us into a new geography, into discoveries and descriptions of unknown countries, with the voyages which himself, and others under his charge and directions, made to that purpose. And under this head would fall those papers and discourses of his, concerning the discovery, plantation, and settlement of Virginia, which were in the possession of sir Francis Walsingham, as was before observed [o]; but whether now recoverable I know not, nor what is become of his treatise of the West Indies, which seems to have been a very comprehensive work by the short sketch himself has given of its contents before quoted [p]. Better luck seems to have befallen his writings upon Guiana; for we have at least four of his discourses on that country in being, though they probably are not all he writ thereon; as, first, his Considerations on the Voyage for Guiana, which I never saw in print [q]. Secondly, his Discovery of the large, rich, and beautiful empire of Guiana, which he printed himself, and being before largely used and spoken of, the less need be said of it here [r].

Geographical.

Digges, among the rubbish of old papers, while he served in the office of ordnance. But I think it could not be writ by sir Dudley Digges, because the author, directing himself to queen Elizabeth, speaks familiarly of things he had seen in the Low Countries in her time, when sir Dudley Digges had not left the university.

[o] See p. 78. of this volume.

[p] See p. 220. of this volume.

[q] The contents of this manuscript may be conceived from the words wherewith it begins, which are as follows: "Touching the voyage for "Guiana, it is to be considered, "first, Whether it be to be under-"taken? secondly, The manner of "subduing it; and lastly, The means "how to subdue it, and annex it to "the crown imperial of England." It consists of eight leaves in quarto, and is, I believe, a rarity; having no where met with it but among the magnificent collections of sir Hans Sloane.

[r] After the extract from this treatise, of what more personally concerns sir Walter Ralegh, before inserted in this Life, from p. 187 to 213. follows a character of his said discourse upon the discovery of Guiana from several authors; which might still be augmented from the further testimony of one of them, namely, Robert Harcourt, of Stanton Harcourt, esq. whose voyage to Guiana in 1608, having met with, in his own edition, printed 4to. 1630, among the collections of that learned and worthy gentleman Mr. George Sale, I find a preface prefixed thereto, omitted in Purchas's edition before used; in which captain Harcourt, having declared how effectually and faithfully sir Walter Ralegh had published what he then and there discovered, recommends to the reader's perusal "this excellent dis-"course, proceeding," says he, "from so wise and judicial an au-"thor; who, if some known fortunes "(meaning his engagements at Ca-

Thirdly, his Journal of his second Voyage to Guiana. This remains still in manuscript, and perhaps should do so; it being unfinished and full of chasms, seeming to contain only notes and observations for his own memory, when he should have leisure, at his return into England, to digest and fill up the particulars in a continued discourse: accordingly it seems to have supplied him therewith, when he wrote his Apology for the said voyage. But as both these will be made use of in the subsequent part of our narrative, it will be then time enough to speak more distinctly of them. And there also will be mentioned the four or five letters we have of his extant concerning the said last expedition.

After his writings becoming the character of an able commander both by land and sea, if we look for him as an author in the civil or political capacity, we may find him there also no less eminent; we may behold him in this light no less qualified to govern nations, than in the other to conquer and defend them. Some of his compositions, under this distribution, are of a general nature; as that called the Seat of Government, shewing it to be upheld by the two great pillars of civil justice and martial policy; and how this is framed out of the husbandmen, merchants, and gentry of the realm. The first of these ranks or degrees he calls

Political.

"diz, in the island voyage, &c.) had "not crossed his first intendments, "for the prosecuting that enterprise, "had, in all likelihood, long before "this time, increased the honour of "our nation, by the most famous "and rich discovery and conquest "that the world could afford." Besides the two editions in English, the first whereof, published by Ralegh, contains about thirteen sheets, and the other in Hakluyt, about nine; also one in Latin before mentioned, printed in 4to. at Noremberg, with a map: there are accounts of two editions of sir Walter Ralegh's voyage to Guiana in Dutch, one 4to. 1612, which must be this of his Discovery, and the other in 1619. Edmund Howes, in his addition to Stow's Annals, says, it has been translated almost into all languages. But whether the exquisite translation into Latin, he says there is of it in one of Theodore de Bry's volumes of Modern Navigations, is the same with the Latin edition in 4to. before mentioned, or any such there is among those valuable volumes, I am not yet certain; though I remember much in one of them, printed at Frankfort, fol. 1590, relating to the first Virginian voyages; whereby it appears sir Walter Ralegh was a great patron and encourager of the said author, and which would have confirmed or embellished some passages in that part of these sheets which gives account thereof, had the intelligence I have since been favoured with by an honourable gentleman arrived timely enough to have been admitted in its proper place.

the fruit-trees of the kingdom, or those who gather the honey, yet hardly enjoy the wax: and as these feed, so the second sort enrich it; nourishing such trades as have assisted our kings with great sums of money and great fleets upon occasion; while the third sort, our gentry, he calls the garrisons of good order throughout the realm; or means rather they have been or should be such, more than they were in these latter times, to agree with a note he has elsewhere dropped upon them [s]. But this little essay appears, by one expression towards the conclusion, (mentioning something to be hereafter proved, which is not,) to be no more than a fragment [t]. The like we apprehend of his Observations concerning the Causes of the Magnificency and Opulency of Cities, from a word in the very first paragraph, referring to such people as seem to have been before mentioned [u]. Though in the main this is a general discourse, it bears some particular references to a rude and barbarous people; and might possibly be the result of such considerations as must have engaged his mind, when those propositions were on foot for founding the city of Ralegh in Virginia, as was before intimated. In this little essay, after having spoken of the means to civilize and reform such a people, he proceeds, under distinct heads, to treat of the best situation of cities for safety and plenty; of the multitude of inhabitants, religion, academies, courts of justice, artificers, privileges, and triumphs; so concludes with those three causes of confirming a city in her greatness, justice, peace, and plenty. Of a more extensive nature still is that treatise we have of his, called Maxims of State [x]; being a

[s] Deduced from a character of the Carthaginians, in his History of the World, lib. 5. cap. 1. sect. 2.

[t] This Seat of Government was printed first, I think, in Ralegh's Remains, 12mo. 1651, and in the last or largest edition is not above four pages, beginning thus: "They say "that the goodliest cedars," &c. as is in a note before quoted.

[u] These Observations were printed at the same time, in the same collection, and contain about eleven pages; beginning thus: "That the only "way to civilize and reform the "savage and barbarous lives and "corrupt manners of such people, "is," &c.

[x] First published under the title of The Prince, or Maxims of State. London, 4to. 1642, in seven sheets, with sir Walter Ralegh's picture before it; published again in his Remains, 12mo. 1651, and all the succeeding editions thereof. A. Wood says, it is the same with Aphorisms

methodical compendium of government in all or most of its forms and branches; with many of its chapters analytically digested for the sake of brevity and perspicuity. Herein having explained and defined the words government, policy, state, and the office of sovereignty, he proceeds to distinguish the several sorts of monarchy, aristocracy, free state, tyranny, oligarchy, and commonwealth. Then of the founding a state, with its parts, and of preserving it under those several forms, by mysteries or sophisms, rules or actions. Lastly, the conversion of states, general and particular, by foreign invasion, domestic sedition, or alteration without violence. Thus ends this treatise; to which is joined, as a kind of corollary for the better use of the book, two or three passages in the story of David: from whence an inference is drawn, that old age is not always unfit for government; and also a defence of that prince for marrying Abishag: so closes with a portrait of political nobility, in the story of Adonijah aspiring to the kingdom; with observations of the marks to discern such practices; and another of the political prince, in a further example of the said king David; who, though aged, deserted, and rebelled against by many of his nobles, stirred up himself to public action, and thereby shewed his vigour and sufficiency to manage the affairs of his kingdom. Herewith may be mentioned that larger treatise bordering upon these subjects, which is called The Arts of Empire [y], &c. but handled in a different

of State, 8vo. Lond. 1661; published by John Milton. It begins in this manner: "Government is of two "sorts," &c.

[y] This also had the same famous editor, being first published with the title of The Cabinet-Council, containing the chief arts of empire, and mysteries of state discabineted, &c. by the ever renowned knight sir Walter Ralegh: published by John Milton, esq. 8vo. 1658, who prefixed this motto, "Quis Martem tunica "tectum, adamantina digne scripse-"rit?" The editor's opinion of this book and its author he further offers to the reader in these words: "Having had the MS. of this treatise "written by sir Walter Ralegh many "years in my hands, and finding it "lately by chance among other books "and papers; upon reading thereof, "I thought it a kind of injury to "withhold longer the work of so "eminent an author from the pub-"lic; it being both answerable in "style to other works of his already "extant, as far as the subject would "permit, and given me for a true "copy by a learned man at his "death, who had collected several "such pieces. JOHN MILTON." In the second edition it was titled, The Arts of Empire, and Mysteries of

manner. It is divided into twenty-six chapters, defining public weals, and differences of sovereignty; more particularly the three kinds of monarchy, and how to perpetuate them. Also of councils and counsellors, officers, commissioners, magistrates, and ministers of state. Of justice, treasure, and war. Of neighbouring princes. The character of an excellent prince. Art of ruling. Of princely authority, power, and force. Of conspiracy and treason, public hatred, diffidence, and dissimulation. Of war, defensive and invasive, law of arms, soldiers and their discipline. Of generals and commanders, councils of war, directions tactic and stratagemic; with advice how to make an honourable peace. Of civil war; with the causes and remedies thereof. And the two last chapters contain a collection of political observations and maxims of state; or prudential grounds and polemical precepts concerning all states and forms of policy, &c. confirmed by select narrations and historical parallels.

But if we descend to those political writings of our author, which were occasionally composed; and with more particular regard to the exigents of state in his own time, through the virtues of a penetrating eye into the drifts of every neighbouring nation, and an undiscourageable heart for the security and interest of his own, we shall find them still more numerous. And these, as they most of them have a special regard to Spain, might proceed from the perfect knowledge he had of that kingdom and its tyrannical practices. One instance hereof we have in that discourse of the Spaniards' Cruelties to the English in Havannah; which is ascribed to sir Walter Ralegh, with other tracts, in a volume among the manuscripts of a late person of honour[z].

State discabineted, &c. 8vo. Lond. 1692; containing two hundred and thirty-eight pages, and beginning with these words: "A commonwealth "is a certain sovereign government "of many families," &c.

[z] See a Catalogue of the library of a person of honour, &c. with near a thousand choice manuscripts relating to the state of England and Ireland, 4to. without date, p. 10. This library was sold, in the former part of the late queen's reign, by Christopher Bateman, a noted bookseller, who once told me to whom those manuscripts did belong; and if my

His many other observations of this kind might well produce his Consultation about the Peace with Spain, and our protecting the Netherlands, of which some account has been before given [a]; as also that other treatise, How war may be made with Spain and the Indies, mentioned in the same place. Directions for such an enterprise may be easily presumed to have been effectually enough given by the same hand that was also author of The present State of Spain, with a most accurate account of his catholic majesty's power and riches: also the Names and Worth of the most considerable Persons in that Kingdom; a manuscript which I have not hitherto been so successful as to meet with [b]. Yet take it to be a different performance from that also written by our author, and entitled, The present State of Things, as they now stand between the three kingdoms, France, England, and Spain; whereof there is a copy in being [c]. Further, it was this intimate knowledge he had in the state of all the European princes, which so well qualified him to give the approved advice he did in those

memory fails not, they were a part of Henry earl of Clarendon's vast collections, yet a different part, I think, from that which is in the possession of his grace the duke of Chandos.

[a] See page 364 of this volume, where there is a manuscript of this Consultation quoted, which in some places is more perfect than the printed copy, and is the property of the reverend and learned Mr. Harbin; it begins thus: "May it "please your majesty: It belongs "not to me to judge whether the "king of Spain hath done wrong to "the Netherlands, or the Nether-"lands have failed in allegiance to-"wards the king," &c. forty-seven pages in the printed copy, published by Philip Ralegh, as was before observed, 8vo. 1702. That manuscript has annexed to it the Determinations of the Council of War in 1587, before mentioned, fol. 39. A manuscript also of the said Consultation there was in the library of the earl of Anglesea; another in the Harleian library; another in that of Dr. John More, late bishop of Ely; another in sir Hans Sloane's, &c. &c.

[b] Anthony Wood tells us, this treatise, said to have been written by our author sir Walter, is a MS. going about from hand to hand; and before him, Shirley, in his Life of Sir Walter Ralegh, calls it an *excellent manuscript*.

[c] In the Harleian library, No. 38, B. 3. It is a tract of about three sheets and a page in folio, copied, as appears, about the reign of king Charles I. and begins with these words: "The three great kingdoms, "France, England, and Spain, as "they now stand, may be compared "to the election of a king of Po-"land, where there are three fac-"tions, and in the end, two of them "joined together are able to over-"come the third."

two Discourses he wrote upon the match propounded by the Savoyan, between the lady Elizabeth and the prince of Piedmont; and that between prince Henry of England and a daughter of Savoy, of which we have several manuscript copies, and, as I have heard, the original also extant[d].

[d] The first of these Discourses by sir Walter Ralegh, on the Marriage of the princess Elizabeth, begins thus: "To obey the commandments "of my lord the prince, I have sent "you my opinion of the match lately "desired by the duke of Savoy," &c. It makes about five sheets and half a page in the MS. before me, which seems to have been a good old copy, taken soon after this Discourse was first composed by our author; though four of the leaves towards the beginning are now much damaged. Joined to this is the second Discourse, touching a marriage between prince Henry and a daughter of Savoy; beginning with these words: "There is nobody "that persuades our prince to match "with Savoy for any love to the "person of the duke, nor, as I hope, "for his religion," &c. and this, in the same hand, is about six sheets in length. They were both originally written in the ninth year of king James's reign, or anno Dom. 1611, as was before observed; and this copy of these Discourses was by the interest of a noble personage procured, for this use, from the collections of that worthy divine lately in these notes mentioned. There is a copy of this last Discourse on the Prince's Marriage among the MS. collections of sir Hans Sloane, marked in his library B. 612; and another in the library of Trinity college in Dublin. In the Cottonian library also there is a copy of this last Discourse, but I think not of the other. It was once a fair one, but scarcely so ancient as that above used, and by mistake the amanuensis had ascribed it to sir A. Gorges; for this name is struck out, and sir Walter Ralegh's inserted in the same hand. By another mistake of the binder, there is but half of this tract to be found in one volume, the remainder being bound in that marked with the preceding number. See the said volumes under the bust of Vitellius, C. No. 17. and 16. But the greatest mistake of all was, the suffering of women-servants to get up their linen in rooms underneath those where the royal library, with this of sir Robert Cotton, were lately kept at Ashburnham-house, in Westminster; for thereby a mantle-tree taking fire, (which lay across a stove-grate,) on the 23d of October, 1731, it made such destruction among the said manuscripts, that of nine hundred forty-eight volumes, whereof the Cottonian library consisted, seven hundred fifty-six only escaped the flames; a hundred fourteen being quite lost or entirely spoiled, and ninety-eight damaged: so that this library now contains eight hundred forty-four volumes, entire and defective; as may be gathered from Mr. Whiston's Narrative of the said fire; printed in a report from the committee appointed to view the Cottonian library, and the other public records of this kingdom. Published by order of the house of commons, fol. 1732. Now among those damaged volumes were the two above mentioned, which contain this Discourse of sir Walter Ralegh's, and which I have observed to be so burnt all about the margins, even into the writing, that I question if the sense, especially at the top of the leaves, can from thence be every where perfectly recovered. The best is, that we may hope in the truth of an information I have received from a gentleman who has great intelligence, as well as great collections of such like curiosities, that sir Walter Ralegh's original MS. of one or both these Discourses, is preserved in the noble family of the Paulets; though I have not yet had opportunity of re-

The same knowledge likewise enabled him so dexterously to eviscerate the corrupt doctrines and pernicious designs of the papists, in his Dialogue between a Jesuit and a Recusant; shewing how dangerous their principles are to Christian princes[c]. Another excellent tract we have of his in

questing a sight, whereby to satisfy myself and others in the certainty thereof.

[c] This Dialogue (as has been before said) was first published by Philip Ralegh, esq. among the Genuine Remains, at the end of an abridgement of his grandfather's History of the World, 8vo. 1700, &c. where it makes forty-three pages, and begins thus: "My most reverend father, "you are well returned into Eng-"land," &c. The conference herein is held plainly by two real persons, as may be gathered from the historical particulars our author makes them deliver in some places of themselves; and in many places there are observations, almost verbatim, the same with several in others of Ralegh's writings: as, the defeat of the Hugonots at the battle of Moncontour; the destruction of several millions of people in Hispaniola; the Spaniards never performing any enterprise against our nation by sea or land; our driving away the invincible armada with squibs; arming all nations of Europe against ourselves, by the transportation of our iron ordnance; and, not to instance any further, his argument proving that "he who commands the "sea may command the world," in the 60th page of these Genuine Remains, compared only with the 9th page of his Discourse of Shipping in the same collection, may prove sufficiently they were both written by one hand. The time when this Dialogue was written might also be found in it; for it was both after sir George Somer's death, and the publication of Anticoton, a treatise against the Declaratory Letter, written to the queen regent of France, by Peter Coton, confessor to king Henry IV. in which letter he having apologized for, or too gently and tardily reproved the king-killing doctrine of Mariana and other Jesuits, the said Anticoton was published in French, and translated into English, 4to. 1611, to prove them the authors of that execrable parricide the foregoing year on the said French king, by the bloody hand of Ravillac. Among the holy champions mentioned in this pamphlet, for the said doctrine of regicide, I find Andreas Eudæmon Johannes Cydonius, as he wrote himself in his books: but he was a French Jesuit, and his true name Jean l'Heureux. This father John published in Latin, that same year the said king of France was stabbed to death in his coach, an Apology for father Garnet, and the powder-plotters, 8vo. Col. Agrip. 1610. And this was answered by the learned Dr. Robert Abbot, three years after, in his Antilogia. But as there is a part in the said Apology which touches upon sir Walter Ralegh, he has taken care to answer that himself: for that Jesuit writing himself of Cydon, a town in Crete, Ralegh takes occasion, where he is giving the known character of the Cretans, not to except this Eudæmon Jack Andrew, as one of them, "who," continues our author, "in one of "his late shameless libels, wherein "he traduces our king, religion, "and country, with all the good and "worthy men of whom he could "learn the names, has, by inserting "my name, twice belied me, in call-"ing me a puritan, and one that has "been dangerous to my sovereign. "It is an honour to be ill spoken of "by so diligent a supporter of trea-"son, and architect of lies; in re-"gard whereof I may not deny him "the commendation of criticism no "less voluminous, than he in multi-"plicity of names is beyond any "Cretans in elder times, who were "always liars, evil beasts, and slow "bellies." History of the World, lib. 5. cap. 5. sect. 2.

this way of writing is, his Dialogue between a Counsellor of State and a Justice of Peace, better known in the printed copies by the title of his Prerogative of Parliaments; dedicated with a true and generous spirit of wisdom and loyalty to king James[f]. These two dialogues will give a perfect

[f] This excellent Dialogue is, by some describers of its title, from certain manuscript copies that were in the libraries of sir William Glynne, bart. and the late bishop Moore, said to have been written by our author in 1610. But this I take to be an error, that may be rectified by the very first speech in the said Dialogue, which is as follows: "Now, sir, "what think you of Mr. St. John's "trial in the Star-chamber? I know "that the bruit ran, that he was "hardly dealt withal, because he "was imprisoned in the Tower; "seeing his dissuasion from granting "a benevolence to the king was "warranted by law." Whoever knows any thing of the parliamentary proceedings of these times can tell, that this Mr. Oliver St. John (afterwards lord Grandison, and lieutenant of Ireland) was fined in the Star-chamber 5000*l.* in April, and made his submission in May 1615, for opposing that benevolence, moved in the foregoing session of parliament, which was so abruptly dissolved. This is enough to prove the said Dialogue was not written before that year; and, as our author, in his dedication to the king, mentions himself to be still under restraint, this will prove it was written in that year. The beginning of his address to the said king is as follows, according to the most correct copies I have seen of it. "Most gracious sove-"reign, Those who are suppressed "and helpless are commonly silent; "wishing that the common ill might, "in all things, sort with their parti-"cular misfortunes: which disposi-"tion, as it is uncharitable in all "men, so it would, in me, be more "dog-like than man-like, to bite "the stone that struck me, to wit, "the borrowed authority of my so-"vereign, misinformed, seeing their "arms and hands that flung it, are, "most of them, already rotten. For "I must confess it ever, that they "are debts and not discontentments, "that your majesty hath laid upon "me; the debts and obligations of a "friendless adversity far more pay-"able in all kinds than those of the "prosperous. All which, nor the "least of them, though I cannot dis-"charge, I may yet endeavour it. "And notwithstanding my restraint "has retrenched all ways, as well "the ways of labour and peril, as of "all other employments, yet has it "left with me my cogitations; than "which I have nothing else to offer "on the altar of my love. Of those, "most gracious sovereign, I have "used some part in the following "dispute between a counsellor of "state and justice of peace; the one "dissuading, the other persuading "the calling of a parliament. In "all which, since the Norman con-"quest, at least so many as histo-"ries have gathered, I have in some "things, in the following Dialogue, "presented your majesty with the "contents and successes." Upon collating an old manuscript of this Dialogue in the Harleian library, with the common printed copies, the most material difference I observed was, that these in print sometimes confound the arguments of the two speakers together, or blend one with the other, by not regarding the proper divisions of the colloquy. Whether the fault of an ignorant transcriber, or of a careless compositor at the press of the first edition, I cannot say, but we are pretty sure it was not printed before the author's death. The earliest edition I have seen seems to be the first, (however Anthony Wood mentions one to have been printed seven years before it,) for it runs thus: "The Prerogative "of Parliaments in England, proved "in a Dialogue *pro et contra*, be-"tween a Counsellor of State and a "Justice of Peace. Written by the

taste of our author's manner in these his lesser compositions, and are answerable to the character before delivered of his Consultation about the Peace, above mentioned. The last

"worthy, much lacked, and lamented sir Walter Ralegh, knt. "deceased: dedicated to the king's "majesty, and to the house of parliament now assembled; preserved, to be now happily, in these "distracted times, published:" printed at Middleburg, 4to. 1628. I think it was also reprinted in the same size in 1642. In 1651 it was printed in 12mo. and remitted into the collection called his Remains; so has descended in the several editions thereof, and in the last makes about four sheets and a quarter. If this piece, or any other of sir Walter Ralegh's writing, were to need a character, we might refer to that short, but shining one, which may serve for one and all, in bishop Nicholson's English Historical Library, where he says, "Sir Walter Ralegh has "written, as he used to do upon all "other subjects, most judiciously and "acutely upon the prerogatives of "our parliaments;" so refers to sir Henry Spelman's Glossary, p. 451. From the noble endeavours to restrain all violent courses of administration, to heal the wounds of government, to cultivate a mutual harmony between prince and people, and detect the misapplications of his revenue by a few greedy and deceitful courtiers, wherewith this and other like writings of our author abound; we may account for the readiness which has been shewn so universally, even down to our times, of assuming the name of sir Walter Ralegh when any character of a patriot, or person of a public spirit, was to be revived or personated by our political writers for reforming erroneous measures in the state, or recommending advantageous ones to it. To this purpose we meet with him in Andrew Marvell's poems, in Tom Brown's Belgic Hero; and his name subscribed to several epistolary essays, in pamphlets, newspapers, and other like occasional writings, that animadvert upon the occurrences of the times. Not that his real character is perhaps always justly maintained, or he made to espouse the party he would really have sided with; for his name has been used to patronise the principles of opposite parties, and we sometimes meet with one rebuking the other for making so free with such an honourable shelter. Thus among some poems on affairs of state, collected from the daily, evening, and weekly papers, &c. 8vo. 1733, there is one, page 9. To a person who subscribes his writings with the name of Ralegh. Wherein that part which concerns our subject is as follows:

"Hear you, who, fearless of the "brand of shame,
"Subscribe your treasons with a Ra-"legh's name:
"He rose a blessing to Eliza's reign,
"And spread her glory o'er the land "and main;
"O'er distant seas asserted Eng-"land's sway,
"And sought new worlds beneath "the burning day:
"He toil'd unwearied for his coun-"try's peace,
"To make her honour and her wealth "increase;
"All mercenary views his soul de-"spis'd,
"He bravely practis'd what he first "advis'd.
"When his great mistress from her "throne retir'd,
"With the same ardour which his "youth inspir'd,
"His part he acted on the world's "great stage,
"Nor droop'd beneath the weight of "cares or age;
"To the last hour was his allegiance "try'd,
"Loyal he prov'd to him by whose "commands he died.
"Such Ralegh was—whose fame "compar'd with thine,
"Is such as Milton's when com-"par'd with mine."

tract we have to speak of under this partition, except perhaps a short unprinted Discourse of the words Law and Right also ascribed to him, and to be found in the library of Caius college, Cambridge, is entitled, Observations touching Trade and Commerce with the Hollander, and other nations, as it was presented to king James; wherein is proved, that our sea and land commodities serve to enrich and strengthen other countries against our own. But as there are some reasons to doubt whether sir Walter Ralegh was the author of this treatise, I need say no more of it in this place; yet shall throw them into a corner of the page[s],

[s] Roger Coke, esq. in his Detection of the Court and State of England during the four last reigns, printed 8vo. the third edition, 1697; speaking of Ralegh, page 83. fixes these Observations on Trade and Commerce upon him in these words: "While he was thus confined, he was "the first who made public the growth "by sea of the Dutch, and the riches "they derived from their fishing upon "the coasts of England and Scotland, "and the consequence which would "necessarily follow, not only to the "loss of the king's sovereignty of "the British seas, but to the trade "and navigation of England otherwise. After that, one Tobias Gentleman set forth another treatise "of this nature, and how this fishery "might be carried on from the ports "of England; and dedicated it to "the king. But the king, wholly "giving himself up to pleasure, neither minded one nor regarded the "other." That gentleman was a fisherman, or other like seafaring man, and I have seen his treatise; but published long before this, I think, was, which that historian ascribes thus to sir Walter Ralegh. The first edition of these Observations I could ever meet with in print, is in 12mo. 1653, and it was bound up with the second edition of Ralegh's Remains, 1656. Its anonymous publisher appears to be the bookseller; who had no other authority for appropriating it to sir Walter Ralegh, but the opinion of a person who recommended it to him as a genuine piece of his writing. It is true, our author has touched, after a different manner, upon the topic, in some of his tracts, and particularly at the end of his Discourse of Shipping; where he laments "that strangers should be permitted "to eat us out, by exporting and "importing both our own commodi-"ties, and those of foreign nations." But I think no treatise of his will be found that descends so much into minute examples, calculations, &c. However, not to except at this, because a treatise upon trade may require observations suitable to the subject, it does not appear probable that the author of these Observations, whose project was, as he tells us, "to erect twenty busses in some "seaport town, so by degrees to ex-"tend a thousand or two over the "nation; who was one that had "traced this business, made his en-"deavours known, not only to the "king, but his noblemen, merchants, "and others, who had made him sub-"scriptions to disburse large sums "of money for building up this great "and rich sea-city;" should be a prisoner all this while in the Tower of London. No, this projector, further proposing to constitute a state-merchant for these purposes; and praying, in the conclusion, that the king would give him leave to nominate the commissioners for conferring upon, and making report thereof to his majesty, seems to have been some manufacturing or mercantile man, one ambitious of that office himself, and consequently none of sir Walter Ra-

where they may least interrupt the progressive view of his remaining writings.

Philosophical.

These we shall divide but into two parts, and then perhaps one of them may be best comprehended under the topic of philosophy. This way seems to look, by its subject, that short Treatise of the Soul ascribed to sir Walter Ralegh, whereof there is a copy preserved among the Ashmolean manuscripts. It was never published, I think, and I have not yet seen it; therefore can say no more at present of it. But we have in print another treatise which may be admitted under this head, being built on the doctrine of Pyrrho the Greek philosopher, entitled, Sir Walter Ralegh's Sceptick, or Speculations. This doctrine, shewing how much may be said for and against the same things; such an ingenious exemplification of it as this little tract contains, may, if discreetly used, prevent many rash, dogmatical determinations, and inure us to a wary or prudent suspense of

legh. But if from the subject whereon, we bend our consideration to the time when this tract was written, we shall find further objection against entitling our author to it. For the very first words of the dedication are, "According to my duty, I am "emboldened to put your majesty in "mind, that, about fourteen or fif-"teen years past, I presented you a "book of such extraordinary im-"portance for honour and profit of "your majesty and posterity, and "doubting it has been laid aside, "&c. I am encouraged to present "you with one more," &c. Now if we allow the first book to have been presented in the very first year of the king's being in England, then this second must have been presented in 1617 or 1618, when sir Walter Ralegh was out of England, or his thoughts far differently engaged. But the greatest objection of all is, that there are several manuscripts of this treatise in the libraries of our nobility and gentry, (more ancient than the earliest edition in print,) which, as I have observed, do all entitle it to one John Keymer, possibly the merchant or vintner of that name, whom Ralegh many years before had licensed to retail wine in Cambridge, as is related in the foregoing part of this Life. With one of these manuscripts, (the most ancient I have seen,) among the collections of the late Mr. Granger, there was another, written also in the same little neat old hand, ascribed to the same Keymer, and which I take to be that first mentioned in his dedication last quoted; and also to agree in its contents with John Keymer's Observations made upon the Dutch fishery about the year 1601. demonstrating there is more wealth raised out of herrings and other fish in his majesty's seas and the neighbouring nations in one year, than the king of Spain hath from the Indies in four: and that there were twenty thousand ships and other vessels, and about four hundred thousand people then set on work by sea and land, and maintained only by fishing upon the coasts of England, Scotland, and Ireland. Printed 8vo. Lond. (from the original manuscript,) for sir Edward Ford, in the year 1664. Whoever has read these two pieces will allow that one hand writ them.

judgment: for the sceptic, as our author describes him, does neither affirm nor deny any position, but doubts of it, and opposes reasons against that which is affirmed or denied, to justify his not consenting; because he may report how things appear, but whether they are so, he knows not. This little tract, as it is here handled, relates chiefly to our senses[h]; but another we have, upon a more dignified topic, as concerning our manners, or virtues and vices; therefore what might be more particularly subdivided under the distinction of moral philosophy; and it is called, Instructions to his Son and Posterity. A treatise well becoming an author who had seen the world in so many climates, and life in so many changes. It is written in a perspicuous style, with forcible arguments, and on the most practical subjects. These are interspersed with several memorable admonitions, the fruits of his particular experience therefore may claim a part in his personal history; and being apt to rivet in the mind, may prove of constant use and service, as touching upon the most incidental engagements in life. Thus, in his first chapter upon the Choice of Friends, he says: "Though "I persuade thee to associate with thy betters, or at least "with thy peers; yet remember always, that thou venture "not thy estate with any of those great ones who shall at-"tempt unlawful things; for such men labour for them-"selves, and not for thee; thou shalt be sure to impart "with them in the danger, but not in the honour; and to "venture a sure estate at present, in hopes of a better in "future, is mere madness: besides, great men forget such "as have done them service, when they have obtained what "they would; and will rather hate thee for saying thou "hast been a means of their advancement, than acknow-"ledge it. I could give thee a thousand examples; I myself "know it, and have tasted it in all the course of my life." From his next chapter, on the Choice of a Wife, we have be-

[h] Of this Sceptick I remember not to have met with any copy in manuscript, nor any edition more ancient than that in the first collection of our author's Remains, 12mo. 1651: so has been reprinted in all the succeeding editions thereof. It is about twelve pages in the last and largest edition.

fore given extracts in this work. His third, against Flatterers, ends with this reflection: "Thou mayest be sure, that "he, who in private will tell thee of thy faults, is thy "friend; for he adventures thy mislike, and hazards thy "hatred: few can endure it, every man for the most part "delighting in self-praise; one of the most universal follies "which bewitches mankind." From the fourth chapter on Private Quarrels we have already given a taste; and here, the chief caution he further urges to prevent the inconveniencies thereof, is ever to beware of unadvised speech. "He that cannot refrain from much speaking," says he, "is "like a city without walls." And a little further, "In all "that ever I observed in the course of worldly things, I "ever found that men's fortunes are oftener made by their "tongues than by their virtues, and more men's fortunes "overthrown thereby also, than by their vices." In the fifth chapter, among the rules recommended to preserve an estate, the most pressing is against Suretyship; advising rather to give a part of what a man has, than live in continual apprehension of losing both it and his friend. "If "thou art bound," says he, "for a stranger, thou art a "fool; if for a merchant, thou puttest thy estate to learn "to swim; if for a churchman, he has no inheritance; if "for a lawyer, he will find an evasion by a syllable or a "word to abuse thee; if for a poor man, thou must pay it "thyself; if for a rich one, he needs it not: therefore from "suretyship, as from a manslayer or enchanter, bless thy-"self; for the best profit and return will be this, that if "thou force him for whom thou art bound, to pay it him-"self, he will become thy enemy; if thou shalt use to pay "it thyself, thou wilt be a beggar: and believe thy father "in this, and print it in thy thoughts, that whatever vir-"tue thou hast, be it never so manifold, if thou be poor "withal, thou and thy qualities shall be despised." In the sixth chapter, upon Servants, he has this advice: "If thou "trust any servant with thy purse, be sure thou take his "account ere thou sleep; for if thou put it off, thou wilt "then afterwards, for tediousness, neglect it; I myself have

" thereby lost more than I am worth. Whatever thy ser-
" vant gains thereby, he will never thank thee, but laugh
" thy simplicity to scorn; besides, it is the way to make
" thy servants thieves, who else would be honest." The seventh chapter is only a word or two against exceeding in the bravery of gay garments, " as what will soon wear out
" of fashion, when money in the purse will always be in
" fashion." The eighth is upon Riches, (and, as it seems by the beginning, should follow the fifth.) Herein exhorting against the attainment of them by base or evil means, he charges his son, as, never to destroy any man for his wealth, so by no means further to impoverish the poor; but above all things to exercise compassion towards them, as the best way to prosperity and peace of mind. " Use," says he,
" thy poor neighbours and tenants well; pine not them
" and their children, to add superfluity and needless ex-
" penses to thyself. He that has pity on another man's
" sorrow shall be free from it himself; he that delights in
" and scorns the misery of another, shall, one time or other,
" fall into it himself." The ninth is against the inconveniencies of delighting in wine, as being the greatest enemy to health, trust, honour, and preferment; and the last chapter begins thus: " Now for the world, I know it too well
" to persuade thee to dive into the practices thereof; rather
" stand upon thy own guard against all that tempt thee
" thereunto, or may practise upon thee in thy conscience,
" thy reputation, or thy purse; resolve that no man is wise
" or safe, but he that is honest." So concludes with advising him to make God his director in all his actions.

With these Instructions to his Son, which have, I think, been oftener printed[1] than most other of our author's lesser

[1] Four editions of this tract, called Instructions to his Son, were published before the first collection was made of Ralegh's Remains. The earliest edition of it I have met with was printed 12mo. 1632, in a larger character than we have it in the modern editions. The fifth edition, (said in the title to be,) corrected and enlarged according to the author's own copy, is printed in the said collection of his Remains, 12mo. 1651, and has been reprinted five or six times at least since with those Remains; that is, in 1656, 1660, 1664, 1675, 1679, &c. and 1726. It fills, in this last edition, (which has a letter or two of our author's more than the others,) about twenty pages, and begins thus: " There is nothing

pieces, there is usually joined, in all the editions I have seen, The dutiful Advice of a loving Son to his aged Father. It is a religious and rhetorical exhortation to prepare for his latter end; written in a general manner, but how probably by our author, or by either of his sons, it is left to the critical and discerning reader[k]. All the works I have met with further ascribed to sir Walter Ralegh, bearing any affinity with this class, are two manuscripts, which might be distinguished under the branch of Natural Philosophy. The first is his treatise of Mines, and the Trial of Minerals; a subject on which he very probably might write, both from his own observations in the West Indies, and those engagements he might also have in his native county of Devon, with his brother sir Adrian Gilbert, who, first, in queen Elizabeth's reign, begun to work the long neglected mines in Comb-Martin, (whence king Edward III. had supplied his wars against France,) and was followed by sir Beavis Bulmer, who from those mines recovered a great quantity of silver, out of which he caused two massy goblets to be made; one whereof was presented to the earl of Bath; and the other, weighing one hundred thirty-seven ounces, to the lord mayor of London, in the 35th of the queen's reign[l]. So that what Cicero says to his friend of this island, that it yielded not a drachm of that metal, was false in Ralegh's time, and what he could not be sure was true in his own[m]. But whether the said treatise is so particular as to mention any thing of this, I know not, having never seen it[n]. The second manuscript is sir Wal-

"more becoming any wise man than "to make choice of friends, for by "them thou shalt be judged what "thou art." We are informed there is a MS. of sir Walter Ralegh to his son, which I take to be these Instructions, in the library at Gray's Inn. Vid. Catalog. librorum manuscriptorum Angliæ et Hiberniæ. Fol. Oxon. 1697. tom. 2. par. 1. pag. 255.

[k] This Dutiful Advice of a loving Son to his aged Father was printed also in 1632, with those Instructions, and with them admitted into Ralegh's Remains, 12mo. 1651. From which time it has been reprinted in the succeeding editions thereof, and makes about a dozen pages, beginning thus: "Sir, I humbly beseech "you, both in respect to the honour "of God," &c.

[l] Prince's Worthies of Devon, in the proem, p. 2, 3.

[m] Cicero ad Attic. lib. 4. epist. 15.

[n] Anthony Wood ascribes it to our author; but he seems also not to have seen it.

ter Ralegh's Collection of chymical and medicinal Receipts for fixing mercury, preparing antimony, and for the cure of several diseases [o]. His application to studies of this kind may perhaps be somewhat accountable from the patronage, which, as in a note before cited, it appears he had shewn to John Hester, the famous chymist, with the conversation there might probably pass between them, and the knowledge he had learned from the Guianians of curing all manner of poisons, &c. It is apparent that he bestowed some portion of his time upon the use of lembicks and crucibles while he was in the Tower, and seems to have had a kind of laboratory there for his said operations. A view of him in this light will explain the expression in a character of him given by Dr. Joseph Hall, the venerable bishop of Norwich, (whom sir H. Wotton calls the English Seneca,) where he speaks (among other things, which will be hereafter observed) of sir Walter Ralegh's philosophical experiments in the Tower. And other authors might be produced, who, in their character of him, also refer to his profound knowledge in the mysteries of nature, or his investigations thereof, through the animal, vegetable, and mineral world, for the benefit of his countrymen, notwithstanding some memorable attempts to advance their prosperity in the political world had met with much discouragement: as if, though he could not absolutely recover them from some indispositions or corruptions of the mind, he was hereby resolved to try how serviceable and successful he could be against the maladies of their body.

How elaborately soever many of these pieces are allowed

[o] This Collection of chymical and medicinal Receipts, as was before noted, is an original, in the library of sir Hans Sloane. It contains about seventy leaves in 4to. and in the 63d leaf, as was also observed, sir Walter Ralegh has written *Our great cordial*, with a line under it, which he usually drew under his own name. The list of ingredients which follows, may, I think, be discerned through the scratches made by some hand or other to obliterate it: and may perhaps be the most genuine recipe of that great cordial extant in the world, notwithstanding it is supposed our author had written it more completely in the ensuing leaf, which is torn out. For as to the recipe in Le Febvre's Discourse upon this cordial, I have, upon a more diligent examination of that discourse, found, that he acknowledges at least a dozen more additions to sir Walter's recipe than is before taken notice of.

by others to have been written, our author looked upon them but as little excursions, or sallies, as he calls them, from his grand labour, I mean that ocean of history, wherein he has outdone all that went before him, and given such lights to futurity as must ever be grateful. A voyage, which, "if begun even in the dawn of his day, when the "light of knowledge first broke out upon his younger "years, and before any wound received, either from for-"tune or time, he might yet well have doubted," as he observes himself, "that the darkness of age and death would "have overtaken him long before the performance [p]." But being undertaken, as it was, in the evening of a tempestuous life, a life so far run out in travels and considerations of such opposite nature; for one under the soul-piercing privations of honour, fortune, freedom, one buried alive, to attempt such a universal revival of the dead; and, while his body under all those pressures was so long incarcerated, for his brain to be delivered of that Minerva, as one calls it [q], his History of the World, is an example that might puzzle such an historian even as Ralegh himself to parallel. For, beginning at the creation, he has given us the flower of recorded story down to the end of the second Macedonian war. Thus having reviewed the three first monarchies of the world, he leaves Rome in the fourth, triumphant, about a century and a half before the birth of Christ, comprehending a period of near four thousand years. This work was divided by our author into five books, who annexed to it a very copious and useful chronological table; and it was, with the further decorations of maps, tables of genealogy, &c. published in the month of April, just before the meeting of the parliament [r], in a large volume folio, 1614. The approbation it has met with since the author's death has been so universal, that if they are different editions of the book to which we may see different dates printed, we may venture to say, no work, of any author in England, has

Historical.

[p] See the preface to his History of the World.

[q] Osborne's Mem. of King James.

[r] Camden's Annals of King James.

been so often reprinted that is of equal size and antiquity[s]. The several characters and commendations which have been bestowed on this History, as well by miscellaneous writers, who have frequently quoted it with great deference and respect, as by historians and critics, who have closely traced and throughly examined it, and as well in verse as prose, would be too numerous to be here inserted, could they be recovered. To provide therefore as well against the ignorance as the satiety of those readers who have not met with them, a few are presented in the annotation here directed to[t]. He took no ordinary care to deserve these encomiums;

[s] Besides this first edition in 1614, printed by W. Stansby for W. Burre, I have seen copies by the same printer bearing date 1617. This edition, I think, has the picture of our author, graved by S. Pass, and the frontispiece by Ren. Elstrack. Another is dated 1628; and perhaps there is one between those. Another in 1634; another 1652; another in 1656, printed by Robert White, &c. another in 1661, printed for Robert White, &c. Anthony Wood mentions one in 1666, in which edition, or perhaps in one or two before it, it was first printed in double columns. Another (now before me) printed for George Dawes 1671; another in 1678; and another in 1687. After which, there was none, I think, till this last 1735.

[t] This may not perhaps be better introduced than in the reflection of bishop Hall, lately above mentioned, who, in his ingenious book of Consolations, has these words: "A wise "man," as Laurentius the presbyter observed well, "does much in soli-"tude. So mayest thou employ the "hours of thy close retiredness, and "bless God for so happy an oppor-"tunity. How memorable an in-"stance has our age afforded us of "an eminent person to whose impri-"sonment we are all obliged, be-"sides many philosophical experi-"ments, for that noble History of "the World now in our hands! The "court had his youthful and freer "years, and the Tower his latter "age; the Tower reformed the cour-"tier in him, and produced those "worthy monuments of art and in-"dustry, which we should have in "vain expected from his freedom and "jollity. It is observed, that shining "wood, when it is kept within doors, "loses its light: it is otherwise with "this, and many other active wits, "which had never shined so much, "if not for closeness." Thus in a treatise called Balm of Gilead, or, Comforts for the Distressed, both moral and divine, by Dr. Joseph Hall, bishop of Norwich, 12mo. 1652; afterwards reprinted under the title of The Art of Patience, &c. 8vo. 1684, and by a base plagiarism, ascribed to the author of The whole Duty of Man, who wanted not the reputation of this book, though he from whom it is stolen had enough to spare. In the Familiar Letters of James Howel, esq. speaking of this rare and renowned knight, he says, "His fame shall contend in longe-"vity with this island itself, yea, "with that great world which he "historises so gallantly." In another well known book of his, called Dodona's Grove, or, The Vocal Forest, discoursing of Ralegh, and describing him to have been "a cava-"lier of a spacious understanding, "and of no vulgar reach in policy; "scientifical, and full of abstruse "notions," he adds, "that though "his body was under restraint, and "coffined up so many years, yet he "never traversed more countries "than then; for his brain ran over "all the world, as appears by that

for besides his own learning, knowledge, and judgment, which many would have thought sufficient for any under-

" famous monument he transmitted " to posterity, and hung up in the " temple of Fame, while he was as it " were buried alive." But in the Life of the Lord Stafford, written by Anthony Stafford, esq. 4to. 1640, this author goes so far as to say, That if sir Walter Ralegh's History of the World had been written in the Indian tongue, we should not have scrupled or avoided the pains of learning that language, only to read it. If we consult what character the historians give it, we may find many of them who never name it without some epithet or sentence in its praise. Thus Dr. Heylin in one place calls it an " excellent history;" in another, the " first or chief of histo- " ries." And thus in the preface of Dr. William Howel's Universal History, who must have had continual occasions of inspecting our author's, it is said, " that sir Walter Ralegh is " never to be mentioned without " honour." Shirley, in his Life of our author, gives it as his judgment of his History, " That for the exact- " ness of its chronology, curious- " ness of its contexture, and learning " of all sorts, it seems to be the " work of an age." And a little further, " That a man, who had been " the greatest part of his life taken " up in action, should write so judi- " ciously, so critically, of times and " actions, is as great a wonder as " the book itself; and it still re- " mains in doubt, whether the age he " lived in was more obliged to his " pen or his sword, the one being " busy in conquering the new, the " other in so bravely describing the " old world." And Mr. Echard, in the preface of his Roman History, admires that part of Ralegh's History which treats of the Roman story, " Especially the last hundred " years, which," says he, " are writ- " ten with very much spirit and " judgment, and all of it with as " much skill and clearness: yet that " all before the first Punic war is " not proportionably copious to the " rest." But how duly it was considered by this particular historian, whether that was not a judicious disproportion in our general historian, may be left to the examination of others. If we search what the critics have said of this History, we shall find their commendations exceed the rest. Among these we may mention Degory Wheare, the first Camden Professor of History at Oxford, who, speaking of such universal historians as are most worthy and before all others to be read, and having only named Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, and Polybius, he goes on thus: " Hos autem sequi possunt nonnulli " ex recentioribus: quos inter, prin- " cipem locum obtinere meretur Gual- " terus Raulenus nostras, eques au- " ratus, vir clari nominis, et ob sin- " gularem fortitudinem ac pruden- " tiam, meliori fato dignus. Is " universalem historiam ab initio " mundi usque ad Macedonici impe- " rii, sive tertiæ monarchiæ occa- " sum, ex probatissimis auctoribus " coagmentavit; nostra quidem gen- " tis idiomate vernaculo, sed accu- " rato admodum judicio, methodo " perspicua, stylo elegante ac virili." Methodus Legendi Historias, 8vo. Cantab. 1684. p. 28. To this we may join the character of Dr. Henry Felton, in his Dissertation upon the Classics, where he says, " Sir Wal- " ter Ralegh's History of the World " is a work of so vast a compass, " such endless variety, that no ge- " nius, but one adventurous as his " own, durst have undertaken that " great design. I do not apprehend " any great difficulty in collecting " and common-placing an universal " history from the whole body of his- " torians; that is nothing but me- " chanic labour. But to digest the " several authors in his mind; to " take in all their majesty, strength, " and beauty; to raise the spirit of " meaner historians, and to equal all " the excellencies of the best; this is " sir Walter's peculiar praise. His " style is the most perfect, the hap- " piest, the most beautiful of the " age he wrote in; majestic, clear, " and manly; and he appears every " where so superior rather than un-

taking, he, with that caution wherewith we have beheld so many others of his great enterprises tempered, would suffer

" equal to his subject, that the spirit
" of Rome and Athens seems to be
" breathed into his work."

Or if what the poets have said upon this performance may be more entertaining to the reader, some pains have been taken to do our author honour also by them. As to those copies of verses which were written upon this History, in a fair MS. epitomy of it in 4to. which was among the collections of that remarkable virtuoso, Thomas Britton, late of Clerkenwell, as we find in the printed catalogue of that part of his library which was sold towards the latter part of the late king William's reign; I never saw nor knew where to recommend any one to the sight of them. But have before me a MS. collection of orations and poems, written mostly by a student of New college in Oxford, about the middle of the last century, (who was afterwards a person eminent in his profession.) Among these, there is an elegy on his dear friend Mr. George Franklin; wherein, having elegantly described his great proficiency in other sciences, the poet directs it as the highest compliment he could make to his perfection in this we are now speaking of, that

" In Universal History, 'twas clear,
" He had approved himself great
" Ralegh's heir."

But among S. Sheppard's Epigrams, written about the same time, and published 8vo. 1651, there is, in the third book, one, On that incomparable hero Sir Walter Ralegh; which speaks of him and his History in the following words:

" Like the Athenians, when with fu-
" rious ire,
" Against learn'd Socrates they did
" conspire;
" After his death, themselves were
" like to slay,
" For sorrow they had made him so
" away;
" And, having carv'd his statue out
" in brass,
" Erected it within their market-
" place;
" And to him offer'd myrrh and
" spicery,
" Adoring him as if some deity:
" So we, while thou on earth with
" us didst live,
" Slighted thy worth; not having
" hearts to give
" Thee thanks and honour for that
" gift of thine,
" The lovely issue of thy brain di-
" vine;
" But now thou art not with us, we
" look on
" Thy book, and wonder at thee being
" gone.
" Rest, sacred spirit, while thy work
" shall be
" Devoutly honoured by posterity."

There is also in being a picture of our author, drawn with a pen and ink, having an emblematical device with an epigram under it, which relate partly to his History of the World. That device, in an oval frame of laurel or bays, presents a globe supported by a sword and a pen; the sword broken by a sceptre in a hand on one side, and the Tower in prospect on the other: and these are the lines, as they are printed in Phœnix Britannicus, one word only restored, according to the author's original, of which I have obtained a sight.

" O! hadst thou serv'd the heroine
" all thy days;
" Had heav'n from storms of envy
" skreen'd thy bays;
" Hadst thou still flourish'd in a
" warlike reign,
" Thy sword had made a conquest
" like thy pen!
" But nought to such untimely fate
" could bring
" The valiant subject, but a tim'rous
" king."

But that which of late years did much revive the public regard to this

no part of this History to pass his own hand, before some of the most able scholars, whom he assembled, it seems, for this purpose, had debated the parts he was most doubtful of, and they most conversant in, before him. Thus in the Mosaic and Oriental antiquities, or fainter and more remote footsteps of time, he would sometimes consult the learned Dr. Robert Burhill [u]. In all parts of chronology, geography, and other branches of mathematical science, he

History was, the ingenious Dr. George Sewell's Tragedy of Sir Walter Raleigh, published 8vo. 1719, and the much admired character he has therein given of it. Considering under what disadvantages that dramatic performance appeared, as written by a poet who had no practice or fame in this kind of writing; one insufficiently read in the personal story of his hero, to form that plot, and enliven it with those characters and incidents whereof it was capable; besides, acted at the New Theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields, which then had less the favour of the town, especially for tragedy; and when another new play was at the same time acting at the Old House in Drury Lane. Considering all this, and, notwithstanding, how many nights this tragedy successively drew a noble and numerous audience, and how many editions of the copy soon passed the press; we may perceive, not only what general and grateful respect still survives towards the particular memory of this famous man, but also how inclinable we are to clear ourselves of the imputation many times thrown upon us of alienating our encomiums, and transferring the honours which are due to the worthies of our own island, upon examples out of heathen or foreign histories; which, because less affecting to our passions, and less applicable to our instruction, are less meritorious of such celebration. In the last act of this tragedy, where the poet brings in his hero deliberating or reflecting upon this capacious work, his History of the World lying on a table before him; the sentiments are so well assembled, so noble and natural, that it has been doubted, whether there was so much of fiction in the soliloquy, at least the votive part of it, as truth; but it is as follows:

" Now my long toil is done, my soul
" at ease
" Views her past travels through the
" various heap
" Of truth and fable. All that mea-
" sur'd time
" Records of nations, governments,
" and laws,
" Of heroes, conquerors, and purpled
" kings,
" Lie here compris'd. O may the
" toilsome task
" Answer the labourer's care with
" due returns!
" May men grow wiser by their fa-
" thers' follies,
" Or learn to emulate the virtuous
dead!
" And thou, my country, nearest to
" my heart,
" Dear land of liberty and heavenly
" truth,
" As thou survey'st the various mo-
" dels here
" Of earthly power, their rise and
" infant state,
" Their progress and their period;
" mark the flaws
" Of every frame, and value much
" thy own:
" Secure, while monarchy still bears
" the sway,
" And joyful subjects pay a free obe-
" dience."

[u] See Anthony Wood's account of Dr. Robert Burhill, in Athen. Oxon. vol. 2.

wanted not the opinions of the learned Hariot, and the earl of Northumberland's three magi [x], long his neighbours in the Tower; and wherever he scrupled any thing in the phrase or diction, he would hear the acute and ingenious sir John Hoskyns, sometime also resident in these confines; who viewed and reviewed the said History, as we are told, before it went to the press, and whom Ben Johnson, proud of calling others his sons, could gratify that humour in calling father [y]. Thus having spared for no labour, and neglected no means to bring this work to the perfection wherein we behold it, it is no wonder that some scribbler or other should, upon finding it so universally read, endeavour to raise himself a little profit or credit from it, by pretending that the world needed an abridgment of its history [z],

[x] Idem, in the Life of T. Hariot, vol. 1. col. 460.

[y] Ibid. in his account of sir John Hoskyns, col. 615.

[z] The first attempt we have of this kind was by Alexander Ross, a Scotch divine, and schoolmaster at Southampton, in a book called The Marrow of History; being an epitome of sir Walter Ralegh's History of the World, 12mo. 1652, &c. certainly a most unconnected, enervating, and injudicious performance. His fallacious argument for this unacceptable trouble, "of a dwarf seeing further upon a giant's shoulders than the giant himself," may be his case in the stature of his wit, but not the advantage of his prospect. And there is as much reason for clipping of sterling money, as such men's writings. It is true, sir Walter Ralegh has made some digressions in his History, but they are the digressions of sir Walter Ralegh; by which the life, spirit, air, and complexion of the author are known; and above all, the great design of this work, those examples and those documents wherewith he most strenuously endeavoured to season that hopeful prince's mind for whom it was written. Therefore has made apology sufficient for the same, where he says, "That seeing we digress in the ways of our lives, and that the life of man is nothing else but digression, I may the better be excused in writing their lives and actions." And indeed men of such eminency, erudition, and experience, may well be trusted with such liberties, and thanked for taking them. But though when such prove wandering guides, it is more to our instruction than if they kept the straight and beaten road; yet they may be no patterns, in this particular, for writers of a private and inferior character. Another abridgment we have of this History, in 8vo. 1700, &c. the author of it unknown; but the preface is written by Mr. Echard, who says, "The great knowledge and learning, the accurate skill in penetration, the sublime wisdom and piety, together with the curious remarks and observations, which so signally appear in sir Walter Ralegh's History, have sufficiently recommended it to the judicious part of the world: yet that his too frequent and long digressions and observations, though several of them very fine and ingenious, are, too many, foreign to his subject: and yet that his moral and religious reflections, though sometimes long, are generally too excellent to need a vindication." But still that these faults were the faults of the age, and have made many curious persons wish for an epitomy," &c. so Ross's attempt being executed

as if that wherewith sir Walter Ralegh has presented us, either is or was intended for any thing more. But this more specious kind of detraction meeting with no countenance, the author of it threw out another, of Animadversions upon this History; but as insignificant, and no less disregarded than the other, being agreeable to that unhappy spirit of contradiction which ever harrassed him to oppose the greatest writers in his time[a].

with small skill and success, he recommends this. But those observations and digressions which these persons were so curious as to wish retrenched in this History, archbishop Usher, or the learned Dr. Bainbridge, had the curiosity to prefer, it seems, as matter of choicest note: as may appear by the excerptions made out of this History in a manuscript which has the writing of both those authors in it, and is preserved in the library of Trinity college in Dublin. And such another preference, as the most delicate passages in this History, has lately been made by an ingenious hand in London, in a collection of many divine, moral, and political reflections out of it; which, if made with that choice, and brought into that order it is capable of, will do our author more justice than all the epitomies of his History that the world shall be troubled with.

[a] Such as the lord Bacon and sir Thomas Brown, in philosophy; Fernelius and Dr. Harvey, in physic; besides others. As for these Animadversions which the said Ross published a few months before his death upon our author's History of the World, they are joined to his Leviathan drawn out with a Hook, against Mr. Hobbes, 12mo. 1653; and were manifestly published to help off his foregoing wretched performance, the Epitomy. They contain about seventy pages, and about as many observations on our author's History; pretending to note his mistakes, and clear some doubtful passages therein. Though whoever shall examine them may find that he has made more passages doubtful than he has cleared; and as for mistakes, the greatest are those which himself makes of his author; sometimes perverting his sentiments; sometimes opposing his citations as his opinions; and at others, correcting his opinions out of the citations he had approved of. In some places, he is so poor a corrector as to fall upon his author for the lapses of his printer; in many, labours about things of no consequence; and in most, notes no mistake, nor clears any doubt, according to his title, but recites a passage only to make some superfluous additions to it, from his own bottomless fund of pedantry, or some reference to others of his own stupid writings. So that he seems throughout like some broker, who has all his life been storing his upper rooms with a great deal of old lumber, that he may be able, when any curious antique is produced, only to oppose others of a different form, how inferior soever in use or application, rather to puzzle the ignorant in what they should prefer, than convince them of what they ought to reject; having no opportunity so creditable to disclose the variety of his own trifles, or hopes of making them pass for something of value. This man might have swelled out an article or two more in his said tract, from what Ralegh himself has observed upon his own History when it came from the press, could that critic have come at his remarks. For there is such a curiosity remaining in his family, as one of the first printed copies, which had been his own book. It is printed on large paper, with the maps coloured, bound in red leather, with gilt leaves, and his crest, the cap of honour, stamped on the covers. In this copy sir Walter has made two or three corrections with

But that which is more considerable concerning this History is, whether our author ever continued it down to his own times; and whether, on some pretence that this first part did not meet with encouragement, he ever destroyed the said continuation himself, as we have it in the mouths of every body when they speak of him, but in the belief of nobody who knows any thing of his story or his character. All that he says himself, in the least glancing this way, is first in his preface, "that he proposed to confine his discourse "with this our renowned isle of Great Britain." And "that "he forbears to promise a second or third volume, which he "intends, if the first receives grace and good acceptance; for "that which is already done may be thought enough, and too "much." "Lastly," in the conclusion of the History he says, "whereas this book, by the title it hath, calls itself The "First Part of the General History of the World, implying a second and third volume, which I also intended, and "have hewn out; besides many other discouragements persuading my silence, it hath pleased God to take that glorious prince out of the world to whom they were directed; "whose unspeakable and never enough lamented loss hath "taught me to say with Job, *Versa est in luctum cithara "mea, et organum meum in vocem flentium.*" From hence it seems plain enough, that our author had only some plan, or perhaps a few rough draughts of some succeeding parts of the History at this time drawn up, and that he was discouraged from making any further progress in them. Allowing his mind might change, and that there was time enough to finish the remaining volumes between this year and that of his death, which is scarcely allowable; yet, as we know how most of that time was employed by him, it will admit of no room for any such performance. For in

his own pen; particularly in p. 535. [fol. edit.] of the three last books, there is one escape which has not been corrected in any of the following impressions, wherein I have particularly looked for it; where speaking of the Roman army which was to face Hannibal, Ralegh has, under the words five hundred horse, drawn a line; and in the margin written, "It must "needs be five thousand horse; for "shortly after, Nero carries with "him a part of his army to his colleague, in which there was a thousand horse."

1615, the year which followed that wherein he published his History, two at least of his most elaborate tracts before mentioned were written. The same year he was also busy, as we shall find, in writing letters and making other interest for his releasement, which he obtained before it was quite expired. After this, it will no less appear, that he made himself too eminently the subject of modern history, to be any further an author of that which is ancient. There is indeed a little intimation of the design he had upon some ancient part of our English story, preserved in a letter of his own, written, it seems, though undated, before his great work was published, to that acquaintance, whose library was most likely to accommodate him with those uncommon books which he wanted for his purpose. This letter is as follows: "Sir Robert Cotton, If you have any of these old "books, or any manuscripts wherein I may find any of our "British antiquities; if you please to lend them me for a "little while, I will safely restore them, and think myself "much beholden unto you: or if you have any old French "history, wherein our nation is mentioned; or any else, in "what language soever. (So subscribes himself) Your poor "friend, W. Ralegh [b]." But this does not sufficiently assure us, whether the use of these books was to continue his General History, or furnish him upon some more particular subject; however, we may incline with the writer of sir Robert Cotton's Life to the former opinion. And as for the

[b] Sir Walter Ralegh to sir Robert Cotton, the original; in the Cottonian library, Julius C 3. At the top of this letter there is a list of the old authors, above a dozen in number, which in the beginning of the letter we see, as above, he refers to. And for the satisfaction of the curious, they are here set down as follows: Sigebert's Chronicles, Vincentis Speculum Historiale, Gervasius Tilesberius, Phillip Bergomus, Natalis Talipes, Amandus Zirexens, Caius Londinius, John Major de gestis Scotorum, Lessabius of Henault, Alex. Evesham, Brute Book, Chronicle of Teuxberry, Peter de Icham. This is the letter which Dr. Thomas Smith made use of when he was speaking of the great men who sought the assistance of sir Robert Cotton's library; and having selected from the rest, as most worthy of note, sir Francis Bacon and sir Walter Ralegh, goes on thus: "Quorum hinc, carceris in "turre Londinensi pœnam luens, in "secunda universalis historiæ parte "antiquitates Britannicas indagatu-"rus, ut quosdam codices tum typis "impressos, tum manu exaratos, "sibi utendos dare vellet Cottonus, "literis petit." Vita D. Rob. Cottoni, fol. 25.

reasons of one ingenious author, why sir Walter Ralegh was the most proper person to write the history of his own time[c]; and the opinion of another, "That his admirable performance already published sufficiently shews, that if he had attempted the history of his own country, or his own times, he would have excelled even Livy or Thucydides; and that the annals of queen Elizabeth by his pen, without diminishing from the serious, judicious Camden, had been the brightest glory of her reign; and would have transmitted his History as the standard of our language even to the present age[d]:" these are still no affirmatives that he did finish such a second part. So that his own intimations in the first part, reserved and inconclusive as they are, seem to have been the only foundation of that formal story, "How sir Walter Ralegh, a few days before his death, sent for Walter Burre, the bookseller who had printed his first volume, and taking him by the hand, asked him, How that work of his had sold? who answered, So slowly that it had undone him. Hereupon Ralegh stepping to his desk, reached out the other part of his History, which he had brought down to the times he lived in, then saying, with a sigh, Ah, friend! has the first part undone thee? the second volume shall undo no more; this ungrateful world is unworthy of it; so stepped to the fire, threw it in, and set his foot on it till it was consumed." But, as we observed before, Ralegh had no leisure to finish such a second part of his History down to his own time. In the next place, it is no ways probable that he, who, in regard to the first part, could follow the rule of Seneca; that he, who having satisfied his own conscience, could disregard the censure of others, should sacrifice so great a part of his labours, or any part, in such a rash and inconsiderate manner, to the sudden representations of a bookseller, without ever suspecting any mercenary ends in him. Further, it does not

[c] See the Paradoxes of Dr. John Donne, in the more enlarged edition, among his essays, as I remember, printed 12mo. 1651, at least in several MS. copies of them; one whereof was in the library of Basil earl of Denbigh.

[d] Dr. Henry Felton, in his Dissertation on the Classics, as before.

appear true that the first part did sell slowly, for there was a second edition of it set forth by that very bookseller, within three years after the first, as we have in a note before observed; and lastly, the first man we can meet with who reports the same is a trifling and superficial writer, who produces no authority for his assertion [e].

As to the unfinished parts he might have of such a continuation, to admit that they were thus destroyed would, moreover, in nowise agree with an account we have more satisfactorily attested of that great quantity there was in being of sir Walter Ralegh's unprinted writings, several years after his death. For it is affirmed to us, "That the famous "Mr. Hamden, a little before the civil wars, was at the "charge of transcribing three thousand four hundred fifty-"two sheets of sir Walter Ralegh's manuscripts, as the "amanuensis himself told me," says my author, "who had "his close chamber, his fire and candle, with an attendant to "deliver him the originals, and take his copies as fast as he "could write them [f]." Yet what is become of this treasure now, I have not been able to learn; for, if we suppose that Mr. Hamden would not be at the trouble and charge of transcribing any of our author's writings which had then been printed, and grant that all of his which have been printed since that time, as well as all we can hear of remaining in MS. which are allowed to be his, were part of that collection or quantity, they will not, both joined together, as might be computed from what is here observed of them, amount to a fourth part thereof, though we should admit two or three pieces more, also ascribed to him, which have not yet been named, and happen to fall under this historical division. The first of them is called A notable and

[e] Will. Winstanley's Worthies of England, 8vo. 1660, p. 256. in the Life of Sir Walter Ralegh; wherein it is true, as the author owns, there are most material errors, one whereof he rectifies in his table of errata, but leaves others as gross uncorrected. This writer, in another such like performance, called The Lives of the English Poets, 8vo. 1687, has repeated this story of sir Walter Ralegh's burning the second part of his History in the same manner as above, and with equal probability, being here also silent of any authority for the truth hereof.

[f] Observations on the Statesmen and Favourites of England since the Reformation. By David Lloyd, M.A. 8vo. 1665, p. 490.

memorable Story of the cruel War between the Carthaginians and their own Mercenaries: gathered out of Polybius and other authors, by that famous historian sir Walter Ralegh[g]. Though this was indeed written by him, it is no different work from what he had before published, but revived during the civil wars, to reflect with some authority upon the distractions of those times. The other two pieces might seem to fall within the intended continuation of his Universal History; but the first of them, called The Life and Death of Mahomet; the Conquest of Spain; together with the Rising and Ruin of the Saracen Empire, ascribed to sir Walter Ralegh near twenty years after his death, by the bookseller who dedicated it to his son[h], is, except a few leaves about that of Mahomet, no more than a translation of an epitomy made by some ignorant Spanish author, chiefly from what one of his own fabulous countrymen had written of a fictitious prince named Jacob Almansor[i], as I have been assured by a gentleman of great knowledge both in the Spanish and Oriental writers, whose answer, having satisfied me with the intelligence I was ambitious of procuring about this book, I here take the liberty of subjoining for the satisfaction also of the public[k]. But the style itself, so

[g] Printed 4to. 1647, and is no other than a transcript from the History of the World, lib. 5. cap. 2. &c.

[h] Printed 12mo. 1637, with sir Walter's picture before it.

[i] There seems to be other translations of the Life of this pretended prince, than that which follows this Life of Mahomet in the book ascribed to sir Walter Ralegh, as Almansor, the learned and victorious king that conquered Spain, his Life and Death; translated from the Spanish by Robert Ashley, 4to. Lond. 1627. La Vie de Jacob Almansor roi d'Arabie, 8vo. Paris, 1638. Almansor's Life, with the Conquest of Spain by the Moors, 8vo. 1693, &c.

[k] "Sir * * * * * * The greater part "of this book, containing The History of the Conquest of Spain, and "the Life of the Caliph Jacob Almansor, in whose reign the author "supposes that conquest to have been "made, with an account of his immediate predecessor and successors, "is said by the author, page 34. to "be abbreviated out of two Arabian "writers, translated into Spanish in "the year 1606; both the authors "living in the time of Almansor; the "one a captain in that war, and the "other for twenty years together of "his chamber, and after his death a "provincial governor in Arabia Felix. But it appears to be no other "than an abstract, or translation of "an abstract made in Spanish, of "the first book of the first part, and "the first book of the second part of "Miguel de Luna's History of the "Loss of Spain, entitled, Historia "verdadera del Rey D. Rodrigo, &c. "which history he pretended to have "translated, in 1589, (for that is the "date of the first part,) from the Arabic of Abulcacim Tarif Abentarique, written in the year of the

uncouth in some places, so meagre in others, and incorrect, especially in known things, places, and persons, might of itself exclude our author from having any hand in it. The other piece is styled, An Introduction to a Breviary of the History of England, with the reign of King William I. entitled, the Conqueror, written by sir Walter Ralegh. It was near fourscore years after his death before this was published. Yet there are several old manuscript copies of it in the libraries of the curious[1], which entitle him the author of

" Hejra 140, who appears to have " inserted in his work The Life of " the Caliph Jacob Almansor, writ- " ten in the same language by an- " other author, named Alii Abençu- " fian, viceroy and governor of the " province of Denque in Arabia, in " the year of the Hejra 110.

" Whether there ever were two " such Arabian historians as these, " is very uncertain; but certain it is, " that de Luna's history can be no " translation of any genuine Arabian " writer, but must be wholly a for- " gery of his own; for there never " was any such caliph of the Sara- " cens in Asia as Jacob Almansor; " the whole account of him, his fa- " ther, son, and grandson, being a " mere romance in every particular. " Spain was conquered in the reign " of Al Walid Ebu Abd' almalec, the " VIth of the Arabian caliphs, of the " family of Omeyya, who died in the " year 96. The only caliph in Asia " who took the surname of Al Man- " sûr, was the second of the family " of Al Abbas, named Abu Jaafar " Abdalla, and began his reign in " the year of the Hejra 137, which " is thirty-five years after de Luna's " Almansor is said to have died. Nor " did any Arabian ever write in the " manner of de Luna, or send such " letters as he has inserted in his his- " tory; wherein though some parti- " culars relating to the war and con- " quest of Spain may be true, yet what- " ever he says of the Arabians in Asia, " or the caliphs there, is utterly false, " and without the least shadow of " truth.

" As to the life of Mahomet, which " takes up only the first twenty-four " pages of this book, it was prefixed " either by the translator or abbrevi- " ator, and extracted from the ac- " counts given of that pretended pro- " phet by Christian writers; and be- " ing for the most part false and ri- " diculous, deserves little regard.

" I cannot think therefore, not- " withstanding the opinion of the " bookseller in his dedication, that " a person of sir Walter Ralegh's " learning and judgment was ever " any way concerned in this book: " we hear not that any copy of it " was ever found in his study, or that " any MS. of it, ascribed to him, is " preserved, as of his genuine pieces, " in the libraries of the curious. And " had the author or translator looked " ever so little into the Saracen his- " tory, even as given by the Byzan- " tine historians, and the Latin wri- " ters of the middle age, he must " have known better than to be im- " posed on by so barefaced an im- " postor. Whether the style and lan- " guage of this performance confirm " my opinion or not, you * * * * * * " &c.

" I am, Sir,

" your most humble Servant,

" G. SALE."

[1] As the Cotton library, Titus F 3, 17. that of sir Kenelm Digby; the Harleian library; that of Dr. Thomas Gale, &c. But the copy from whence this book was printed, in 8vo. 1693, being among the manuscripts of archbishop Sancroft, was committed to the press by Dr. John Moore, afterwards bishop of Ely, as I have it attested under the hand of Robert Keck, esq. late of the Temple, in one of the printed copies of the said book in my possession. The said Dr. Moore's preface to this piece, how-

it; but it was written at least two years before he published his History of the World, because it is inscribed to a person who died so long before the said publication, in these words: "I intend, by the help of God and your furtherance, right "noble earl of Salisbury, to write a brief History of England "from William the First, entitled, the Conqueror, to the end "of queen Elizabeth of perpetual memory." But by then his History of the World was finished, he was, as we have observed, also from his own words, discouraged from all continuation. To those discouragements might be added, the ungrateful treatment which was shewn to this part he did publish, at its first appearance: for though we have observed what universal approbation it has met with since the author's death, yet how it was received as soon as it came abroad and made its first visits at court, we are yet to relate.

Those, who thought the king must needs be a patron of authors because he was one of the number, have been ready to insinuate, that his favour increased towards Ralegh in proportion to the proofs his pen had given of his abilities; therefore, that his many excellent writings, and especially this History of the World, were the most powerful intercessors for his releasement out of the Tower; as if his majesty, in

ever some have thought it fathered on our author, is in these words: "This Life of William the Conqueror, "writ by sir Walter Ralegh, was "found in the library of a person of "high quality. Whosoever has been "conversant in the works of that ac-"complished knight, and a little ac-"quainted with his great genius and "spirit, and his manly unaffected "style, will make no doubt but what "here is presented unto the world "was his genuine issue. For the "comprehensive and penetrating "thoughts, the lively imagination, "and the mature exact judgment of "sir Walter Ralegh, do all manifest-"ly appear in this small treatise. "It may be matter of some wonder "that a work filled with such a num-"ber of judicious reflections upon "the nature of government in gene-"ral, and so many wise observations "relating to the particular state of our "own country, should have been thus "long condemned to obscurity; had "not an ill fate attended the learned "compositions, as well as the brave "actions of this renowned gentle-"man. But by what unhappy acci-"dent soever it has hitherto been "confined to privacy, it was thought "it would be an injury to the public "any longer to conceal a just and "true account of the reign of Wil-"liam the First, wherein so many re-"markable matters and great revo-"lutions happened, and to which the "writers of government and policy "in our nation have very frequent "recourse; since the transactions of "that time, unto which they so com-"monly appeal, are here related "with that faithfulness, brevity, and "clearness, that become an exact "historian."

respect to his own honour, thought it in vain longer to confine his person, since no condition could confine his fame; or, in regard to Ralegh's merit, that he had well deserved no place should be a barrier to his liberty, who had given such extraordinary testimony that no age could set a bound to his knowledge. Sanderson has ascribed the freedom which not long after ensued, to one of those motives; where he says, "Sir Walter Ralegh, wearied with long imprison-"ment, and having there spent his time well in the History "of the World, made his petition more passable to the king; "whose love to learning granted him now at last his liberty; "and, not long after, leave to wander after a design to the "western world, where he had been in several climates be-"fore [m]." But others, who seem to have known the matter much better, or have more ingenuously imparted it, assure us, that Ralegh's excellent talents were so far from ingratiating him with the king, "that though his majesty "had been intemperately praised by flatterers for some of "the weakest of his own compositions, yet he could not for-"bear, out of an impertinent emulation, to affect sir Walter "Ralegh the less, because of the great repute which fol-"lowed him for his excellent pen [n]." Nay, we are elsewhere told, in answer to Sanderson above, that Ralegh's History of the World gave the king so much displeasure, "that at "its first publication it was forbid; and particularly for "some passages in it which offended the Spaniard; as also "for being too plain with the faults of princes in his pre-"face [o]." For it is indeed replenished with many remarkable examples of divine vengeance poured forth on princes of many other nations as well as our own, who strove to establish their thrones by oppression and iniquity. That passage, in answer to Sanderson, is so far from being denied by this writer, that he afterwards confirmed it in contradiction to what himself had written as above, about Ralegh's petition being made more passable by his History; where, after

[m] Sanderson's History of King James, fol. 459.

[n] Osborne's Memoirs of King James, in his works, vol. 2. p. 111, 112.

[o] Observations on Sanderson's History, 4to. p. 9, 10.

his gross manner of interpretation, he says, "King James "and all other princes had cause of complaint, because his "whole book sets out the eastern monarchs with much "glory, and exclaims against Christian princes as most in-"human; tracing all the English sovereigns from the con-"quest, especially Henry the Eighth; whom, for his "daughter's honour, sir Walter Ralegh might have spared "from gall and bitterness." And a little further, "King "James might perhaps observe more, to repress the wick-"edness of such a person, who, under pretence of taxing a "vice in the father, intended cunningly to stain the whole "race[p]," &c. This objection against Ralegh's character of that king, is more particularly ascribed to king James by another writer also before cited, who tells us, "That after "much scorn cast upon Ralegh's History, the king, being "modestly demanded What fault he found? answered, as "one surprised, That Ralegh had spoken irreverently of "king Henry the Eighth[q]!" as if he would have reflected a breach of gratitude upon our historian towards his benefactress the late queen, in speaking such truth, when he was to give a character of her father, as not only others who read it must concur in, seeing the historian has so many proofs at his finger's end to confirm it, but what that king himself, were he alive, on whom it was written, must also have allowed; since it is only a paraphrase upon his own dying confession, that he had been a prince who never spared man in his anger, nor woman in his lust. But if king James could thus object against Ralegh for one character, and pay him no thanks for another, which follows in the same paragraph of that preface, and in some parts of the History itself; this may perhaps best shew where lay the breach of gratitude. But however his majesty might think it a kind of blasphemy, that any below the dignity of princes should be the censors of them; yet that objection aforesaid seems not to be the natural cause, says our last quoted author, of his dislike to this History, "since none ever exclaimed more

[p] Sanderson's Answer to the Observations on his History, p. 9, 10.
[q] Osborne, as before.

"against that prince than usually king James himself did." And others, more particularly still, are inclined to believe, that any liberty Ralegh may have taken with the characters of other princes, was not so much the real cause of such disgust in king James, as, through the insinuations of some mischievous sycophants about him, who well knew what humour might be most agreeably fed, that several parts of the History contained an oblique and artful exposure of himself and his ministry; as if, truly, the general History of the World was chiefly a secret history, or satire upon his court; and Scotch faces were to be seen in it, stuck upon old Jewish, Babylonian, or Assyrian shoulders. For, as one has observed, "There was a time, when one of our most renowned "historians could not comment upon a piece of the Old "Testament, without being thought to write a libel upon "his own times: and the king was almost led to fancy he "saw his own features in the face of Ninias, the son of queen "Semiramis; but surely, if he could think his justice cen-"sured in the story of Achab's taking away Naboth's vine-"yard, and not commended in that of the French king's "conduct towards his judge and admiral of France; he "must not only have been a very captious and self-torment-"ing reader, but have satirized himself more sharply by en-"grossing of applications, or acquiescing in resemblances, "than he could have been by that author, had he really in-"tended any [r]." But the truth is, that conscious minds can find in every example something to chastise themselves; and, to stomachs vitiated, through foul and unwholesome administrations, with evil habits, the most innocent diet is upbraiding. That Ralegh foresaw his enemies would make such perverse construction and misuse of his History, is evident enough in his own words; where, mentioning the choice he had made, as least exceptionable, of the elder times to describe, he yet anticipates this objection, "Against "this choice also, why may it not be said, that, in speaking "of the past, I point at the present, and tax the vices of

[r] A Short Review of the Life of Sejanus, MS. inter Collec. P. Le Neve, Arm. p. 11.

"those who are yet living, in their persons that are long "since dead; and have it laid to my charge? But this I "cannot help, though innocent. And certainly, if there be "any, that, finding themselves spotted like the tigers of "old time, shall find fault with me for painting them over "anew, they shall therein accuse themselves justly, and me "falsely[s]." Yet such fault there was, we see, found; and so falsely was he accused. Thus the honour which should reward a public benefit is stifled by private prejudice.

We are therefore to seek some other mediator for Ralegh's deliverance out of prison than his merit by this public benefit; and that we shall at last find to be his money; though other causes in our common histories are also suggested, especially that which seemed most effectual, the offer he made of fitting out an expedition to secure, and possess for the crown, a gold mine in Guiana, which he had himself discovered when he was formerly in that country, and which, since that time, had been by others so amply testified, that further confirmation was not now required. So that Ralegh's being deceived by Keymis with ore of a golden complexion, which he brought from thence, or by any chymical tricks, such as secretly slipping real gold with the ore into the melting-pot, are foolish untruths[t]. Now that offer Ralegh had made at least three years before he obtained his liberty, with no unreasonable expectation of its being accepted, since king James had so publicly asserted and confirmed the right of England to that country, through sir Walter Ralegh's conquest and discoveries therein, with the submission he had gained from the chief lords thereof, as to have given commissions and patents for the possession of the same, that is to say, all from the river of Amazons to the Dessequebe, and all the islands for twenty miles about, in his majesty's name; which were accordingly executed in all due form by captain Charles Leigh and captain Robert Harcourt, which last left a colony there of thirty persons for

[s] See the preface to his History, vol. 1. p. lxiii.

[t] Wilson's Life of King James, in the Complete History of England, vol. 2. fol. 712; and Sanderson's History of King James, &c.

three years, as may be read at large in the narratives of their several expeditions [u]. Besides, the public invitations and encouragement which afterwards ensued, to all who would again settle and plant in that new-discovered part of America [x], gave the discoverer himself, no doubt, the greater hopes that his own propositions, being not for his private, but the public benefit, (yet at his own expense, and that of such friends as he should engage in the adventure,) could not but be embraced. Add to this, the advantages of his further knowing the riches of this country, even while he was in prison, not only by the long conversation he had with those Indians, whom we find here with him in the former part of his confinement, but others who from time to time came over to him. For during this long imprisonment, he held constant intercourse with Guiana, and was at the charge every year, or every second year, of sending a ship or more thither, to keep them in hopes of being relieved from the Spaniards [y], who had again encroached upon them, and cruelly massacred both several of the natives and of his own men [z]. So that the number of voyages he set forth for Guiana was at least as many, if not more, than those he is before observed to have fitted out for Virginia.

But all this experience, which should have recommended his offer, served at first only to render it unacceptable. For the treasurer Cecil being then alive, he with two or three others, who bore the sway at court, were resolved to discountenance it; not that they so much doubted the probability that such treasure might remain unpossessed, or the knowledge and resolution of Ralegh to compass it, so much as his disposition towards themselves, if by a successful return he should purchase the king's favour. Therefore, to prevent such a rival as he might prove to them, the advantage he proposed to the state was neglected; nay, so deeply had they rooted prejudices in the king's breast towards him in

[u] In Purchas's Pilgrims, vol. 4. and Dr. Heylin's Cosmography, fol. second edit. 1657. p. 1085. &c.

[x] See the Articles exhibited at the end of captain Robert Harcourt's Voyage to Guiana, in 4to. 1613.

[y] Sir Walter Ralegh's Apology, 8vo. 1650. p. 52.

[z] Idem, p. 55.

this particular, as well as in others before mentioned, that when his majesty was solicited by any person in Ralegh's behalf, (and royal solicitors he had,) he, with that implicit reliance on other men's reports, which those in supreme station so often bury their own judgments and their justice in, would answer, that his council knew him better than he did. But after Cecil's death, and now that sir Ralph Winwood was secretary of state [a], Ralegh revived his proposal to him, and in a letter told him, with relation to those two or three earwigs who were ever crawling about the king, and at the mercy of whose representations he had so long lain, that it was his only infelicity the king did not know him as well as those courtiers pretended to do: "For, had his majesty "known me," says he, "I had never been here where I now "am; or, had I known his majesty, they had never been "so long there where they now are. His majesty not "knowing me has been my ruin, and his misknowing them "has been the ruin of a goodly part of his estate. But "they are all of them now, some living and some dying, "come to his majesty's knowledge." We learn further out of the said letter, that both queen Anne, who had informed herself from the beginning of all that Ralegh had been accused with, and her brother the king of Denmark, at both times of his being in England [b], were thoroughly satisfied of his innocency, otherwise they would never have moved his majesty in his behalf. And prince Henry, who had been curious in searching into the nature of his offences, had been frequently a mediator for him, as we have read before. "Hereupon," says Ralegh, "the wife, the brother, and the "son of a king, do not use to sue for men suspect; but "since they all have done it, and with reference to me "alone, you, strengthened by their example, may with the "more hardiness do the like." Towards the end, Ralegh having acknowledged that all he had remaining was owing

[a] Sir Ralph Winwood was made secretary of state March 29, 1614.

[b] In the last of those journeys made by the said Christian king of Denmark into England, he arrived the 21st of July, and departed August 1, 1614.

to the king, and that he was ready to sacrifice it all in his majesty's service, concludes with this noble distinction, "To "die *for* the king, and not *by* the king, is all the ambition I "have in the world [c]."

This and other like addresses to that new secretary advanced not Ralegh's request so much, but he found it necessary to use stronger interest than what he was here making, and more substantial arguments than could flow from a pen. For whatever "pity of his sufferings his merit and "fame of learning now begat in many, or by whatever "means of the French ambassador, with others of our own "lords," it is pretended, in our common accounts of him, that "he got freedom of repairing for his health to his house "at St. James's, a year or two before he procured his com-"mission for his voyage to Guiana [d];" we are more positively and particularly told, "That sir William St. John "and sir Edward Villiers, half-brother to the lady Villiers, "afterwards duchess of Buckingham, procured sir Walter "Ralegh's liberty, and had fifteen hundred pounds for their "labour [e]." It further appears, that these used their power with sir George Villiers, the new rising favourite at court, and so obtained the king's consent for Ralegh's enlargement; for there is a letter of Ralegh's acknowledgments to that favourite in these words: "Sir, you have, by your mediation, "put me again into the world; I can but acknowledge it; "for to pay any part of your favour by any service of mine "as yet, it is not in my power. If it succeed well, a good "part of the honour shall be yours; and if I do not also "make it profitable unto you, I shall shew myself exceeding "ungrateful. In the mean while, and till God discover "the success, I beseech you to reckon me among the num-"ber of your faithful servants, though the least able. "W. Ralegh [f]." This letter is dated only March 17, but probably written in this year last mentioned, 1615; because

[c] Sir Walter Ralegh to Mr. Secretary Winwood, in his Remains, (last edit.) p. 164.

[d] Aulicus Coquinariæ, p. 91.

[e] Observations on Sanderson's History of King James, 4to. p. 10.

[f] Sir Walter Ralegh to sir George Villiers, from the original; in the library of James West, esq.

three days afterwards, as Camden has precisely remembered, sir Walter Ralegh was released out of the Tower[g]. So that he thus purchased his liberty in the thirteenth year of his confinement; that is to say, after he had been (without intermission) twelve years, three months, and five days in the said Tower of London, besides near three months more at his first commitment thither, and during his arraignment at Winchester.

Released out of the Tower.

At this time Carr, earl of Somerset, had been about four or five months in the said Tower with his countess, for the barbarous imprisonment of sir Thomas Overbury about two years before in the same place, to which he had treacherously driven him, for only having obstructed the said earl's vile and scandalous commerce with that lewd woman, while she was young Essex's wife. "These two accidents at this "time drew great notice, happening (as it is observed in a "tract ascribed to the lord Brook) so much beyond all ex-"pectation; that the one, being a special favourite of the "king, the other a condemned man; the one imprisoned, "the other set at liberty; gave great occasion of speech and "rumour, and so much the more wonder and admiration, "because of Ralegh's wit and policy[h]." Ralegh is further said by the same author to have given Somerset many quips and taunts during his said imprisonment; and it may not be improbable, towards such an undeserving intruder upon his estate. But, as this earl of Somerset was convicted of felony for the said murder, whereby the two hundred thousand pounds he had heaped up, and lands to the income of nineteen thousand pounds per annum, being again dispersed[i]; and as the king had laid that heavy curse upon himself and his posterity which he did, if ever he pardoned any of the said murderers, it might have been thought that Ralegh's comparison of himself and that noble malefactor would not have been spoiled, when he said, That the whole History of the World had not the like precedent, of a king's

[g] Camden's Annals of King James.

[h] The Five Years of King James, &c. by sir Foulk Grevill, late lord Brook, 4to. 1643. p. 67.

[i] Idem, p. 66.

prisoner to purchase freedom, and his bosom favourite to have the halter, but in scripture, in the case of Mordecai and Haman. Instead of that, Ralegh is said, by the relator of this passage, to have been told, the king should reply upon hearing this observation, That Ralegh might die in that deceit [k]; and so he did, as this author truly says: for the king now saved the life of the one, as much to the astonishment of the world, as he afterwards put the other to death. But he could do no less, if his favourite was really a master of such secrets as are elsewhere spoken of [l]. And this is enough to resolve why the misfortunes of that earl, if they may be called such, which at the worst were more favourable than his merits in any wise deserved, were not equal to his crimes [m].

Ralegh, being thus at liberty, soon appears busy in making preparation for his voyage. To this purpose he called in the eight thousand pounds which he had lent to the countess of Bedford [n], reckoned in king James's Declaration a competent satisfaction for Sherborne; though it was afterwards valued by the state at 5000*l.* per annum. But seeing that not sufficient to fit out a fleet in the manner he found necessary, his wife consented also to sell her house and lands at Micham in Surry, for which he received twenty-five hundred pounds [o]; all which, and more, he expended in this expedition. And what phrensy could possess him, as he says himself, thus to dispose of his whole substance, and undertake such a toilsome and perilous voyage, now that his constitution was impaired by such a long confinement, besides age itself, sickness and affliction, were he not assured thereby of doing his prince service, bettering his country by commerce, and restoring his family to their estates, all from the mines of Guiana, "and," says he, "if I "myself had not seen them with my own eyes [p]?" I have not

[k] Sanderson's History of King James, &c.

[l] Dr. Welwood's Notes on Wilson's History of King James, in the Complete History of England, tom. 2. fol. 699. &c.

[m] Osborne, vol. 1. p. 156.

[n] Observations on Sanderson's History of king James, &c. p. 11.

[o] Idem, also sir Walter Ralegh's Apology, p. 47.

[p] Idem, p. 48.

yet heard who was the purchaser of that estate at Micham; but there is a letter of Ralegh's to a nobleman extant, which possibly relates thereunto. It is to entreat him to make an impartial valuation of some lands to a rising favourite who was to be the purchaser, and is penned in the following words: "I humbly beseech your lordship to give me "leave, and pardon too, if I need it, for the answering of "those things which you were lately pleased to object "against me; and that you will charitably also consider "both of my demands, and of the reasons which embolden "me to make them. Those answers go here, in a paper "which is enclosed, apart; and my letter shall say but "thus much, that the gentleman who is so greatly in fa-"vour hath many fair fortunes before him, and we, nothing "to look for but misery; and that he is better able to give "us above the worth of the land, than we in condition to "abate any part thereof. And therefore we humbly be-"seech your lordship, that your compassion and care of "honour may be the judge between his prosperous naviga-"tion and our shipwreck; and that your charity for us, "and your desire of satisfaction for him, may equal the "balance between us. I hope so heartily to find all just "favour at your hands, as I will venture, upon this, to as-"sure you, that I will do all my utmost to make my wife "and son forget their misery in themselves, and to be ever "mindful of their duty towards your lordship; to whom I "hope they will be, as I am sure myself have been, and "am, a most faithful, humble servant [q]."

Besides the ten thousand five hundred pounds which it cost sir Walter Ralegh to put himself in equipage for this long proposed voyage, a much greater sum than would have paid for his liberty of receding from it, or for a formal pardon, had he thought he needed, and had gone about to purchase it; there were many co-adventurers, who, by contributions to the expense thereof, entitled themselves to a share in the returns. But most of these are called by Ra-

[q] See a Collection of Letters made by sir Toby Matthews, 8vo. 1660, p. 66.

legh a company of volunteers, who had never seen the sea nor wars; and, except some forty gentlemen, a very dissolute, disorderly, and ungovernable crew, "whom their "friends thought it an exceeding good gain to be discharged "of, at the hazard of some thirty, forty, or fifty pounds, "knowing they could not have lived a whole year so cheap "at home[r]." There were, moreover, several merchants, not only in England but foreign parts, who contributed to this mine-adventure; so confident were they that it was no chimera, no supposititious or airy treasure that was promised or pursued. One of these merchants, afterwards knighted, and very eminent for his dealings, was named Peter Vanlore, who so approved of sir Walter Ralegh's undertaking, that he not only sent a letter to his brother sir Adrian Thibaut in Amsterdam, requesting him to engage another merchant there to communicate something he knew of the riches in Guiana to sir Walter Ralegh; but made that request in Ralegh's own manner of expression, from a copy which he drew up for him. This draught, as I have it from the said original, is as follows: "Brother Tibotes, "There is a merchant in Amsterdam, that for the love he "bears to my honourable friend sir Walter Ralegh, is con-"tent to discover somewhat of importance unto him in "Guiana, to which country sir Walter Ralegh is now pre-"paring to go; but he doth require assurance from sir "Walter Ralegh, that he himself may be assured to enjoy "such part of the commodity discovered, as he shall agree "upon with sir Walter Ralegh by his deputy Mr. Henry "Hovenar. I do therefore pray you to speak with the "party which Mr. Hovenar will bring unto you, and to "know what assurances he will require, which, to pleasure "sir Walter, I shall be willing to give; that is to say, to "give him assurance that upon sir Walter's return into "England, the charges being deducted, the discoverer shall "receive from sir Walter such part of the said merchan-"dise as sir Walter and he shall agree on; although there

[r] Sir Walter Ralegh's Apology, p. 4.

"needs no such assurance to be given, because his majesty "doth assure all sir Walter's partners by the great seal of "England, That they shall truly and quietly enjoy all their "parts and shares of what goods, merchandise, or treasure "soever shall be returned; out of which great seal of Eng-"land, the discoverer shall have an assignment for so much "as belongs unto him, to be delivered here in London, to "whomsoever he shall appoint to receive it." Then in a new line he concludes thus: "To Mr. Peter Vanlore. "This is the letter which I desire you to write to your "brother in Amsterdam; and for any assurance you shall "give, I will again put you in sureties to save you harm-"less. W. Ralegh[s]." This letter is dated July 1, 1616. And if Ralegh had his commission for that voyage before this time, as it appears he had, by his citing it, then it must be erroneously dated, being near two months after, in king James's Declaration[t]. Here again, that commission seems to have been given under the great seal of England; and also elsewhere[u]: in that Declaration, it is said to be under the privy-seal. But there are other things observable of this commission as it is there printed, and in other places, as we shall see presently.

In the mean while we may here observe a little opposition that was made to this voyage. And indeed some persons at court, who might remember what advances Ralegh had formerly made there, by the means of several exploits which he undertook at a distance from it; and others, admonished by conscience, that every friendly gale in his

[s] This copy of a letter for sir Peter Vanlore to engage a Dutch merchant in sir Walter Ralegh's Guianian adventure, from the original draught of sir Walter's own hand, is in the possession of Browne Willis, of Whaddon-hall in Bucks, esq. to whom we are obliged for this communication. And a transcript appears to have been sent according to sir Walter's request; for, after his death, his lady having commenced lawsuits against the said Vanlore, this copy was produced in court, as appears by the following endorsement upon it: "This letter was "shewn unto Mathias Penewart, at "the time of his examination, on the "part and behalf of sir Peter Van-"lore, knt. defendant, against dame "Elizabeth Ralegh, widow, com-"plainant. 12° Junii, 1623. Signed "Martin Basill."

[t] See a Declaration of the Demeanour and Carriage of sir Walter Ralegh, knt. as well in his voyage as sithence his return, &c. 4to. 1618. p. 24.

[u] Dr. Heylin's Cosmography, fol. 1086. &c.

navigation would be splitting them upon a rock, might well be expected to obstruct, as far as they could, his progress: but none do we hear of so impatient and clamorous against it as the Spaniard. For there had been now in England, about three years, an agent from Spain, named Diego Sarmiento de Acuna, better known, but not till about the time of Ralegh's death, or perhaps after it, by the title of count de Gondomar; a man who, if he gained that influence he did over king James purely by art, must be allowed a good share of dexterity in the mysteries of negotiation; but as he was adapted by nature to soothe and captivate him, no less than by the pretensions of his agency, it diminishes the wonders of his success in making that king such a subject to his enchantments, and keeping him so many years a prisoner as it were in the tower he had heaped up of airy and glittering promises: yet what reward was reserved, for all his services here, in his own country, and how this ardent slave to the will and pleasure of his master was both executioner of his royal pride as well as other passions, and sacrifice also at last to them, must be left for those to display who have more leisure to dilate upon such retaliations of Providence. This was the man who (as he is represented in king James's Declaration) now "took great alarm, and is said to have made loud "and vehement assertions to his majesty in repeated au-"diences, that he knew and had discovered the intention "and enterprise of sir Walter Ralegh to be but hostile and "piratical, tending to the breach between the two crowns[x], "and the danger and destruction of the king his master's "subjects in those parts; protesting in a sort against it." To which that the king should answer, (as it is there said after Ralegh's death,) "He would send sir Walter Ralegh "with a limited commission," (but how limited it was will soon appear,) and that "he durst not, upon peril of his "head, do any such matter; and if he did, he would surely "do justice upon him, or send him bound hand and foot

[x] But see Ralegh's Apology, p. 53.

"into Spain, with all the gold and goods he should obtain "by robbery, and bring home, were they never so great[y]." Then the king, by sir Ralph Winwood, got both a solemn protestation from Ralegh, that he had no other intention but only to go to those gold mines; and also a close letter to his majesty (as it is here in his Declaration justly called) confirming the same. This close letter was both written close to the purpose, or in such expressive terms as to have laid open the whole scheme of Ralegh's voyage; and also as a matter to be kept close, or with the utmost privacy; for it is said that, upon such communication, his majesty promised, on the word of a king, to keep it secret[z]: and it would have prevented all supposition of disingenuity, if this close letter had been fairly exhibited in that Declaration, had it been when this was penned in the king's possession, as it ought, according to his royal promise. On the contrary, this seems to have been the very letter, by which, through the Spanish ambassador's means, his master, the king of Spain, was preadmonished of Ralegh's whole enterprise, and had sent to Guiana, before he left the British channel, to prepare a greater force than his to oppose him, as will hereafter appear. Nay, it is visible by what immediately follows in the said Declaration, both that this close letter (how closely soever the contents of it are withheld) did reveal the particulars of Ralegh's naval strength, and that the king did divulge it to the Spanish ambassador; because it was so far from making him recede from his former jealousy, that he is discovered to have objected thereupon against the number of ships Ralegh had prepared for the said voyage[a], to which Ralegh then doubtless made as proper answer as we shall find he did hereafter. But in short, such a proposal, by one carrying the reputation of such an active, witty, and valiant gentleman, especially of so

[y] King James's Declaration of Sir Walter Ralegh's Demeanour, &c. p. 5.

[z] Howel's Letters, p. 369. Shirley's Life of the valiant and learned sir Walter Ralegh, fol. 3d edit. 1687. p. 28. And also in the Life of sir Walter Ralegh, in a collection of Lives English and Foreign, vol. 1. 1704. p. 128. &c.

[a] King James's Declaration, p. 6.

great a commander at sea, as his enemies allow he had[b]; one who must be thought most wary above all others of incurring king James's displeasure, under which he had so long suffered; one who had given such public attestations of his sincerity in the prosecution of this proposal; and one who, as the greatest proof he could give thereof, was actually embarking his whole fortune as well as credit, together with those of his friends and relations, all finding security for their good behaviour, without any charge to the crown if they failed, and with prospect of great advantage if they succeeded, was so far from being overthrown by any remonstrances of the ambassador himself, or from being thought a most noble and generous overture by all other men, that even the king's honour is acknowledged, in his own Declaration, to have been engaged, not to deny his people the adventure and hope of so great riches[c]. And yet what character of that king's honour towards his people is exposed in the same leaf of that very Declaration, where it is pretended, that in his own princely judgment he gave no belief to it, as being persuaded that in nature there were no such mines entire, or that the Spaniards, so industrious in the chace of treasure, would have so long neglected the same, is left to the reader's distinction. But it may be best discovered by the care taken to secure his majesty's dividend so clearly, and to express many other articles so doubtfully, in the commission itself, of which we shall now give an impartial abstract, whether it was from a magnanimous principle or a mercenary one, from upright policy or downright prevarication, that the same was granted; being as follows:

His commission for a voyage to the south or elsewhere in America.

"James, by the grace of God, &c. To all to whom "these presents shall come, &c. Whereas sir Walter Ra-"legh, knight, intendeth to undertake a voyage by sea and "shipping, to the south parts of America or elsewhere "within America, possessed and inhabited by heathen and "savage people; to discover some commodities and mer-

[b] King James's Declaration, p. 27. [c] Idem, p. 4.

" chandise profitable for the subjects of our kingdoms,
" whereof the inhabitants make little or no use; whence
" may ensue, by commerce, some propagation of the Chris-
" tian faith and reformed religion among those idolatrous
" people: and whereas there are divers merchants, &c. well
" disposed to assist sir Walter Ralegh, had they assurance
" to enjoy their due share of the profits returned, sir Wal-
" ter Ralegh being under the peril of the law; and whereas
" divers other gentlemen, his kinsmen and friends, with se-
" veral captains and commanders, are also desirous to follow
" and venture their lives with him, if they might be com-
" manded by none but himself: we, upon deliberate consi-
" deration, desiring the benefit of our subjects, also to give
" our princely furtherance to the said sir Walter Ralegh
" and his friends, as well as to encourage others in the like
" laudable enterprises, advance the conversion of savages,
" and increase traffic by our subjects of this kingdom, have,
" of our special grace, &c. granted sir Walter Ralegh full
" power to carry for the said voyage so many of our sub-
" jects, or others who will become our subjects, as shall
" willingly accompany him; with sufficient shipping, ar-
" mour, weapons, ordnance, munition, powder, shot, &c.
" and all other things as he shall think necessary for the
" use and defence of him and his company; besides liberty
" to exchange or otherwise dispose of his goods or merchan-
" dise; also to return into this or other of our dominions
" with such gold, silver, bullion, or any other wares, and
" they to be converted to the proper use of the said sir
" Walter Ralegh and his company; paying to us, our
" heirs, &c. the full fifth part of all such gold and silver,
" bullion, and ore of gold or silver, pearl and precious stones,
" as shall be so imported; withal such customs, &c. as
" shall be due for any other goods whatever. Further, to
" encourage sir Walter Ralegh and the adventurers, we
" promise *in verbo regio*, that no gold, silver, or other
" wares by them imported from those parts so possessed
" and inhabited, shall be seized by us, our heirs, or any of
" our officers, but that it shall remain (the fifth part of the

" said gold, silver, bullion, &c. as before, with all other
" customs and duties, being truly paid) to the sole use of
" sir Walter Ralegh and his company. Further, of our
" most special grace, &c. we constitute the said sir Walter
" Ralegh to be the sole governor and commander of all
" persons who shall travel or be with him in the said voyage
" or in their return. And give him full power to correct,
" punish, pardon, and rule them according to such orders
" and instructions as the said sir Walter Ralegh shall
" establish, as well in cases capital and criminal as civil,
" both marine and other; so that the said proceedings, as
" near as conveniently may be, are agreeable to the laws of
" this realm and to the Christian faith now professed in the
" church of England. And because in such enterprises
" great inconveniences have grown by mutinies and dis-
" orders for want of sufficient authority, we give full power
" to sir Walter Ralegh, in case of rebellion or mutiny by
" sea or land, to exercise martial law upon just and ap-
" parent necessity, in as ample a manner as our lieutenant-
" general by sea or land, or our lieutenants in the counties
" of England. And we give sir Walter Ralegh full power
" to appoint such captains and other commanders and mi-
" nisters under him as shall be requisite for the better
" ordering and governing his company. We further com-
" mand the wardens of the cinque ports, customers, and
" other officers, quietly to permit sir Walter Ralegh, and
" all who shall adventure with him, to pass to the said
" south or other parts of America, possessed and inhabited
" as aforesaid, and to return with any goods whatever, and
" to sell or otherwise dispose of the same to the only use of
" him and his company; paying the fifth part of all gold,
" silver, bullion, &c. as before, imported, and other cus-
" toms and duties aforesaid. And these presents, &c. shall
" be to the said wardens, &c. sufficient warrant. And we
" grant to the said sir Walter Ralegh, that these our letters
" patents, or the enrolment thereof, with all the grants,
" clauses, &c. therein, shall be sufficient and effectual in
" law, any law, statute, &c. notwithstanding. Witness

"ourselves, the 26th day of August, in the 14th year of "our reign of England, France, and Ireland; and of Scot-"land, the 50th. *Per breve de privato sigillo.*"

This abstract is made from the said commission, as it is printed in king James's Declaration [d], and may agree with that which seems also to have been given us from the records [e]. Whether there was originally any preamble to it, we cannot say. But there are authors who affirm, that in this commission king James called him his trusty and well-beloved sir Walter Ralegh [f]. Though these may be words of course in such like instruments, yet if some words were thus taken out in that recital aforesaid, it might give reason of inferring that by the same liberty others have been squeezed in. Yet even as it is suffered there to appear, it is surely far from being so clearly penned in point of those limitations it is said in his majesty's Declaration he promised the Spanish ambassador: for here is no limitation to any part of America, not only the south parts, but elsewhere being authorized, and all that are habitable, inhabited in some degree or other by heathen and savage people; so vague, so equivocal, and disputable is that distinction; not one word of Guiana, no owning of his own right, or the power he had lately given to plant there, no privilege for working any mine there, nor prohibition to meddle with the king of Spain's subjects there or elsewhere, as another writer has well observed [g]. On the contrary, full liberty to carry what arms and ammunition they pleased for defence, if they should need it; and lastly, the royal assurance of enjoying unmolested whatever they returned with. In short, this commission must easily be observed to have been penned, how clearly soever pretended, as if king

[d] From page 9. to 24.

[e] Vide Rymer's Fœd. vol. 16. fol. 789.

[f] See Ralegh's Remains, 12mo. 1651, and in the last edition, p. 200; where it is said, Ralegh afterwards pleaded these words in his commission, *To his trusty and well-beloved subject*, &c. as what implied a pardon. See also Coke's Four last Reigns, p. 85. Rapin's late History of England; where he says, this commission was directed *a notre amé et feal Walter Ralegh*. Also Mr. Tindal's Notes on the same place.

[g] See the first volume of State Trials, fol. 219. in the notes.

James did neither know of sir Walter Ralegh's intention for and at Guiana; though a little before, he had the whole particulars thereof from Ralegh's own hand, or that there were any Spaniards planted there; though he appears to have known that also from the Spanish ambassador himself, whose own kinsman, as we shall hear, was sent, during Ralegh's restraint, from Spain, to build and colonize upon that very spot to which Ralegh had now this unlimited commission, as we may rather term it, to go. For it is so much the reverse of that close penned letter wherein Ralegh had so expressively and so unreservedly placed his whole trust of this voyage in king James, that it seems contrived, both to hoodwink the Spaniard till the action was over, though the king betrayed it himself, and to secure loopholes sufficient for the royal authority against his exceptions[h]; but they proved so large, that it was thought expedient, in the end, as we shall find, that the commission should not be insisted on to limit or restrain any body.

Whether this indistinct power in that commission made Ralegh more or less importunate for his pardon, we cannot say. Some indeed write, that he laboured mainly to obtain it; but they are led into that belief by the Declaration aforesaid: whereas we find it expressly asserted in a letter of Carew Ralegh's, that his father had overtures made him of procuring his pardon for fifteen hundred pounds by sir William St. John, one of the persons of whom he purchased his freedom, therefore one whose interest was the less to be doubted in this particular; but that sir Walter Ralegh conferring, a little before his departure from England, with sir Francis Bacon, (newly made lord keeper of the great seal,

[h] Roger Coke, in his State of England during the four last reigns, observes, p. 84. "that this commission but ill agreed with the treaty "of peace made with the king of "Spain, in the second year of king "James's reign." And a little further, "That in granting this commission, you see," says he, "by "what an undistinguished power covetousness governs the actions of "princes as well as meaner men, "against their honour and interest: "for at that time the king granted "this commission, he was, by sir "John Digby, treating a marriage "between prince Charles and the infanta of Spain, upon terms of two "millions of money with her." But what put a stop to that match may in the same author, and others, be seen.

and not long after lord chancellor,) upon this pecuniary pardon, he positively advised Ralegh against it in these words: "Sir, the knee-timber of your voyage is money; "spare your purse in this particular, for upon my life you "have a sufficient pardon for all that is past already, the "king having, under his broad seal, made you admiral of "your fleet, and given you power of the martial law over "your officers and soldiers[h]." But we are elsewhere told, that even for less than half that money before mentioned, that is to say, "for seven hundred pounds, the said sir Wil-"liam St. John, and also sir Edward Villiers, before spoken "of, offered sir Walter Ralegh, not only his full pardon, "but liberty not to go his voyage if he pleased; and that "he refused both; the rather, because he was told by sir "Francis Bacon, (as above,) that his said commission was as "good a pardon for all former offences, as the law of Eng-"land could afford him[i]."

And now, near seven months after the date of his commission, began his fleet to appear, or rather that part of it which lay in the Thames, and consisted of seven sail. From the survey which was taken thereof by the appointment of Charles earl of Nottingham, the lord admiral, on the 15th of March in the year last named, it appears, that the first of them, or admiral, a brave ship, as described by one who might probably have seen it, and built by Ralegh himself[k], was named the Destiny, of four hundred and forty tons, and thirty-six pieces (or more) of ordnance; sir Walter Ralegh general, and his son Walter captain: besides two hundred men, whereof fourscore were gentlemen-volunteers and adventurers, most of them sir Walter's relations; which number was afterwards increased. Second, the Jason of London, two hundred and forty tons, and twenty-five pieces of ordnance; captain John Pennington vice-admiral, fourscore men, one gentleman, and no more. Third, the Encounter, one hundred and sixty tons, seventeen pieces of

[h] Howel's Familiar Letters, fifth edit. 1678. vol. 2. p. 371.

[i] Observations on Sanderson's History of King James, p. 10.

[k] Howel's Letters, vol. 1. p. 5.

ordnance; Edward Hastings captain; (no men more, except the master, mentioned;) but he dying in the Indies, was succeeded in the command by captain Whitney. Fourth, the Thunder, one hundred and fifty tons, twenty pieces of ordnance; sir Warham Sentleger captain; six gentlemen, sixty soldiers, ten landmen. Fifth, the Flying Joan, one hundred and twenty tons, fourteen pieces of ordnance; John Chidley captain; twenty-five men. Sixth, the Southampton, eighty tons, six pieces of ordnance; John Bayley captain; twenty-five mariners, two gentlemen. Seventh, the Page, a pinnace, twenty-five tons, three rabnets of brass; James Barker captain; eight sailors[l]. But before Ralegh left the coast of England he was joined by as many ships more, so that his whole fleet consisted of thirteen sail, besides his own ship[m]. And though we cannot be so particular in the remaining part, we may yet learn thus much of it, that one ship, named the Convertine, was commanded by captain Keymis[n]; another, called the Confidence, was under the charge of captain Woolaston; there was a shallop, named the Flying Hart, under sir John Ferne; two flyboats, under captain Samuel King and captain Robert Smith; and a carvel, with perhaps another named the Chudley, besides[o].

With the former part of the fleet Ralegh set sail from the Thames on the 28th of March aforesaid[p], which was in the year 1617, and was soon after ready to proceed at the Isle of Wight, when several little accidents fell out to retard his progress; for he stayed there some days for sir Warham Sentleger, whose ship, the Thunder, by the negligence of her master, was at lee in the Thames: also after Ralegh was got to Plymouth, captain Pennington was not

[l] A View and Survey of such ships as were in the river of Thames ready to go to sea, under the command of sir Walter Ralegh; and of their names, tonnage, and number of men. Taken by certain gentlemen appointed thereto by the right honourable Charles earl of Nottingham, &c. At the end of a scarce pamphlet entitled, News of Sir Walter Ralegh, &c. Sent from a gentleman of his fleet to a friend in London, &c. 4to. 1618.

[m] Howel's Letters, as before.

[n] Idem, p. 6.

[o] See sir Walter Ralegh's Apology, 8vo. 1650. p. 22, 26, 24.

[p] Camden's Annals of King James.

come to the Isle of Wight, and when he did arrive, was forced to ride back to London to engage the lady Ralegh to pass her word for the money which was to redeem the bread for his ship, amounting to thirty pounds, without which he could not have gone forward; nor could sir John Ferne proceed till Ralegh had supplied him with a hundred pounds by his cousin Herbert, and procured him another hundred pounds of his friend Dr. Sutcliffe, dean of Exeter, having furnished himself with a third hundred before he came from Wales. Ralegh tarried also for captain Whitney, who had a third part of his victuals to provide; and to assist him, Ralegh generously sold his plate at Plymouth; notwithstanding which, and Ralegh's having given him more countenance than any other of his officers, Whitney ran away from him at the Granadoes, and drew captain Woolaston with his ship after him: Ralegh had further the patience to wait ten or twelve days for captain Bayley, which he afterwards ungratefully requited by deserting also the fleet at the Canaries, for no apparent reason but Ralegh's refusing him a French shallop he took in the bay of Portugal; and yet after Ralegh had bought her for fifty crowns, that the French might have no cause of complaint, Bayley might have had her, if he had desired it[q].

For these reasons he was forced to linger some months at Plymouth, losing thereby a fair wind, and indeed the season of the year. The mean while he published, in May following, such orders throughout his fleet as gained him great applause, for the regularity and instruction they established therein. A gentleman of his company, in a tract he wrote of this voyage, having expressed "how many ways sir Walter Ralegh was moved to enterprises of this nature more than any other Englishman whatsoever; by his wisdom and learning, variety of conference, and experience of places he had formerly held; also how much greater his noble ends have been than any man's whatsoever of our

[q] Ralegh's Apology, p. 7, 8, 9.

"nation who had attempted the like courses;" he proceeds "to the particular government of his fleet; which though "others," says he, "have in some measure observed, yet in "all the great volumes which have been written, touching "voyages, there is no precedent of so godly, severe, and "martial government; fit to be engraved in every man's "soul that covets to do honour to his king and country in "the like attempts:" then exhibits "a copy of the said "laws, articles, and commandments, which we at this pre-"sent," says he, "observe;" and of which it may not therefore be unacceptable hereunder to present the heads[r].

[r] Bearing this title, Orders to be observed by the commanders of the fleet, and land companies, under the charge and conduct of sir Walter Raleigh, knight, bound for the south parts of America or elsewhere. Given at Plymouth in Devon, 3d May 1617. They first enjoin, That divine service should be read morning and evening, or, if interrupted by foul weather, once a day. That all swearing and blasphemy shall, after admonition, be fined. That no man refuse obeying his officer in all things commanded for the benefit of the journey, or refuse to wait his turn as directed, the sailors by the master and boatswain, the landmen by their captains, lieutenants, and others. Two captains of the watch in every ship to choose two soldiers every night to search between decks, that no fire nor candlelight be carried about after the watch set, nor burning in any cabin without a lantern: tobacco forbidden all men but upon the upper deck. Landmen to learn the names and places of the ropes, to assist the sailors upon deck. Sailors to be trained as they do landmen, so that all may be esteemed sailors or soldiers, as there is occasion: not to chase or board any ship without order of the general. To take nothing from any in league with his majesty; but, in extremity, to agree for the price. Every night to fall astern the general's ship, and follow his light, and receive instructions of the course to be held, every morning. If separated by storms, to open their sealed billets, first on this side the North Cape if needful; secondly, at the South Cape; third, after twenty-three degrees; and fourth, from the height of Cape de Vert. Upon discovering any sail at sea, either to windward or leeward of the admiral which he cannot discern, if she be large and single, to strike main topsail and hoist it again so often as they judge it to be 100 tons burden; as, if 200, to strike and hoist twice, &c. Upon discovering a small ship, to do the like with fore-topsail; but if many great ships appear, both to strike the main-topsail often, and hang out the ensign in the maintop. If they go large before wind, to stand as they do, till it may be judged the admiral had seen the said signs and standing. But if you went large at the discovery, to hale the sheets after a while, then go large again: so if they have their tacks aboard, and you yours aboard at the discovery, bear up a little, and hale your sheet off again, to shew us what course they hold. If you discover a sail by night to windward of you, and you windward of the admiral, bear up to acquaint us: if you think you might speak with her, keep aloof, and fire a piece to give us knowledge. None to fire any ordnance but in discovering a sail by night, in danger of enemies, fire, or sinking. If you fire by day, we shall know it is to make a ship strike, if by night, we shall know you see more sail than your own; if you think we hear not, in a quarter of an hour fire again.

It was the end of June or the beginning of July before all his company joined him, and he sailed from Plymouth: then being encountered with a violent storm some eight leagues to the west of Scilly, in which captain Chidley's

Sets out for Guiana.

If you are in present danger by a leak, shoot two pieces soon after one another; if by fire, three in like manner. In foul weather every ship to fit her sails to keep company with the rest, and not to run so far ahead by day but it may fall astern the admiral at night. If attacked by sea, the captain to appoint sufficient assistance to the gunner, and, if needful, the cabins between deck to be taken down; all beds and sacks employed for bulwarks. Musketeers of every ship to be divided under captains for the forecastle, the waist, and the poop. Gunners not to shoot great ordnance at other distance than pointblank: officers to see no loose powder be carried between decks near linstock, or match in hand. Hogsheads sawed in two, filled with water ready on the decks, and wet blankets, against fire. Carpenters to be divided, in the hold and between decks, with leaden plates, plugs, &c. at hand. Proper numbers of sailors to be appointed to every sail under proper commanders: so that all knowing their charge and places, may do their duty without confusion or noise, none being to speak but the officers. No man to board a ship of the enemy without order. Every ship under lee of the enemy must labour to recover the wind, if the admiral endeavour it; or if the enemy be to leeward, the whole fleet to follow the admiral or other leading ship within musket shot of the enemy, giving so much liberty to the leading ship after her broadside delivered and her sail trimmed; then the second ship to give her side; so the third and fourth, all taking as the first, and giving the enemy the other side, shall keep him under a perpetual volley: and thus to the windermost ship of the enemy, till it be battered to pieces, or forced up to entangle the rest. If the admiral chase, and is headmost, the next ship to take up his boat, unless otherwise ordered; the like to be done by those that follow other chasing ships. The divided musketeers not to deliver their shot but at such distances as their commander directs. Ships to be kept clean between decks. Ordnance not cloyed with trunks and chests. Provisions to be delivered to the steward. Apparel to be in cloak-bags, except some few chests that will not pester the ships. Firearms to be kept clean; if out of order, the officer to order the armourer to amend them. No feasting or drinking between meals; or drinking healths on the ship's provision. Every captain, by his purser or other officer, to take weekly accounts of the victuals. No candles to be delivered by the steward to any private man or private use. Whoever steals apparel, victuals, &c. to be punished as a thief and murderer. No man to strike any officer on pain of death: private men striking one another to be punished by court martial. Players at cards or dice for apparel, arms, &c. to be disarmed, and made swabbers. Cowards upon any landing or otherwise, to be disarmed, and made labourers, to carry victuals for the rest. None to land in foreign parts without order from some chief commander; and where they land, none to force either Christian or heathen women, on pain of death. When landed in the Indies, not to eat fruits unknown, and such not eaten by birds on the tree, or beasts under it. Not to sleep on the ground, or eat new flesh till salted two or three hours. To swim in no rivers but where the Indians do, and to use them with courtesy. Other orders on the land to be established by general consent when they should arrive there. A flag on the mizen shrouds of the admiral was to be the signal for summoning the officers to council. See a tract, called News of Sir Walter Ralegh, &c. 4to. 1618; from p. 19. to 28.

pinnace was sunk, and captain King driven into Bristol, Ralegh held it, from experience as well as reason, the office of a commander of many ships, and those of different sailings and conditions, rather to take a port, and keep his fleet together, than to endanger the loss of his masts and rigging, or the advantage which enemies might take, or the loss of more time in attending another rendezvous, by the danger of a separation. Therefore he put into Ireland, and was obliged to stay seven weeks there: so that the winds only were to be accused now (as he observes) for their delay. And here, though by his credit he procured fifty oxen, which he distributed among his fleet, some of the crew spared not, at his return, to defame him with having taken care to revictual himself and none of the rest. On the 19th of August he set forward from Cork[s].

Arrives at Lancerota.

When he arrived at the isle of Lancerota, on the 6th of September, Ralegh sent a request to the governor, that he might be admitted to treat for some provisions: the governor sent back word, that he would confer with Ralegh himself, if he would come attended but by one gentleman, and armed only with their rapiers. Ralegh taking with him lieutenant Bradshaw, met the governor, who agreed, that if he would send up an English factor, whose ship then rode in the road, whatever the island afforded should be delivered at a reasonable rate. Ralegh sent the factor, but the governor procrastinated, and at last sent word, that unless he would embark his men which lay on the seashore, the islanders were so jealous, they durst not divide from one another to supply him. Ralegh complied, but when half his men were got aboard, the islanders began to offer violence upon the rest. They slew one, and sent the factor to tell Ralegh they would part with nothing to him, for that they believed his company to be the Turkish fleet which had lately destroyed Puerto Sancto. The English hereupon would have gone and helped themselves, but Ralegh considering what displeasure it might give at home, how

[s] Sir Walter Ralegh's Journal of his (last) voyage to Guiana, the original manuscript, fol. 1.

the merchants might suffer, and the poor English factor be ruined, complained to the governor of the Grand Canaries, of whom he also desired leave to take water undisturbed; but instead of answer, when he landed some hundred men in the desert part of the island where they found fresh water, there ambush was laid, by which one of his men was wounded to death, and more had been slain, had not captain Thornhurst and lieutenant Hayman, two valiant gentlemen, seconded by sir Warham Sentleger and young captain Ralegh, with half a dozen more, made forty of them run away. From this unavoidable fray, Bayley found pretence to turn tail, and go home again.

At Gomera.

In want of water they sailed to Gomera, one of the strongest and best defended of all these islands, and the best port. The Spaniards, being seated upon the very wash of the sea, roughly saluted the fleet at its first entrance with their cannon, and the English returned their salutation. But as soon as Ralegh recovered the harbour, and commanded there should be no more firing, he sent a Spaniard he had with him ashore, to assure the governor he had no intention to make war with any of the Spanish king's subjects; and if any harm had been done by his great ordnance to the town, it was their fault, who, by shooting first, gave the occasion. The governor answered, he thought they had been the Turkish fleet aforesaid; but having been certified they were Christians and Englishmen, and sought nothing but water, he was willing to let them take what they pleased, if he might be assured they would make no attempt upon the town-houses, or their gardens and fruits. Ralegh replied, that he would give him his faith, and the word of the king of Great Britain, his sovereign, that if the people of the town or island should lose so much as an orange or a grape by any one of his men without paying for it, he would hang him up in the market-place. And Ralegh kept his men in such good discipline, that the governor in divers letters (for he wrote to him every day) acknowledged how punctually Ralegh kept his faith with him, in regard to the inoffensive behaviour of his company;

and also how much himself was beholden to him for his particular civilities. For his countess, who was of English extract, being a Stafford by the mother's side, and of the house of Horne by the father, having sent Ralegh some presents of fruit, sugar, and rusk, he returned others of greater value[t]. The earl moreover gave him at his departure, on the 21st of September, a letter to don Diego Sarmiento, the Spanish ambassador in England, testifying how honourably Ralegh had comported himself to the Moriscos in these Canary islands during the fourteen days that he was among them. Before he set sail, he discharged a bark of the Grand Canaries, taken by one of his pinnaces, coming from Cape Blanc in Africa; who complaining that his men had eaten of their fish to the value of six ducats, Ralegh gave them eight.

After having weathered through a violent hurricane and some vast showers of rain, besides dangers no less fearful within, sickness now beginning to visit his ship[u], he arrived on the 2d of October at the isle of Bravo; and here also underwent great hazards and hardships; besides the sickness daily spreading among his men. For whereas all those who navigated even between Cape de Vert and America, were wont to pass between fifteen and twenty days at most, he found the wind so contrary to him, and indeed to nature, so many storms and showers, that he spent near six weeks in the passage from hence; by reason whereof, and the burning heat of the climate, he was in great distress for water. Here losing anchors, cables, and water-cask, besides two more of his company[x], he was driven, after two days, by a kind of tornado, from this island; which, as well

At Bravo.

[t] Though the presents Ralegh returned to this governor's lady are not mentioned in his Apology, whence his progress hitherto is chiefly extracted, I find, in his own Journal aforesaid of this voyage, that they consisted of an extract of amber, ambergris, a fine cut-work ruff, a very excellent picture of Mary Magdalen, and a good quantity of rosewater, which was of great value and esteem in these parts.

[u] Whereof there died his provost-marshal, W. Steed, on the 21st of September; his master-surgeon, Newhall, on the 29th; and on the last day of this month died his son's sergeant, Holcroft. Sir Walter Ralegh's Journal of his last voyage to Guiana.

[x] Lieutenant Allen, who died the 2d of October, and the cape merchant Keymis, who died the day following.

as the others he touched at, before mentioned, he has well described in his Journal of this unfortunate voyage. After his return home, detraction did not spare to give out, that he went to Cape de Vert knowing it to be infected, and thereby lost many of his men; whereas he was a hundred and sixty leagues from that cape, according to his own account in his Apology; and had threescore men ill in his own ship before he came to Bravo, as we find it in his Journal; though if he had gone to that cape now, after the rains which had fallen, there had been little danger of any such infection. All places that lie near great rivers, in low and moorish grounds, do indeed, as he rightly observes, subject their inhabitants to fevers and agues, as even along both sides of our own river Thames; and other infection is not found either in the Indies or in Africa, except when the easterly wind or breezes are excluded and kept off by some high mountains from the valleys, whereby the air wanting motion, stagnates, and becomes exceedingly unhealthful, as at Nombre de Dios, and some other places. "But," says he, "as good success admits of no examination, "so the contrary allows of no excuse[y]."

Hence they proceeded, on the fourth of October, towards Guiana. But the sickness revisited and destroyed many of those whom the storms spared, carrying off numbers of his ablest men both for sea and land, no less than forty-two of his own ship ending their voyage with their lives[z], mostly in this month, at least before they reached the coast[a]. About the twelfth of the same month, when their sickness began to be at the height, and they at the greatest distance

[y] Ralegh's Apology, p. 18, 19.

[z] Sir Walter Ralegh's letter to his wife from Caliana, the 14th of November, in his Remains, the last edit. p. 166.

[a] Mr. John Howard, ensign to captain North, died the 6th of October. Also Mr. Fowler, sir Walter's principal refiner. His servant Crab died the 8th; and all his other servants were so ill, he had not any but his pages to attend on him. Captain John Piggot, Ralegh's lieutenant-general by land, died the 13th; also "Mr. John Talbot, who had lived," says Ralegh, "with me eleven years "in the Tower; an excellent gene-"ral scholar, and a faithful true man "as lived." Then also died Mr. Gardiner, and Mr. Mordant; besides his own cook, Francis. Captain Jennings died the 16th, and his cousin, lieutenant Peyton, the 18th of the same month; besides many others of less note. Ralegh's Journal, &c.

from any shore, they were many other ways also distressed; for when they began to be in scarcity of water, they were also becalmed; yet ever threatened with extremity of tempestuous weather, from the strange and unusual alterations in the atmosphere. One while the horizon muffled as it were in such thick and fearful darkness, that they were forced to steer a day or two by candlelight. At other times, arched and overshot with gloomy discolorations; so that watery rainbows were continually invading their eyes, or heavy showers their bodies, and dead calms retarding their ships. Afterwards at Trinidad, Ralegh observed, besides two watergalls, no less than fifteen rainbows in one day, and one of them bent as it were both ends together, making a perfect circle; and these were ever followed with wet weather; for, as he also noted, especially of the morning rainbow, it did not here produce a fair day, as in England[b]. But one good effect ensued, that when their water was so scarce, near the latter end of this month, that the ship's crew was reduced to half allowance, they saved some hogsheads, which fell from the clouds, and all quenched their thirst with great cans of this bitter draught, as Ralegh describes that rain-water to have been. On the last day of this month, as he was raised abruptly out of his bed in a sweat, by the noise which a sudden great gust had occasioned in his ship, he got a cold, which turned to a burning fever, and cast him down for twenty days together; in which time he received no other sustenance than a few stewed prunes, but drink, every hour, both day and night; and sweated so excessively, that he was forced to shift three times every day, and as often at night[c]. At last the violence of his disease was abated, by the oranges and other fruits he had received at Gomera of the governor's lady; which he had carefully preserved in sand to his great refreshment; and without which, as he owns himself, he could not have lived[d]: but it was double the time before he could

[b] Sir Walter Ralegh's Journal as before.

[c] Idem.

[d] Ralegh's letter in his Remains, as aforesaid, p. 167.

recover in any tolerable degree from this sharp visitation.

In this slow and sickly manner they arrived at last, on the 11th of November, at the north cape of Wiapoco. And here Ralegh sent for his old servant Leonard, the Indian, who had been in England three or four years with him; but he was removed so far up in the country, there was no pursuing him[e]. Therefore he stood away for Caliana, which is in five degrees, on the coast of Guiana, at the first discovery called Port Howard[f], where the cacique was also his servant, and had lived with him in the Tower of London two years. There he arrived in a day or two, having passed the island noted for its multitude of birds and silk-bearing trees, and from thence sent for his servant Harry, the Indian, who, with other caciques, came and brought him great store of cassavi bread and roasted mullets, with plantains, pinas, pistachios, &c. But Ralegh ventured not to eat of the pinas, which tempted him exceedingly, till after a day or two's airing on the shore in a tent which was there pitched for him; then he also eat some armadillo and a little pork, and began to gather strength. Here also he landed his sick men, and recovered many; and here he buried captain Edward Hastings, (the lord Huntington's brother,) who died ten days or more before, and with him his sergeant-major, Hart, and captain Henry Snedale; the charge of whose ship Ralegh gave to his servant captain Robert Smith, of Cornwall[g]. Here he also set up his barges and shallops which they brought from England, in quarters, cleansed his ships, trimmed up his casks, and supplied them with water; fixed up a forge, and made such iron works as they wanted. Thus on that shore and this river they employed and refreshed themselves for about three weeks; during which time Ralegh was very much caressed by the Indians of his old acquaintance aforesaid, and the other natives of this place, who cherished him daily

At Wiapoco.

At Caliana.

[e] Ralegh's Journal.

[f] Ralegh's Apology for his Voyage to Guiana, p. 21.

[g] Sir Walter Ralegh's Journal, and his Apology, p. 22.

with the best provisions that the country yielded, and offered him all kind of obedience, even to the making him their sovereign prince and ruler, if he would abide and settle among them; so fresh continued his memory, and such unanimous impressions of homage and respect had his former behaviour still left upon them; which offer he mentions with the greatest modesty and indifference in the despatch he now sent to England. For in this interval, captain Peter Alley, one of his company, who was much troubled with a vertiginous disorder in his head, having got leave to return home, and the opportunity of a Dutch vessel which lay there, Ralegh, among other letters, sent one by him to his lady, dated from Caliana the 14th of November. "Herein," says he, "I cannot write to you but with a weak hand, for I have "suffered the most violent calenture for fifteen days that "ever man did, and lived; but God, that gave me a strong "heart in all my adversities, has also now strengthened me "in the hell-fire of heat. We have had two most grievous "sicknesses in our ship, of which forty-two have died, and "there are yet many sick; but having recovered the land "of Guiana this 12th of November, I hope we shall re-"cover them. We are yet two hundred men, and the rest of "our fleet are reasonably strong, strong enough, I hope, to "perform what we have undertaken, if the diligent care at "London to make our strength known to the Spanish king by "his ambassador, has not taught the Spanish king to fortify "all the entrances against us. Howsoever, we must make "the adventure, and if we perish, it shall be no honour for "England, nor gain for his majesty, to lose, among many "others, an hundred as valiant gentlemen as England hath "in it." Then having spoken of Bayley's running away from him, the unnatural weather they had laboured through, and their tedious passage, with the present of fruits which had so much relieved him, as is before observed, besides the death of some principal officers, and recommendation of himself to some friends in London, especially his son Carew, he concludes thus: "To tell you that I might be here "king of the Indians, were a vanity; but my name hath

Offered to be made king in these parts.

"still lived among them; here they feed me with fresh "meat, and all that the country yields; all offer to obey "me[h]." At this time also, a gentleman of his company having drawn up a discourse in praise of Guiana, and in honour of this adventure, especially of the principal discoverer Ralegh himself; it being dated from Caliana, November the 17th, sent it also into England by the same bearer[i]; and it was printed the following year[k].

On the 4th of December they left this river, and came next day to the Triangle Islands[l]; but were all in danger of leaving their bones upon the shoals before they got thither. For they were laid aground, especially Ralegh's larger ship, for the space of twenty-four hours, or more; and had it not been fair weather, would never have got off the coast, having not above two fathom of water. Here, after a few days, when all the fleet was gathered together, it being considered in a general consultation, that Ralegh himself, who had grappled with the sickness for six weeks, and was now rather so much relapsed than recovered, that he could not move otherwise than as he was carried in a chair[m], they resolved that there was no thoughts of his undertaking the passage up the Orenoque in person. And further, though they could never understand by Keymis who was the first of any nation that had entered the main mouth of that river, nor by any of their mariners, who had traded there many years for tobacco, what certainty the

[h] Ralegh's Remains, last edit. p. 166.

[i] This captain Peter Alley arrived in England the latter end of January following; for Camden, in his Annals of King James, says, that on the 31st of the said month, he signified (to the state) that sir Walter Ralegh was very sickly, and that several volunteers died of their sickness.

[k] Under the title of, News from Sir Walter Ralegh; with the true description of Guiana; as also a relation of the excellent government, and much hope of the prosperity of the voyage. Sent from a gentleman of his fleet, to a most special friend of his in London; from the river Caliana, on the coast of Guiana, November 17, 1617. by R. M. 4to. 1618. with a wooden cut of sir Walter Ralegh in the title-page, in band and collar, and black (velvet) doublet laced with silver, much like that graved on copper before the old editions of his History of the World. For this scarce tract, among others, I have been much beholden to the courtesy of sir Hans Sloane.

[l] Ralegh's Journal, &c.

[m] His letter to sir Ralph Winwood, in his Remains, last edit. p. 170.

water was of; yet having found by experience, that ships at eleven foot water lay aground three days in passing up; therefore there was no attempting it with Ralegh's ship, which being heavier, and charged with near forty pieces of ordnance, drew seventeen foot. Nor would his son with the rest have ventured, with the provisions they had, through any other person's assurance or resolution of staying to relieve them at a place appointed, against the forces expected to approach, but that of his father and their general [n]. So it was resolved by all, that the five larger ships should ride at Punta de Gallo in Trinidad, under Ralegh, to secure their retreat; and the five lesser, (for this was now the whole number of his fleet,) with five or six foot companies of fifty men each, should enter the river. According to this determination the fleet was here divided; that is to say, captain Whitney in the Encounter; Woolaston in the Confidence; King in the Supply; Smith in a pink; and Hall in a carvel. The companies had for their leaders, captain Charles Parker and captain North; (brothers to the lord Mounteagle and the lord North;) young Ralegh; captain Thornhurst of Kent; captain Pennington's lieutenant, who seems to be another Hall; and captain Chidley's lieutenant, Prideux. Sir Warham St. Leger, Ralegh's lieutenant, who had the charge of these companies, fell sick at Caliana, so it was conferred on George Ralegh, sir Walter's nephew, who had served with great commendation in the Low Countries; and captain Keymis had the chief charge for their guidance and landing within the river [o]. But Keymis having laid down the plan of his intended attempt upon the mine, and undertaken to discover it with six or eight persons in sir John Ferne's shallop, Ralegh, upon consideration, disliking that method of procedure, determined to alter it, and therefore gave him his instructions in the following words:

Divides his fleet at the Triangle Islands.

His instructions to Keymis.

"Keymis, Whereas you were resolved, after your arrival "into the Oronoque, to pass to the mine with my cousin Her-

[n] See Ralegh's Apology, p. 25, 26. [o] Ralegh's Journal, &c.

" bert and six musketeers, and to that end desired to have
" sir John Ferne's shallop; I do not allow of that course;
" because you cannot land so secretly, but that some In-
" dians on the river side may discover you, who giving
" knowledge thereof to the Spaniard, you may be cut off
" before you recover your boat. I therefore advise you to
" suffer the captains and companies of the English to pass
" up westward of the mountain Aio, from whence you have
" no less than three miles to the mine, and to encamp be-
" tween the Spanish town and you, if there is any town
" near it; that being so secured, you may make trial what
" depth and breadth the mine holds, and whether or no it
" will answer our hopes. And if you find it royal, and the
" Spaniards begin to war upon you, then let the sergeant-
" major repel them, if it is in his power, and drive them as
" far as he can: but if you find the mine is not so rich as
" to persuade the holding of it, and it requires a second
" supply, then shall you bring but a basket or two to sa-
" tisfy his majesty that my design was not imaginary but
" true, though not answerable to his majesty's expectation;
" for the quantity of which I never gave assurance, nor
" could. On the other side, if you shall find any great
" number of soldiers are newly sent into the Orenoque, as
" the cacique of Caliana told us there were, and that the
" passages are already enforced, so as without manifest
" peril of my son, yourself, and the other captains, you
" cannot pass towards the mine; then be well advised how
" you land, for I know (that a few gentlemen excepted)
" what a scum of men you have, and I would not for all
" the world receive a blow from the Spaniard to the dis-
" honour of the nation. I myself, for my weakness, cannot
" be present, neither will the company land, except I abide
" by the ships, the galleons of Spain being daily expected.
" Piggot, the sergeant-major, is dead, sir Warham St. Leger,
" my lieutenant, without hope of life, and my nephew,
" George Ralegh, your sergeant-major, now but a young
" man; it is therefore on your judgment that I rely, who,
" I trust, God will direct for the best. Let me hear from

"you as soon as you can. You shall find me at Punta de "Gallo, dead or alive; and if you find not my ships there, "yet there you shall find their ashes; for I will fire with "the galleons, if it come to extremity, but run away I will "never [p]."

With these instructions those five ships set forward, parting from Ralegh and the rest of the fleet at the islands aforesaid, with a month's provision, on the 10th of December [q]. But when they found a new Spanish town, called St. Thome, consisting of about one hundred and forty houses, though lightly built, with a chapel, a convent of Franciscans, and a garrison erected on the main channel of the Orenoque [r], about twenty miles distant from the place where Antonio Berreo, the governor taken by Ralegh in his first discovery and conquest here, attempted to plant; Keymis and the rest thought themselves obliged, through fear of leaving the enemy's garrison between them and their boats, to deviate from their instructions, which enjoined them, first to carry a little party to make trial of the mine, under a shelter of their own camp; and then to deal with the Spanish town as it should give cause, by permitting or offering to prevent them. So they concluded to land in one body, and encamp between the mine and the town [s]; whereby, though themselves were something stronger, their boats were subject to the same exposure, and the mine left untried, contrary to Ralegh's order. For, about three weeks after their departure, landing by night, it seems, nearer the town than they suspected, and meaning to rest themselves on the river side till morning, they were in the night-time set upon by the Spanish troops, apprised of and forearmed for their coming, as we shall see. This charge was so unexpected, and struck the common soldiers with such amazement and confusion, that had not the captains and some other valiant gentlemen made head, and animated

[p] Ralegh's Apology, p. 26.
[q] Sir Walter Ralegh's Journal.
[r] Heylin's Cosmography, p. 1084.
[s] See Ralegh's Apology, p. 29. and his letter to the lord Carew, touching the action at Guiana; printed at the end of the said Apology, p. 64.

the rest, they had all been cut to pieces. But the rest, by their example, soon rallying, made such a vigorous defence against the Spaniards, that they drove them to a retreat, till, in the warmth of their pursuit, the English found themselves at the Spanish town, before they knew where they were. Here the battle was renewed afresh upon them, being assaulted by the governor himself, don Diego Palameca, and four or five captains at the head of their companies; against whom, captain Walter Ralegh, a brave and sprightly young man, now twenty-three years of age, but fonder of glory than safety, not tarrying for the musketeers, rushed foremost, at the head of a company of pikes, and having killed one of the Spanish captains, was himself shot by another; but pressing still forward, with his sword upon Erinetta, probably the captain who had shot him, this Spaniard, with the but-end of his musket, felled him to the ground; and after these words; "Lord have mercy upon "me, and prosper your enterprise," young Ralegh spoke no more. Hereupon John Plessington, his sergeant, thrust the said Spanish captain through the body with his halbert. Two commanders more of the Spaniards were at the same time slain, one by John of Morocco, another of young Ralegh's company; and lastly, the governor himself also lost his life in the said engagement[t]; which happened, as Camden reckons, the second of January[u]. The leaders being thus all despatched, and many of their soldiers, the rest fled and were dispersed, some to shelter about the market-

Young Ralegh slain.

[t] See Ralegh's Apology, p. 30, 31. and his letter to his wife, in his Remains, (the last edition,) page 178. (where there is an egregious error of the press, viz. I *saw*, for I *say*, five of them slain at the entrance of the town; as if Ralegh had been present at the action.) See also, for young Ralegh's last words, captain Keymis's letter from the Orenoque to sir Walter Ralegh, in his Apology, p. 33. It is said in king James's Declaration, p. 34. that young Ralegh, likeliest to know his father's secret, when he led his soldiers upon this town used these or the like words, "Come on, my hearts, here is the "mine that we must expect; they "that look for any other mine are "fools." As if Ralegh was at so much toil, hazard, and expense, only to break the peace, and drive a pack of poor Spaniards out of a worthless town. Nor does it seem likely, that if young Ralegh knew this to be his father's secret, that he would thus disclose it; but rather, if he did utter such an expression, that he suddenly invented it to give his men hopes of booty, knowing that would best excite them to bravery.

[u] Annals of King James.

place, from whence they killed and wounded the English at pleasure; so as they saw no way left to be safe, but by firing the town about their ears, and driving them to the woods and mountains, whence they still keep the English waking with perpetual alarms [x]. Others were more careful to defend the passages to their mines, of which they had three or four not far distant, than they had been to defend the town itself [y]. But for the magazine of tobacco, which one writer, among other erroneous representations of this voyage, thought might countervail the charge of it, could it with some other things have been preserved [z], it seems not to have been consumed by the English; because Ralegh had enough thereof soon after to have paid for the victualling of his fleet, if there had been occasion, as himself has related [a].

St. Thome fired.

All obstructions seeming thus removed, captain Keymis had now a fair opportunity to make what trial he pleased at the mine; and that he did attempt the discovery will appear by the consequence, as his preparations do in the letter he wrote to Ralegh six days after the action aforesaid, though it came not long after to his hands. Herein having opened, in as gradual and discreet a manner as he could, how gallantly his son fell in this exploit, and observed, "that "if his extraordinary valour and vigour of mind had not "led them all on, it had never been attempted, nor per-"formed as it was, to his surviving honour;" having also observed, that "four of the best houses in the town be-"longed to refiners; though he had seen no coin or bul-"lion, but only a little plate;" he adds, "Now I propose, "God willing, to visit the mine, not eight miles from the "town; sooner I could not go, by reason of the murmur-"ings, the discords, and vexations wherewith the sergeant-"major is perpetually tormented." Concluding with these words: "I have sent your lordship a parcel of scattered "papers, and reserve a cart-load; one roll of tobacco, one

[x] Ralegh's Apology, p. 31.
[y] Ralegh's Remains, (last edition,) p. 178.
[z] Howel's Letters, (fifth edition,) p. 6.
[a] Ralegh's Remains, p. 176.

"tortoise, with some oranges and lemons; praying God to "give you strength and health of body, and a mind armed "against all extremities. I rest ever to be commanded, "this 8th of January, 1617, your lordship's, Keymis[b]."

Indeed Ralegh had need of those prayers, on his own part, at this time, not only in his sickness, but even in the intervals he had of recovery; for here, to give some account of him in this time of their separation, we may observe, that he lay with the five larger ships under himself, captain John Pennington, his vice-admiral, one of the most sufficient gentlemen for the sea that England has, says he; sir Warham St. Leger, another valiant and worthy gentleman; sir John Ferne, and captain Chidley of Devon[c], mostly at Punta de Gallo, and other ports about Trinidad, no less than a hundred and fifty miles from the rest of his fleet, making the adventure up the Oronoque, yet in daily apprehensions of meeting with the Spanish armada, sent purposely to lay wait for and destroy him; which it would probably have done, after the great sickness which had so much weakened his men, and under this disadvantageous division of his ships, but that the enemy luckily waited for him in a wrong place. Besides, it having been falsely rumoured in his fleet, that he brought out of England twenty-two thousand broad pieces of gold with him, some of his crew traitorously conspired to sail away, while he was gone ashore in his barge, to take views and make discoveries of the country[d], which he was sometimes wont to do, as at Terra de Brea, or the Pitch-land, as he calls it, from the bituminous substance which so remarkably issues there, as he has well described; and when he traversed some woods to seek the trees that yield that precious balsam whereof he got a small quantity, which smelt like angelica[e]; so to have left him a prey to famine, wild beasts, or the no less unmerciful Spaniards, by whom he might have been flead alive, as other Englishmen, who came but to traffic, had

At Punta de Gallo.

[b] Ralegh's Apology, p. 32.
[c] Ralegh's letter to Winwood, in his Remains, (last edit.) p. 171.
[d] Ralegh's Apology, p. 5.
[e] Ralegh's Journal.

formerly been. Add to this the many provocations he received from the Spaniards who were in any of the ports where his men landed, only to exchange a few commodities for tobacco, or other products of the country, not only by the most opprobrious language, but discharging sometimes a volley of twenty muskets at a time upon them, whereby sir John Ferne had some of his men killed [f]. And lastly, the uneasiness he was continually in, that he could hear no tidings of the rest of his fleet thus detached upon the adventure. And though some Indian spies were brought to him in the beginning of February, by one of whom, who could speak the Spanish tongue, he was first informed, that the English in Orenoque were reported, by some Tivitivas he had spoken with, to have taken St. Thome, and slain Diego de Palameca, the governor, with captain Erinetta and captain John Rues; that the rest fled, and that two English captains were likewise killed: though the same was soon after also asserted, with other particulars, by another Indian; yet Ralegh would not set them down, till he knew the truth; which afterwards endeavouring to compass of other Indians, said to have been at the taking of that town, whom he sent in pursuit of, they escaped, and he was not certified in the report even near the middle of this month, for so far his own Journal extends [g].

In the mean while Keymis made an attempt for the mine, and had set forward with captain Thornhurst, Mr. W. Herbert, sir John Hambden, and others; but at their first approach, near the bank where they intended to land, he received, from an ambuscade of Spaniards in the woods, (who had probably gathered there with expectation of his coming that way to the mine,) a volley of shot, which slew two of his company, hurt six others, and wounded captain Thorn-

[f] Ralegh's Journal.

[g] This Journal of Ralegh's last voyage to Guiana, written with his own hand, consisting of seven sheets of paper, though written mostly on one side, only with intention perhaps of enlarging some of the particulars afterwards, seems incomplete both at the beginning and the end: for it begins but at the 19th of August, when he set sail from Cork, and ends at the 13th of February, 1617, before the rest of his fleet returned to him from the Orenoque. It is preserved in the Cottonian library, under Titus, B. VIII.

hurst so dangerously in the head, that he languished thereof three months after[h]. This blow first staggered the resolution of Keymis, who then, as he reflected more upon the state of their condition, was more overpowered with doubts and discouragements; insomuch that though the English under him might have been informed of two or three mines more, besides this which Keymis had undertaken to lead them to, by a mulatto, who had waited on the late governor in his chamber, and, as he has written in his letter before mentioned, knew all things that concerned his master[i]. This servant afterwards, by no other means than courteous usage, discovered the same to Ralegh himself; and not only the places where those mines lay, but more particularly that two of them, gold ones, were in the possession of don Pedro Rodrigo de Parama and Hermian Frontino; and a silver one, in the possession of Francisco Fasardo; and that the cause of their remaining unwrought was, that they wanted negroes to work them: for, by a law of Charles the emperor, the Indians could not be constrained, and the Spaniards neither would nor could endure the labour[k]. Yet did the English now decline all endeavour, either to be directed to these, though but few miles distant from the town, or proceed to possess that which Keymis was to conduct them to, though within a few hours' march. Nay, when the ships were upon their return, and they had sailed down the river as far as the country of Carapana, one of the natural lords, who had reserved that part of Guiana to the late queen; and, having heard that the English had abandoned St. Thome, and left no forces, as he hoped they would have done, had sent a great canoe, laden with store of fruits and provisions, to the captains; also by one of his men, who had learned the Spanish tongue during his long slavery under the Spaniards, had offered them a rich gold mine in his own country, to engage their stay; further

[h] Ralegh's Apology, p. 31, 32.

[i] Keymis's letter to Ralegh, in the said Apology, p. 33. and the Apology, p. 42, 43.

[k] Idem; and Ralegh's letter to Winwood, in his Remains, (last edit.) p. 174.

proffering to leave sufficient pledge for any English person they should send to examine it; and when captain Leak, with another of the company, named Molineux, offered themselves to go, the greater part nevertheless refused to suffer them. This declension of his offer so heightened Carapana's desire to make it acceptable, that he sent again, leaving one of his men still aboard, who entreated to detain them but two days, and Carapana would himself, aged as he was, bring them a sample of the ore; who, though still rejected, and the ships under sail, yet sent once more a boat after them up to the mouth of the river, in hopes to the very last of retrieving them, as the said captain Leak, Parker, Molineux, and half a dozen officers more, are, by Ralegh, nominated to attest [l]. But the adventurers, among other dissuasives from all temptation to continue there any longer, harboured a notion that the Spaniards had secretly agreed with and employed those Indians only to trepan the English; which appeared but a weak and ill-grounded apprehension to Ralegh; for such treachery might have been easily prevented, had they waited the arrival of the old Indian chief, who would have brought the ore to their very ships. And what advantage in betraying them, says he, could there be, when the Guianians offered to leave hostages, six for one? Moreover, one of the Indians, whom the English found in fetters when they took St. Thome, and brought with them aboard, could have told them, that the very cacique, who sent to shew them the gold mine in his country, was unconquered, and at enmity with the Spaniard; and could have assured them withal, that such mines were in that country possessed by the said cacique [m]. But no entreaty or invitation would retain them, and so they returned, about the middle of February, to Punta de Gallo, after the fleet had been thus divided, and they absent above two months from sir Walter Ralegh, as himself has informed us [n]; whereby it appears, that the fleet united at,

[l] See his Apology, p. 45. [m] Idem, p. 46, &c. [n] Ibid. p. 41.

or very soon after, the time he discontinued his Journal; and it appears nowhere in that Journal that any inhuman offer was made to remove from Punta de Gallo to the Charibes, many leagues off, where he knew famine must overtake the land soldiers before they could overtake him, as his enemies suggested [o]: besides, he cleared himself in such a solemn manner of this aspersion at his death, as leaves not the least stain of cruelty any where, but upon their characters who slandered him with it [p].

It is possible that Keymis might, at his first return, be favourably received, and as familiarly admitted to Ralegh's table as before [q]; for a disappointment of this consequence was not to be too readily broached on one side, nor reprehended on the other. Besides, as some mitigation of their ill success, and inducement to further hopes, Keymis produced two ingots of gold which had been reserved at St. Thome, as the king of Spain's quinto, or proportion; together with several other valuable spoils of the governor [r]. Keymis also brought with him a large quantity of papers, letters, memorials, schemes, plans, and maps found in the said governor's study, which gave some singular lights into the state and condition of Spain, with respect to many of the American plantations. Among these papers were found four letters, which plainly discovered, not only Ralegh's whole enterprise to have been betrayed, but his life thereby put into the power of the Spaniards themselves [s]; His enterprise betrayed.

[o] In King James's Declaration, p. 36.

[p] Sir Walter Ralegh's answer to some things at his death, at the end of his Apology, p. ult. also in his Dying Speech.

[q] King James's Declaration, p. 37.

[r] Among the rest, one that was more curious in its nature, than costly in its materials, being only a bottle made of a serpentine stone; but it had a rare sovereign quality of giving any wine or water infused therein for twenty-four hours, the taste and operation of the Spa-water, and to make the same of singular efficacy in expelling the gravel, and curing all disorders of the spleen; for which it was highly esteemed by sir Walter Ralegh, and, several years after his death, also by Richard earl of Cork; who having been made acquainted, by sir Walter's page, with its virtues and value, performed several notable cures thereby, and at last made an acceptable present of it to sir Henry Wotton, then provost of Eton college, who was troubled with one or both of those infirmities. See the earl of Cork's letter to sir Henry Wotton, in Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, 12mo. 1651, p. 497.

[s] The king of Spain's first letter,

and by whom, even to the breaking of that peace, if any was broken, for which he was afterwards exclaimed against, Ralegh himself has related[t]: for he thought this such black and cruel usage, that he forbore not, in a letter which he wrote, about a month after this time, from the isle of St. Christopher's, to sir Ralph Winwood, the secretary of state, to shew his sense of it in these words: "It pleased "his majesty to value us at so little, as to command me, "upon my allegiance, to set down under my hand the "country, and the very river by which I was to enter it; "to set down the number of my men, and burden of my "ships, and what ordnance every ship carried; which being "made known to the Spanish ambassador, and by him sent "to the king of Spain, a despatch was made, and letters "sent from Madrid, before my departure out of the "Thames[u]." By the contents of those Spanish letters it further appears, that three hundred Spanish soldiers, and

sent to Guiana by a bark of Aviso, to arm the Indians against Ralegh's coming, was dated March 19, 1616, at Madrid, (which letter, says Ralegh, in his to sir Ralph Winwood, I have, here enclosed, sent you; the rest I reserve; not knowing whether they may be intercepted or not.) The second of that king's was dated 2d of May 1617, sent also by a caravel to Diego de Palameca, governor of Guiana, El Dorado, and Trinidad. The third of his majesty's was sent by the bishop of Puerto Rico, and delivered to that governor the 15th of July following: and the fourth was sent from the farmer and secretary of his customs in the Indies at the same time. Thus Ralegh's letter to Winwood, (from St. Christopher's,) in his Remains, (last edition,) p. 172. compared with some manuscript copies of it in the Harleian library, &c. Others tell us, these advertisements and preparations were the cause of all the resistance that was made at St. Thome; that Ralegh's whole design, under his own hand, was delivered by king James to Gondomar; and that his own letter (thereof to king James) was found in the governor of St. Thome's closet; which letter he brought back, and shewed to the lords of the council. See Observations on Sanderson's History, p. 13. Thus also in the State Trials, vol. 1. p. 219; and in Dr. Welwood's Memoirs, it is said, Ralegh's plan, which king James promised to keep secret, was sent by Gondomar to Spain, and thence to the Indies, before Ralegh left the Thames; and the very original paper was found in the Spanish governor's closet.

[t] Though Ralegh has charged this matter of betraying him to the Spaniards in plain terms, both in his letter to the secretary of state, which follows as above, and in his Apology; one or both of which king James had certainly read; it is yet observable, that this topic is not so much as touched upon in his majesty's Declaration, but entirely sunk in silence.

[u] Sir Walter Ralegh's letter to sir Ralph Winwood, from St. Christopher's, dated 21st of March 1617, printed in his Remains, (the last edition,) p. 172.

ten pieces of ordnance, were commissioned to be sent from their respective garrisons against the adventurers up the Orenoque; that is, a hundred and fifty men from Nuevo Reyno de Granada, under the command of captain Antonio Musica; and another hundred and fifty from Puerto Rico, to be conducted under Francisco Zanchio. There was also prepared an armada by sea, to set upon Ralegh himself and the ships with him; "by which," says he, "we had not only "been torn to pieces, but all those in the river had also "perished, they being of no force for the sea-fight; for we "had resolved to have burnt by their sides, and to have "died there, had the armada arrived; but belike they "stayed for us at Margarita, by which they knew we must "pass towards the Indies." In another letter, which he wrote the next day from the same island to his wife, Ralegh says, "Never was poor man exposed to slaughter as I "was." Then having related the particulars of the forces before mentioned, sent to destroy him, through the communication of his scheme to the court of Spain by the Spanish ambassador, he concludes this part with these words: "It "were too long to tell you how we were preserved; if I "live, I shall make it known [x]."

But the indignation which Ralegh must have conceived at the sight of these letters was not a little heightened, when he came to hear that Keymis had made no actual trial at the mine, and the reasons he gave for having relinquished it. He alleged indeed, that after the sally of the Spaniards upon them from the woody banks, which had disabled several of his men at their first attempt to land, he began to consider, they had not then able men enough left to work the mine; though indeed it lay not so deep as to need all those pioneers and implements, which, in king James's Declaration, Ralegh is objected against for not carrying with him, as may appear by the first discovery of this mine, in the former part of these sheets. Keymis also argued, they had not men enough to keep this mine, though they should

[x] See his letter to his wife, in the same edition of his Remains, p. 179, &c.

escape further danger in the difficult passage to it, which he feared much they should not; the Spaniards being more careful to preserve it, as was said, than the town; and the ways to it, *aspera y fragosa*, as Ralegh has observed; agreeable to that infertility and unaptness for cultivation, which Acosta and other naturalists have described in those grounds which are impregnate with such treasures. Keymis urged further, that they wanted sufficient provisions for the number remaining, having been much longer up the river than they expected; and that they could not carry enough from the town up the mountain, their company being divided, the greater part in the town itself, and those too weak to defend it. That he further found all regard to order and obedience broke through, as soon as captain Ralegh was dead; and feared the fatal news of his death would either not find his sick father alive, or hasten his end: that to attempt the discovery, and fail through any of these discouragements, he thought would be more detrimental than wholly at this time to decline it: that to discover it for a pack of profligates and mutineers, was more than they deserved; and to discover it for Ralegh himself, not likely to live, and unpardoned, was, as whispered in the company, for a man *non ens* in the law. Above all that, it would therefore be a greater error to find it for the Spaniards, than to pretend it could nowhere be found. Lastly, that these arguments, approved of by the majority, were confirmed by the alarm they received at the discovery of the letters aforesaid in the governor's closet; whereby they were led every moment to expect a fresh enforcement of the enemy against them from each end of the river: therefore, separate as the fleet was, and not able to make resistance, they all agreed to return [y].

However specious these arguments, or some of them, might be, Ralegh was in nowise pacified with them. He utterly disavowed the whole conduct of Keymis before

[y] The postscript of Ralegh's letter to his lady, from St. Christopher's, 22d. of March, in his Remains, (last edition,) p. 177, 178. Also his letter to sir Ralph Winwood, idem, p. 181. and his Apology, p. 35, 36.

several of his company, and the ignorance he had pretended to them; told him, that a blind man might have found the place, by the marks and directions himself had set down under his own hand; and that his care of losing more men in passing the woods was but feigned; for, after his son's death, it was known he had no care for any man surviving, and therefore, had he brought home but one hundred weight of ore, though with the loss of as many men, it would have given the king satisfaction, preserved his reputation, and encouraged a return the next year, with greater force, to have held the country for his majesty, to whom it belonged [z]; for the riches and fruitfulness whereof himself had formerly so largely attested [a]. But since he had suffered his wilfulness, in spite of his knowledge, to defeat their whole undertaking, he should indeed be glad, if Keymis could make those reasons for not opening the mine passable with the state, but that he himself could not justify the neglect. Keymis grew deeply discontented hereat, and continued so several days. "Afterwards he came to me in "my cabin," says Ralegh, "and shewed me a letter he "had written to the earl of Arundel, excusing himself for "not discovering of the mine, using the same arguments, "and many others, which he had done before; and prayed "me to allow thereof." But Ralegh, no way satisfied, declared, that as Keymis could plead no ignorance, he could admit of no excuse, being wounded in his credit with the king past all recovery, and that this could admit of no reparation. Keymis, seeing Ralegh resolved not to favour his folly, retired, as one knowing not what course to take, yet expressing perhaps also some design of giving further satisfaction, "and went out of my cabin into his own," says Ralegh; where having shut himself in, Ralegh soon after heard a pistol go off, and sending up to know who discharged it, Keymis made answer, he fired it himself, because it had been long charged. About half an hour after, his boy going into his cabin, found him dead, with much

[z] Idem.

[a] Keymis's relation of the second voyage to Guiana, in Hakluyt, vol. 3. fol. 683.

blood by him, having a long knife thrust through his left pap into his heart, and his pistol lying by him; with which it appeared that he had shot himself, but the bullet being small, and having only cracked a rib, he despatched effectually with the knife [b]. And this, as I compute, happened about the latter end of February aforesaid, or perhaps the former part of March, because Ralegh mentions it in the letters he wrote this month into England, before referred to; therefore the death of Keymis could not happen in the following summer, as one author mistakes [c]. And whereas some had given it out, that Keymis slew himself through remorse that he had seduced and deluded so many gentlemen with an imaginary mine, Ralegh will not allow that to have been the cause; but ascribes it entirely to his own positive and passionate temper, and says, that "he would "not have laid violent hands on himself for any man's opin-"ion; nor when he did," adds Ralegh, "could he have "said unto me, that he was ignorant of the place, and "knew of no such mine; for what cause had I then to have "rejected his excuses, or to have laid his obstinacy to his "charge?" Further urging, "that several captains," whom Ralegh names, "might be put to their oaths, whether or "no Keymis did not confess to them, coming down the "river, at a place where they cast anchor, that he could "from thence have gone to the mine in two hours [d]."

After this accident it was determined, in a council of the

[b] The letters in the Remains, aforesaid, p. 178, 181. and the Apology, p. 39. James Howel says, that captain Keymis, the main instrument for the discovery of the mine, pistoled himself in a desperate mood of discontent in his cabin in the Convertine; which not being Ralegh's ship, would remove Keymis's death still further from all surmise that he had any such foul play done him to prevent telling of tales, as Sanderson and other prejudiced writers have maliciously insinuated. The Observator on his History of King James, calls it, "a base aspersion;" and Sanderson, in his Answer, instead of producing any authority in his own justification, is for "meddling no further with it;" so refers to his History, as a matter too large to be inserted again. But what entirely clears the affair, is king James's Declaration; for had there been the least shadow of suspicion that Ralegh had been any way concerned in Keymis's untimely end, we may be well persuaded, that Declaration would not have been silent thereof, which has amassed and aggravated so many frivolous circumstances in this voyage against him.

[c] Athen. Oxon. vol. 1. col. 433.

[d] Ralegh's Apology, p. 40.

officers, to make for Newfoundland, to repair and refresh their ships; but before, as well as after, they arrived there, great disorders arose: some took to courses of their own head, and ran away from him, as was before mentioned; and many others proved so refractory and ungovernable, that, when he came to the isle of St. Christopher's, he was forced, under the conduct of his cousin, Mr. Herbert, to ship them home. Of whom, though he had shewed some uncommon generosity to some of them, he says, in the letter he wrote from thence to his wife on the 22d of March, "I know they will not spare to wound me;" and further declares, "There is never a base slave in all the fleet that "hath taken the pains and care that I have done; that hath "slept so little, and travelled so much: my friends will not "believe them, and for the rest I care not[e]." In another letter he sent from hence at the same time to sir Ralph Winwood, he writes to the same sense, and further adds; "But these being gone, I shall," says he, "be able, if I "live, to keep the sea till the end of August, with some "four reasonable good ships[f];" for to that number was his fleet now reduced. By the time here proposed of continuing at sea, there might have now been thoughts of some course to qualify the misadventure of the mine, and enable them to reattempt it; perhaps by some little trading voyages: but how probable that he should design any thing so far as the East Indies, or that with such small force he intended to go for the western islands, to attack the Mexico fleet, and surprise the caracks, as in the king's Declaration is laid to Ralegh's charge[g], we shall leave for others to decide. It is plain that nothing of this was put in practice; for when they came to Newfoundland, the company in his own ship fell to mutiny, and those who were

At St. Christopher's.

At Newfoundland.

[e] The postscript of Ralegh's letter to his lady, from St. Christopher's, March 22. in his Remains, (last edition,) p. 180.

[f] See his letter to sir Ralph Winwood in those Remains, p. 182. which is but a postscript to his letter to the same person, printed page 169. and should have followed it as such at the end of page 175. as I find in a good old MS. copy of it; where it bears date from St. Christopher's, one of the islands of the Antilias, March 21, 1617.

[g] Page 38.

for staying abroad, whom Wilson calls the major part, made Ralegh take an oath, says he, not to go home but by their allowance[h]. But the Declaration says, that the greater number were for returning to England; and that Ralegh getting on the sea-bank, put it to the question; whereupon the voices divided, starboard and larboard; and that when he perceived the greater number vote for their return, he went to that side, and voted so too[i]: but manifestly to the hazard of his life was his voting on either side[k]. In the same Declaration we are further led to believe, he afterwards "offered his own ship, which was of great value, to "his company, if they would only set him aboard a French "bark, and that he made the same offer to some of his offi-"cers, when he was come back to Ireland, as not knowing "how things would be construed, and being loath to put his "head under the king's girdle[l]:" but he did; and we shall see the consequence of it.

By the time that Ralegh arrived on the coast of Ireland, the sacking of St. Thome, the firing of the town, and the slaughter of the Spaniards to the number of four or five hundred men, were largely descanted on by his enemies, as by his friends were his own more particular misfortunes, in the long and dangerous sickness he had endured; his disappointment in the mine; the consumption of so much treasure; the loss of his gallant son; the violent end of his old servant captain Keymis; and above all, the general disorder, defection, and dispersion of his whole fleet. All together, it became not so much a national as a universal topic of discourse and attention; every one censuring or commiserating, as their interest or affections moved. It is remembered, by Camden, that captain John North, brother to the lord North, a valiant gentleman, and who was much esteemed by Ralegh for his faithful conduct under him

[h] Wilson's history of king James, in the Complete History of England, vol. 2. p. 713.

[i] The king's Declaration, p. 39, 40.

[k] "If I had a purpose to have "turned pirate," says Ralegh, "why "did I oppose myself against the "greatest number of my company, "and was thereby in danger to be "slain or cast into the sea, because "I refused it?" His Apology, p. 47.

[l] The Declaration, p. 38, 40.

throughout this voyage, was the first who related the deplorable news of this unfortunate expedition to king James, on the 13th of May, 1618 [m]. He seems to have done it in a very just and pathetical manner; and it might have had a good effect, had that king's pity been as easily touched as his fear. Among authors, some, who had been for registering this commission of king James with that granted by Alphonso king of Naples to Bertram his captive moor, whom he intrusted both with his liberty, and a large sum of money to buy him some fine horses in Barbary, for which his jester gave him a prime place in his fool's chronicle; were now, upon the expectation of a return, ready, with the same jester, to blot out the king, and enrol the captive for a fool: but others looked upon this action of Ralegh's in a nobler and more elevated light, and as what, for the integrity of acquitting his fiduciary pledges, was rather to be compared with the generous act of that brave Roman consul, Attilius Regulus; who, to keep his promise and his faith, returned to his enemies, the Carthaginians, under whom he had been a prisoner; though he knew that he went to inevitable death [n].

And now the Spanish ambassador, having, by special advertisements, gained the earliest intelligence of all that had passed at Guiana; and how, among the rest, his own kinsman, the governor, had been slain; broke into the king's presence in a turbulent manner, and bawling out for his majesty's audience, only of one word, assaulted him with the abrupt and repeated exclamation of Piratas! Piratas! Piratas! At last, he found breath and words to enlarge upon the matter so effectually, as what tended, not only to the infringement of his majesty's promise, but that happy union between the two crowns in their royal progeny, now the match between prince Charles and Dona Maria, with all the advantages it was pregnant with, was in such a hopeful degree of maturity, even to the involving of both nations in the most durable and dreadful hostilities, that the pacific

[m] Camden's Annals of King James.
[n] Howel's Letters, vol. 1. p. 6. and vol. 2. p. 372.

king of Great Britain was ready to do any thing in the world to appease him, and hush it up. To this purpose, his royal proclamation was forthwith published on the 11th of June, setting forth, that "Whereas we gave liberty to "sir Walter Ralegh and others, to undertake a voyage to "Guiana, where they had pretended a probability of dis-"covering gold mines, &c. we did, by express limitation "and caution, restrain and forbid them from attempting "any act of hostility upon any territories or subjects of fo-"reign princes with whom we are in amity; and more par-"ticularly, those of our dear brother the king of Spain, in "respect of his dominions in that continent; which, notwith-"standing, they have, by hostile invasion of the town of "St. Thome, &c. broken and infringed. We have there-"fore held fit to make public declaration of our utter mis-"like and detestation of the said insolencies; and for the "better detection and clearing up of the truth, we charge "all our subjects, that have any understanding or notice "thereof, to repair to any of our privy-council, and make "known their whole knowledge, that we may thereupon "proceed to the exemplary punishment and coercion of all "such as are found guilty of so scandalous and enormous "outrages [o]."

The next thing to be thought of was, a proper and plausible instrument for the apprehension of sir Walter Ralegh when he should come ashore: such a one was sir Lewis Stucley soon found to be, (and not sir John, as one writer erroneously christens him [p],) who was vice-admiral of Devon, (not lieutenant of the Tower, as the same negligent author mistakes again;) one who, though Ralegh's countryman, and, as all others but Stucley say, his kinsman too, yet most officiously undertook that charge, through the sordid prospect of profit; "so unnatural," says Wilson, "and ser-"vile is the spirit, when it hath an allay of baseness; there "being many others fitter for that employment [q]." How-

[o] See Rymer's Fœdera, tom. 17. fol. 92.

[p] Aulicus Coquinarius, p. 94.

[q] Reign of king James, in the Complete History of England, vol. 2. p. 713.

ever, his orders were, to bring up this great malefactor in a fair and courteous manner, according to his majesty's gracious and mild course, as it is called in his Declaration. And though we are told, by one otherwise misguided in his account of this expedition, by some distorted representations of it in those times, "That the world much wondered, so great a wise man as sir Walter Ralegh would "return, to cast himself upon so inevitable a rock as it was "feared he would[r];" nevertheless, as we are assured, by captain Samuel King, an old officer of Ralegh's, who bore him company all this while, and has left us a particular narrative of whatsoever occurred in their journey, from their landing now at Plymouth to their final arrival at London, that he no sooner put into the harbour, and heard of the proclamation aforesaid against him, than he resolved to surrender himself voluntarily into his majesty's hands; and, to that intent, both moored his ship and sent his sails ashore the first day he landed[s], which I take to have been in the beginning of July, and after he had been absent upon this voyage a full twelvemonth. Moreover, though he soon met here with several discouraging reports also, concerning the Spanish ambassador's stay at London only for his coming up, to prosecute him, as my said manuscript author has it; Ralegh still continued firm in that resolution. The said ambassador is, in some common memoirs, said to have been sent for over to Spain at this time; and in some again, that his commission was expired; but others think, that impatience to deliver the success of his negotiations spurred him away, according to instruction, when he had got full assurance that Ralegh should be despatched at some rate or other, whatever he could say for himself: for he departed for Spain three weeks before Ralegh came to London, having left the remainder of his business in the hands of some espaniolized partisans at court, whom he had

Returns to Plymouth.

[r] Howel's Letters, vol. 1. p. 7.

[s] Captain Samuel King's Narrative of sir Walter Ralegh's Motives and Opportunities for conveying himself out of the kingdom. With the manner how he was betrayed. MS. two sheets, fol. 1618. p. 2.

made sure[t]. However, before he left England, an excellent letter seems to have been written by Ralegh in his own

[t] Here, since we are to take our leave of this don Diego Sarmiento, the following remarks upon him may not be thought very digressory, since they mostly tend to the further illustration of sir Walter Ralegh's story. His first coming into England, though omitted by our imperfect historians of king James's reign, is remembered, by sir John Finet, in his Observations touching Foreign Ambassadors, to have been in 1613; being aged then, as I compute, from a date upon one of his pictures, forty-five years. Therein he further appears with short, thin, black hair, of a tall meagre stature, with a longish visage, and a close austere aspect; which made his open and jocose humour so much more taking, that it is said, he could perfectly ravish the heart of our Caledonian Soloman, with the little jests, tales, and fables he would so readily apply upon all occasions. In the author aforesaid may be read this ambassador's wearisome scruples against the States ambassador, sir Noell Carone, about right hand and left, upper hand and lower, chairs and stools, with such like weighty and indispensable points of honour among these sovereign ministers. As to his carriage against sir Walter Ralegh, it appears sufficiently above, in the body of this narrative. But if he was related to that don Pedro Sarmiento, a famous sea commander, before mentioned to have been Ralegh's prisoner, that accident might somewhat sharpen the said ambassador against him; but much more this new one of Diego de Palameca's being slain at St. Thome, who was his near relation, as captain King tells us. However, his persecution of Ralegh appears with so much fury and intemperance throughout, as little agrees with that dexterity of management or circumvention which Osborne calls *the business of an ambassador;* and for which, among other things, he thought this such an incomparable agent. But indeed it may not argue great strength of abilities to carry a great sway in the orb of government, no more than great strength of sinews to remove huge bodies in that of matter, so much as the great weakness or sequacity of those elements wherein they are centred or supported, and, as an ingenious writer observes, the power of the Almighty is often evidenced by the weakness of the very instrument. There needed not the monsters of Afric to correct the sins of the Egyptians, a swarm of locusts could do it, and vermin formed out of the very dust; and though a whole country were destroyed by such, will you argue, says he, they must needs have had the craft of foxes or the courage of lions? Some have intimated, that the Spanish ambassador could not, with all his worrying and baiting of king James, prevail so effectually for the destruction of sir Walter Ralegh, (how easy and tempting soever it might be to trample over the fence that is already broken down,) but that he was forced to belabour the point with Spanish gold, among those creatures who had the greatest influence at court. For, as one writes, "The bargain was made, and Ralegh was devoted for a sacrifice before they knew whether he was successful or not; and, if we may believe the accounts that are left upon record of that part of history, the king of Spain gave a good sum of money for his head. Some have gone so far as to tell us who had the money, at least a good part of it. If this be true, the English court had in it, at that time, some of the most infamous people that were ever concerned in any administration. As to those who reprove the king himself with it, I shall say no more than this, they ought to have been very sure of the truth of it, before they recorded a thing of a British king so much beneath the character of any monarch in the world, viz. to take money from an enemy for the blood of their own subjects, and of such subjects too as were most dangerous to the very enemy they were sold to; which is neither less nor more, than selling their

defence, and conveyed to the king; which, as we have it in print, runs thus: "May it please your most excellent ma-

"own safety, as well as innocent "blood." See an Historical Account of the Voyages and Adventures of Sir Walter Ralegh, 8vo. 1719. p. 38. However it was, the Spanish ambassador seems to have left the English court well satisfied on the 16th, and embarked for Spain on the 20th of July 1618, having first emptied all the prisons in England of Romish priests, many of whom he carried with him home, further to grace his triumphs. Yet all true Englishmen conceived hopes that the late action under Ralegh at Guiana, and a tumult lately happening at the Spanish ambassador's house in Barbican, upon the murder of a boy, would frustrate the match. But this ambassador returned to England in the beginning of March 1619, under pretence of pursuing that delusive negociation, and was lodged, not without murmurs, at the bishop of Ely's house in Holborn. He was also tricked out with titular honours, the usual reward of such services as his were; being newly made Conde de Gondomar, as sir John Finet observes; otherwise, in the whole, not so substantially rewarded at home, as the slavish pains he took abroad to please his prince was thought to deserve. The train of his other titles may be read in a pamphlet, not long after his return, dedicated to him here, called The Spanish English Rose; or English Spanish Pomegranate; by a most fulsome flatterer, named Michael Du Val, who has further bolstered him out, as well as sir John Digby, newly created baron of Sherborne, (another precious promoter of the said match,) with such extravagant additions of false honours, as both disparage and discredit those which were real. As for the pernicious practices of this Spanish ambassador in England, which might gain him those airy gratuities, they are unfolded in another tract, entitled Vox Populi, or News from Spain, translated according to the Spanish copy; which may serve to forewarn both England and the United Provinces how far to trust to Spanish pretences, printed 4to. 1620. reprinted, thirty-nine years after, with the title of, A choice Narrative of Count Gondomar's Transactions during his Embassy in England, (in this edition said to be,) written by sir Robert Cotton. The editor, John Rowland, had no other reason for ascribing it to this renowned antiquary than his having treasured it up in manuscript, and that he died heart-broken; whereas he was not so much as heart-grieved when the first edition was published; though in the second part, hereafter mentioned, he is said to have made heavy complaint against Gondomar. Nevertheless, the said editor, Rowland, may have observed justly enough in his dedication of it to sir W. Pastons, "That "Gondomar, with his facetious "words and gestures, could pipe "king James asleep; that he did "sometimes hold the helm himself, "and was near running the ship "aground, or to have split her upon "the rocks: that the influence of "his ill aspect, and eclipsing the "sunbeams, is hardly over unto "this present age: that his suc-"cessor, don Carlo Colonna, was "thought, by many judicious men, "to be more prudent; and that Gon-"domar was but a buffoon compared "to him." In the treatise itself, Gondomar is represented in a Spanish council lately held at Arragon, and delivering his chief services to have been, 1st, His working a dislike between king James and his house of commons, persuading him to rule by his prerogative; and as for money, to furnish himself by the marriage with Spain and by domestic projects, without any subsidy; also that he hereby kept England from furnishing its navy. 2dly, His shewing only a colourable resistance of our East India trade, as being rather hurtful than helpful to the state, by carrying out our solid treasures, and bringing home spice, silk, feathers, and toys; besides wasting our mariners. 3dly, His opposing our West Indian voyages most strenuously, as what would raise another England to

"jesty; If in my journey outward bound I had my men
"murdered at the islands, and yet spared to take revenge;

withstand their New Spain in America; therefore that he crossed all the undertakings for Virginia and the Bermudas, causing the recusants, who were sharers, to withdraw their ventures, and discourage the work. 4thly, That by this means likewise he kept the voluntary forces from Venice, till it was almost too late to succour them. 5thly, That he stickled hard for the cautionary towns, which the late king Philip called the keys of the Low Countries. And, 6thly, That the last, and not the least service he did was, in overthrowing sir Walter Ralegh's voyage, and pursuing him, "I need not say "almost to death," says he, "if all "things hit right and all strings "hold." Further, that his commission would not let him tarry to be a spectator of his execution, "which "I desired the rather," says he, "that by concession I might have "wring from the inconsiderate Eng-"lish an acknowledgment of my "master's right in those places, "punishing him for attempting there, "though they might prescribe for "the first foot. And this I did to "stop their mouths hereafter, and "because I would quench the heat "and valour of that nation, that "none should dare hereafter to un-"dertake the like, or be so hardy as "to look out at sea, or breathe upon "our coast: and lastly, because I "would bring to ignominious death "that old pirate, who is one of the "last, now living, bred under that "English virago, and by her fleshed "in our blood and ruin. To do this "I had many agents; first, divers "courtiers, who were hungry, and "gaped wide for Spanish gold; se-"condly, some who bare him at "heart for inveterate quarrels; "thirdly, some foreigners, who hav-"ing in vain sought the elixir here-"tofore, hope to find it in his head; "fourthly, all men of the Romish "faith, who are of the Spanish fac-"tion, and would have been my "bloodhounds to hunt him or any "such to death willingly: and "lastly, I left behind me such an in-"strument, composed artificially, of "a secular understanding and a reli-"gious profession, as he is every "way adapted to screw himself into "the closet of the heart, and to "work upon feminine levity, who "in that country have masculine "spirits, to command and pursue "their plots unto death." How much soever this may be called a fictitious speech, it is founded on such matters of fact, that Rushworth, and others of our most serious historians, have admitted the substance thereof as perfect history. The same year this pamphlet was first printed, there was written another, called Vox Spiritus, or Sir Walter Ralegh's Ghost; being a conference between sir Gondomar, his majesty's ambassador of Spain, the friar confessor, and father Baldwin the Jesuit, at Ely House in Holborn, Nov. 20, 1620. for so I noted the true title to be, in a good old MS. copy of this conference, communicated to me, some time past, by Dr. Thomas Short, an eminent physician, at Sheffield in Yorkshire. It has lately been printed in Phœnix Britannicus, from another good copy in the library of a very worthy gentleman, under the title of Prosopopœia, or sir Walter Ralegh's Ghost, &c. but dated as though written two years later, which is a mistake, as any one would soon find who is acquainted with the history of those times. The purpose of this tract is, further to disclose Gondomar's mischievous transactions in England; as, how he lulled and deceived king James, perverted some noblemen to the popish religion, and corrupted the prelacy to a toleration of catholics; how the navy was neglected; what money was expended upon one survey, to know in whose possession were the abbey-lands; how much a search cost of our harbours and havens; and how much to enumerate the well-affected to their religion: till the ghost of Ralegh rising, detects their devices under these five heads. 1. The propagation of the catholic religion. 2. The exaltation of the pope's supre-

"if I did discharge some Spanish barks taken, without "spoil; if I did forbear all parts of the Spanish Indies,

macy. 3. The glorification of the Spanish monarchy. 4. The extenuation of the Low Country's glory. 5. The abuse of England's simplicity; and the whole, finally, to decry the match with the infanta. In 1622, about Easter, Gondomar committed a gross solecism in politics, by suffering his ungovernable passion so to expose his lieger honour, by striking William Lithgow, the Scotch traveller, whom he had long deceived with promises of reparation for the imprisonment, tortures, and robberies committed on him by the inquisition at Malaga, as may be read in the book of his Travels; that the said ambassador got his ears soundly boxed by him before a numerous crowd of noble witnesses. "His "fistula," says Lithgow, (meaning, I think, his cane, though alluding to his disease,) "was contrabanded "by a fist; and for victory, favour "lent me authority." He was imprisoned for it nine weeks in the Marshalsea; "whence I returned," says he, "with more credit, than he "left England with honesty." In June following, as Camden tells us, Gondomar was reported to be imprisoned in Spain, for so much promoting the match; and that the infanta was to be married to the grand duke of Tuscany. Two years after, came out the second part of Vox Populi, or Gondomar's appearing in the likeness of a Machiavel in a Spanish parliament; wherein are discovered his treacherous and subtle practices to the ruin as well of England as the Netherlands. Translated out of the Spanish copy: printed at Goricum, 4to. 1624. Dedicated to Frederick and Elizabeth, king and queen of Bohemia, and Maurice, prince of Orange, count of Nassau; by T. S. of V. alias Thomas Scot, as the late Thomas Rawlinson, esq. was rightly of opinion; with pictures of Gondomar, his litter, and bottomless chair, &c. "Herein," says the author to one of those princes, "you "shall perceive the curtain drawn "from before the Spaniard, that the "world may, for certain, see he is "not so beautiful as many of our "English, who so long have doated "on him, would make him to be; "nor, on the other side, so terrible "that your Dutch need fear him, "how grim soever he looks upon "them." It would be too tedious to recite the particulars of his deluding and defrauding the English nation recorded in this pamphlet; how he wrested presents and pensions from the catholics, no less than ten thousand pounds from sir Robert Cotton's friends and acquaintance; and from several ladies great sums of money, to be repaid when Donna Maria arrived in England, or to prefer them at court under her; selling the place of groomess of the stole to six several ladies; and many other such like profound acts of policy. But above all, that his compassing the secret of sir Walter Ralegh's voyage, and transmitting it to Spain, and procuring his death, drew the special notice and thanks of his royal sovereign, as the crown and masterpiece of his negociations. Much paper might be also employed in repeating the jests, stories, and sayings of this Gondomar while among us, which have been treasured up by some rare politicians of those times; in most of which he was more witty than wise, exposing in some his narrow spirit in matters of gratitude; and in others, frequently ridiculing the very religion he professed. Two years afterwards, the court was haunted with another pamphlet, called Sir Walter Ralegh's Ghost, or England's Forewarner. Discovering a secret consultation newly holden in the court of Spain. Together with his tormenting of count de Gondomar; and his strange affrightment, confession, and public recantation; laying open many treacheries for the subversion of England, &c. 4to. Utrecht, 1626; which I shall here say no more of, having before quoted it in these sheets; nor of another book besides, called Sir Walter Ralegh's Ghost, printed in 8vo. several years after; because written on a subject which concerns not this am-

" wherein I might have taken twenty of their towns on the
" sea-coasts, and did only follow the enterprise I undertook
" for Guiana, where, without any directions from me, a
" Spanish village was burnt, which was new set up within
" three miles of the mine; by your majesty's favour, I find
" no reason why the Spanish ambassador should complain
" of me.

" If it were lawful for the Spaniards to murder twenty-
" six Englishmen, tying them back to back, and then cut-
" ting their throats, when they had traded with them a
" whole month, and came to them on the land without so
" much as one sword; and it may not be lawful for your
" majesty's subjects, being charged first by them, to repel
" force by force; we may justly say, O miserable English!

" If Parker and Mecham took Campeachy and other
" places in the Honduras, seated in the heart of the Spanish
" Indies; burnt towns, and killed the Spaniards, and had
" nothing said unto them at their return; and myself, who
" forbore to look into the Indies, because I would not of-
" fend, must be accused; I may as justly say, O miserable
" Ralegh!

" If I have spent my poor estate, lost my son, suffered by
" sickness and otherwise a world of hardships; if I have
" resisted, with manifest hazard of my life, the robberies
" and spoils with which my companions would have made
" me rich; if when I was poor, I could have made myself
" rich; if when I had gotten my liberty, which all men
" and nature itself do much prize, I voluntarily lost it;
" if when I was sure of my life, I rendered it again; if I

bassador. We may refer Gondomar's disgrace in the Spanish court, with the sending over of his son by the king of Spain, a beggar of reward in king Charles's court, for the services of his father, to the honour of Spanish history; and conclude the little, of much that might be here said more of him, in the words of an observant contemporary; who, relating how the hypocritical archbishop of Spalato was made away with by poison, &c. adds, "That the states-" man, Gondomar, was requited in " like sort, notwithstanding all his " services for the church of Rome, " his solicitations against sir Walter " Ralegh, his catechising of Spalato, " &c. For, by way of gratitude, he " had, as is reported, given him a " Spanish fig, or else, though ever a " merry man, died at last for very " grief." See James Wadsworth's further Observations of the English Spanish Pilgrim, concerning Spain, 4to. 1630, p. 28

"might elsewhere have sold my ship and goods, and put "five or six thousand pounds in my purse, and yet brought "her into England; I beseech your majesty to believe, "that all this I have done, because it should not be said, "that your majesty had given liberty and trust to a man, "whose end was but the recovery of his liberty, and who "had betrayed your majesty's trust.

"My mutineers told me, that if I returned for England "I should be undone; but I believed in your majesty's "goodness, more than in all their arguments. Sure, I am "the first that being free, and able to enrich myself, yet "hath embraced poverty and peril; and as sure I am, that "my example shall make me the last. But your majesty's "wisdom and goodness I have made my judges; who have "ever been, and shall ever be, your majesty's most humble "vassal, Walter Ralegh [u]."

When Ralegh had settled his affairs in the west of England, he began his journey for London, pursuant to his first resolution; but before he came to Ashburton, twenty miles from Plymouth, he was met by sir Lewis Stucley, who said, "he had orders for arresting him and his ship." Ralegh answered, "he had saved him the labour, and done it "to his hands." And though at that time Stucley had no warrant, as our MS. author aforesaid goes on, for such arrest, either from the king or the lords of the council, "for "it seems that his haste was so great, and his heart so set "upon some supposed purchase, that he could not stay for "a warrant [x];" yet Ralegh, being told by him, that he had such a verbal commission from the secretary, did in no wise resist even that authority. So they went back together to Plymouth, and lay at sir Christopher Harris's house; where sir Walter Ralegh was so little watched, that he was sometimes two or three days without seeing sir Lewis Stucley. And Ralegh himself says, that Stucley left him nine or ten days to go where he listed, while he rode about the

[u] Sir Walter Ralegh to king James, after his return from Guiana; printed in his Remains, and compared with some manuscript copies.

[x] Captain King's Narrative, &c. MS. as before.

country[y]. However, as we learn from captain King, it did at last come into Ralegh's mind (whether upon some private advices, how insuperably the prejudice of his enemies was working against him; or any suggestions of his own, how he might work a reconciliation more successfully from abroad, it is not said, but contrive he did) to convey himself out of the kingdom. Therefore, while they were at Plymouth, he employed our author, the said captain King, to provide him a bark that would carry him over into France. King James's Declaration says, Ralegh dealt for a bark, as for a friend, and proffered twelve crowns for the passage[z]: Stucley says, he dealt with two captains of French barks[a]: the Declaration says, Ralegh was then under no guard, and Stucley, that he was then under his keeping. But leaving these inconformities to others, I here follow captain King, who informs us, that himself procured the vessel, which is most likely, and that he detained it nigh four days, riding at anchor beyond command of the fort. The first night, about one of the clock, they secretly took boat to have gone aboard, but before they reached the bark, Ralegh, whether through some more prevailing thought that might arise of a generous reliance upon the king, or a more confident dependance upon the justice of his cause, or for any thing he left behind, or would have first left either in writing or otherwise, does not yet appear; but certain it is, he changed his resolution, and returned to his lodging unsuspected by any one. The next day, he sent money to the master of the bark, to retain him one night more; and yet Ralegh never went nigh him afterwards.

It has been objected, as captain King goes on, (who does not say by whom, but I find it in the king's Declaration[b],) that Ralegh was obliged to return, because the night was so dark that he could not find the vessel: "but I," says the captain, "who was with him, will take my oath, that if he

[y] Idem, and Sir Walter Ralegh's Dying Speech.

[z] The Declaration, p. 41, 42.

[a] Stucley's Petition and Information, &c. p. 5, 6.

[b] King James's Declaration, p. 42.

" had been only willing to have rowed a quarter of a mile " further, he might have seen her. Besides, if that night " would not have served, one of the other three would, the " wind being fair, and the tide falling out conveniently."

After this, says captain king, Stucley received a warrant to bring up sir Walter Ralegh, but with no more speed than his health would permit; and he took to his assistance one Manourie, a French quack, " upon what occasion," says King, " I here willingly omit, as well because I would " not meddle with any instrument of state, as because I, " little suspecting what followed, was somewhat careless in " the observance of their carriage."

In their journey, they baited and lodged at divers gentlemen's houses of Ralegh's acquaintance upon the road, from some of whom hearing, more distinctly the nearer he approached it, what a storm his enemies had brewed at court, he began to regret his having neglected the opportunity he had at Plymouth of retiring; which he discoursed of to his lady and to me, says captain King, who told him, " he " could blame none but himself." But after that peremptory warrant which a pursuivant brought down for the speedy bringing up of his person, he began again to meditate upon a retreat; though, as he grew more desirous, it grew more difficult. Therefore, when he had made such inland advancement on his journey as to have no means left that would favour him by water, " he once more employed " me," says captain King, " who was always ready to do " any thing that might procure his safety; being well " assured in my own conscience, though he sought to absent " himself till the Spanish fury was over, yet, as he always " said, That no misery should make him disloyal to his " king or country. And although Manourie, in his Decla- " ration, sets down that sir Walter Ralegh should, to him " in private, speak ill of his majesty; yet I must protest " till my last hour, that in all the years I followed him, I " never heard him name his majesty but with reverence: I " am sorry the assertion of that man should prevail so much " against the dead."

The particulars of captain King's employment for this second escape we shall respite a while, to make way for those, which, according to the due course of time, must now be recurred to out of that Frenchman's Declaration, as captain King calls it above, and shall do it with such justice as not to omit or disguise any of the ill words against his majesty, ascribed to Ralegh therein. But can only do it from that which was suffered to appear after Ralegh's death, annexed to king James's Declaration; and thereby choose rather to hazard a trespass upon the patience of some readers, who may think it a detail of improbable, at least insignificant objections, than incur the censure of partiality from others in omitting it; since king James, and consequently his council, thought it would pass for matter of such importance, by their making it so great a part of what was hoped would justify his proceedings against Ralegh; and of such authority, as to need no other evidence: not that it is there too expressively or positively called Manourie's Declaration, or his confession or examination upon oath, but by a pretty, light, pliable phrase, it is said, "The "story himself reporteth to have passed in this manner."

Upon Saturday, the 25th of July, sir Walter Ralegh, sir Lewis Stucley, and the said Manourie went to lie at Mr. Drake's, where the letters of commission from the privy-council were brought to sir Lewis Stucley, and that Ralegh hereat changing countenance, exclaimed with an oath, "Is "it possible my fortune should return upon me thus "again?" This hastening their departure, they advanced on Sunday morning nearer to London about four miles, and baited at Mr. Horsey's. That here Ralegh first caused Manourie to be sounded what was in his heart, (suspecting, apparently, that he was designed as a spy over him,) by his old domestic, captain King; who, discoursing Manourie upon Ralegh's calamities, said, "I wish we were all at "Paris." Manourie answered, "I would we were all at "London; what should we do at Paris?" "Because," said King, "as soon as we come to London, they will com-"mit sir Walter to the Tower, and cut off his head." Ma-

nourie said, " he hoped better things, and that, according " to his ability, he was ready to do him all honest service." After dinner they set forward for Sherborne; and here Ralegh is said to tell Manourie, " All that was his, and " the king had unjustly taken it from him." Manourie and Ralegh's retinue lay in the town that night; but Ralegh himself, and Stucley, at old Mr. Parham's. On Monday they got to Salisbury, where, as Ralegh was walking on foot down the hill, and had found, by inquiry, that Manourie had got some physic about him, he desired him to prepare a vomit against morning. " For I know," said he, (as he is here represented, with a surprising faith already in such a man,) " it will be good to evacuate bad humours; " and by this means I shall gain time to work my friends, " order my affairs, and perhaps pacify his majesty: other- " wise, as soon as I come to London, they will have me to " the Tower, and cut off my head, which I cannot escape " without counterfeiting sickness, which your vomits will " effect without suspicion." Accordingly that, at Salisbury, he complained of a dimness of sight, with a dizziness in his head; and, when he was conducted towards his chamber, that he staggered, and struck himself with such violence against a pillar in the gallery, as made Stucley think he was sick indeed; and in that belief, Manourie left him for that time. On Tuesday morning, Ralegh sent his lady with the greatest number of his servants forwards to London; and now it was he also sent captain King thither, on the expedition aforesaid, (whom we shall meet with there, prepared for the same, as soon as Manourie is brought to an end of this same story.) Then comes a servant of Ralegh's into Stucley's chamber, and declares his master was out of his wits, that he left him in his shirt, upon all four, scratching and gnawing the rushes on the planks. Stucley sent Manourie, who found him in bed; and asking " what " he ailed?" he answered, " Nothing; but that he did it " on purpose." That then Ralegh asked for the vomit, and took it without any hesitation. At Stucley's entrance, that he fell a raving; and, before his vomit operated, had

such strong convulsions upon him, that Stucley, and all the help he could get, were not strong enough to prevent the contraction of his sinews as fast as the company could draw them straight, insomuch that Stucley caused him to be chafed and fomented, but that Ralegh, truly, afterwards laughed at it to Manourie, and said, (such a confident is he now grown !) " he had made Stucley a perfect physician."

In the next place, Ralegh must be observed to take some repose; so Manourie is shut into the room with him, and having dissuaded him from a more violent vomit, because his first did not yet work, Ralegh asked, if he knew not of some preparation which would make him look ghastly and irksome outwardly, and not affect the vitals, or make him inwardly sick. After a pause, Manourie assured him he could furnish him with a harmless ointment, which would yet soon make him all over like a leper. " Whereby," we are told, Ralegh said, " the lords would be afraid to ap- " proach him, and that it would move their pity besides." Soon after he had been thus anointed on the brows, arms, and breast, the blisters rose so successfully, and so soon ripened to their full discolorations, that Stucley, at his next visit, perceiving Ralegh's body all broke out in purple spots with yellow heads, and the rest of his skin so inflamed with heat, concluded he was struck over with the plague, and that it was highly contagious. But asking Manourie's opinion, he truly concealed all, for that, as yet, he knew nothing of Ralegh's intended flight; but thought it was only to gain time to satisfy his majesty. However, away went Stucley to the grave bishop Andrews, then upon the point of his translation to Winchester, and soon made known what a frightful figure sir Walter Ralegh was become; described all the tokens upon him, and, in the end, returned with two doctors, and one bachelor of physic. All their skill could not enlighten them with one spark of knowledge in the nature of his distemper; but they gave their opinion in writing, that the patient could not be removed into the air without manifest hazard of his life; and Manourie set his hand to it.

Here Ralegh is described to have been much delighted that matters went on so prosperously, especially that the vomit worked so thoroughly in the presence of these learned doctors. But having apprehended they would inspect his water, he directed Manourie to rub the urinal with a certain drug, which turned all to such a dismal colour, and such a disagreeable scent, that if Heaven did not prescribe, the patient must perish; for nothing could the physicians do but pronounce the disease mortal. Further, that he then made Manourie bind his arm about with the black silk riband which he took from his poniard; but that not distempering his pulse agreeable to expectation, he had more blisters raised the next day. By this time his physic having opened his stomach, and made him hungry, he got Manourie secretly to buy a leg of mutton and three loaves, which he fed upon in private, and by this subtilty was thought to have fasted three days, that is, to Friday the last of July, ever feigning great indisposition and uneasiness in company; but when alone, (for to get the opportunity of being so was the chief source of all the artifice he did here really put in practice,) he wrote his Declaration, or Apology, and is said to have got Manourie to make him a transcript of it; which was, as the penman of this story further says, since presented to his majesty. But by an expression of that ambiguity and latitude, whether we are designed to understand it was before or after Ralegh's death; that penman, intelligent enough in other parts of Manourie's said story, and the rest of the king's Declaration, (for they were both of them visibly cast in one mould,) might think it not necessary to be so here. It was surely a most vexatious stratagem, that Ralegh should unexpectedly make such a provoking vindication of his voyage, and thereby defeat the preparations that were making to cut him off for it: but however it may, in the opinion of posterity, have cleared his innocence; among his contemporaries, it could not secure his safety [c].

Writes his Apology.

[c] Sir Walter Ralegh's Apology for his Voyage to Guiana was not published, that I can find, before 1650, and then commonly annexed to his

The same night, as the story goes on, apparently to raise inflammations beyond his own person, he insinuated to Stucley, that he thought he had taken poison at Mr. Parham's, for that he was a papist, and kept a priest in his house; but desired, and particularly to monsieur, that it might not be spoken of. A while after, being in his bedchamber undressed, and nobody present but his friend Manourie, he is said to have taken a looking-glass in his hand to admire his spotted face, and to have merrily observed to his said confident, "how they should one day laugh, for "having thus cozened the king, council, physicians, and "Spaniards and all."

On the first of August, being the day that the king arrived in his progress at Salisbury, Ralegh is said to have taken Manourie in private, and having opened a red leather trunk, put into his hand nine pieces of Spanish gold, saying, "There is twenty crowns in pistolets, which I give you for "your physical receipts, and the victuals you bought me:

Select Essays, printed in 8vo. the same year, where it contains fifty-eight pages. But in Henry Hexam's Tongue-Combat between two soldiers in the Gravesend Tilt-boat, 4to. 1623, p. 75. &c. it is quoted as a piece then well known, in manuscript at least, if not in print. And T. Chaloner must have had a knowledge of this Apology, or of Ralegh's Journal, when among the verses prefixed to T. Gage's Survey of the West Indies, fol. 1648, he said,

"Renowned Ralegh twice did undertake
"With labour great, and dangers not a few,
"A true discovery of these parts to make,
"And thereof wrote both what he saw and knew."

This Apology was afterwards reprinted, with the Essays above mentioned, in 1667. And again with the abridgment of Ralegh's History of the World, 8vo. 1700. But neither of the printed editions is so correct, in names, places, numbers, &c. as some manuscripts in being might probably have rendered them; particularly one copy presented to the library of St. John's college, Cambridge, by the learned and reverend Mr. Thomas Baker; containing twenty-two pages in a small hand, folio. This is dated two days after Ralegh's death, and sent by way of letter, from one who had long somewhat inwardly known him, to a friend; which particular we have not in the printed copies; but it begins as those in print do, with these words: "If ill success of this enterprise of "mine had been without example," &c. There is also a good old copy or two of this Apology among sir Hans Sloane's MS. collections, marked, in his library, A. 271. and B. 521. Other manuscripts there are also of it in other libraries of the learned. As to the character of it, no more need be said than in captain King's words, where he "refers "those who would be satisfied about "this voyage, to an Apology written "by Ralegh himself, in which he "hath faithfully and truly set down," says he, "all the passages thereof."

" and I will give you fifty pounds a year, if you will do " what I tell you: and if sir Lewis Stucley asks what con- " ference you have had with me, tell him that you comfort " me in my adversity, and that I make you no other an- " swer than what is here written," giving him a piece of paper containing these words, " Ve la, M. Manourie, l'ac- " ceptance de tous mes travaux; perte de mon estate, et de " mon fils; mes maladies et douleurs: ve la, c'effect de " ma confience au roy [d]." Which paper, of Ralegh's own handwriting, was afterwards produced by Manourie.

And now Ralegh is pretended to practise more unreservedly still about the escape with Manourie, as being all in his power to aid him, and he the only person trusted by Stucley. Whereupon he proposes, that Ralegh, at his coming to London, should lie *perdue* at a friend of Manourie's in Shire-Lane, which did not long engage his approbation, for Ralegh resolved otherwise; telling this only person trusted by Stucley, (through an incredible profuseness of communication,) " that he had sent captain King " to hire him a bark below Gravesend, which would go " with all winds, and another little boat to carry him to it." Adding, that " to hide himself in London, he should be " always apprehensive of a discovery by the general searchers " that are there; but that to escape, he must get leave to " go to his own house, and being there, he would so handle " the matter as to slip from Stucley through a back-door " into the boat with ease; for nobody would dream he " could go on foot, seeing him so feeble as he seemed to be." Then that Manourie should say, " Why would you fly? " your Apology and your last Declaration, do they not suffi- " ciently justify you?" and that Ralegh should silence him

[d] As much as to say, " Behold " there, M. Manourie, the fruit of all " my toils; the loss of my fortune " and of my son, the sickness I have " endured, and the sorrows: behold " there, the effect of that faith I re- " posed in his majesty." But behold where?—for that *ve la*, or *voilà*, repeated as it is, plainly points at some more copious or convincing evidence which accompanied this expression, and more particularly demonstrated those losses and afflictions to have been the fruit of Ralegh's trust or faith in the king; to which these words appear but a bare direction; and which therefore seems here to have been suppressed.

with, " Tell me no more; a man that fears, is never se-
" cure."

In the next place, Ralegh is said to have procured the king's licence to be at his own house when he should come to London; and that when Manourie hereupon observed, his majesty seemed not inclined to take away his life, since he suffered him to repair to his own habitation for the recovery of his health; that Ralegh should reply, " They
" used all these kinds of flatteries to the duke of Biron, to
" draw him fairly into prison, and then they cut off his
" head." Adding, " I know they have concluded among
" them, it is expedient that a man should die, to reassure
" the traffic which I have broken with Spain." Thereupon, says our story, he broke forth into the most hateful and traitorous words against the king's own person, (but it surprisingly omits them all to object only his,) ending with this improbable rant, " that if he could but save himself for
" this time, he would plot such plots as should make the
" king think himself happy to send for him again, and re-
" store him to his estate with advantage; yea, and would
" force the king of Spain to write into England in his fa-
" vour."

Nay, when Manourie (as we are further persuaded) shewed such care and concern for Stucley as to ask, what would become of him, if Ralegh escaped? whether he would be put to death, or lose his office and estate? Ralegh is said to answer, " Not to death; but he would be impri-
" soned for a while, yet his lands were assured to his eldest
" son; and for the rest, it was no part of his care." Then Manourie asks, if it were not treason in himself to be aiding to his escape? " No," answers Ralegh, " you are a fo-
" reigner. However, if you pretend to know any thing,
" they will put you in prison." " But what if I am disco-
" vered to have a hand in your escape?" says the other. " Why follow me into France, your own country," replies Ralegh; " quit all, and I will make amends for all."

As they travelled, between Andover and Staines, Manourie, as this story that is ascribed to him acknowledges,

discovered Ralegh's intended escape to Stucley, who thenceforth used extraordinary diligence in guards and watches upon him, which Ralegh perceiving, as it is also owned, nevertheless trusts Manourie with a new proposal at Staines, in these words; "I see it is not possible to escape by our "two means alone, Stucley is so watchful, and sets such "strict guard upon me, and will be too hard for us with all "our cunning; therefore there is no way but to make him "of our council; and if we can persuade him to let me save "myself, I will give him in hand the worth of two hundred "pounds sterling." Upon these words, he drew forth and shewed Manourie a jewel made in the fashion of hail, powdered with diamonds, having a ruby in the middle, valued at a hundred and fifty pounds sterling; and putting it into his hands said, "Besides this jewel, he shall have fifty "pounds in money: pray tell him as much from me, and "persuade him to it; I know he will trust you."

This overture being made by Manourie, Stucley, after some parley, sent back word by him to Ralegh, "that he "would accept of his offer," and bade him tell Ralegh, "he "was content to do as he had desired; but would choose "rather to go with him, than tarry behind with shame and "reproach:" directing Manourie further to ask, "how this "could be done without losing his office of vice-admiral, "which cost him six hundred pounds; also to what place "they should go, how they should live afterwards, and what "means he would carry with him to furnish this intended "escape?" Ralegh obviates all this with praying him to tell Stucley, "that if he would swear unto him not to discover "him, he would tell him his whole intent; and that for the "first point, though Stucley were to lose his office, he "should yet be no loser; that as soon as he was got into "France or Holland, his wife was to send him a thousand "pounds; and that he should carry with him only a thou-"sand crowns in money and jewels to serve at present." After supper, Ralegh is further represented so open, so contrary to all his former character, and beyond all manner

of belief, as to say, " O, if I could escape without Stucley, " I should do bravely; but it is no matter, I will carry " him along, and afterwards despatch myself of him well " enough." Then Manourie having apprised Stucley of all that passed, brought them together. Ralegh shewed the jewel, and probably delivered it, for Stucley shewed himself content, and it was probably upon the acceptance of it, but desired a little respite to dispose of his office. Manourie, having thus seen the agreement made, took his leave of them for London, (the part designed for him ending here,) after having said to Ralegh, " he did not think of " seeing him again while he was in England." Ralegh, at parting, gave him, by a letter to a person at Radford, an iron furnace, with a distillatory of copper belonging to it; and charged him " to tell every body he met, how sick he " was, and that he left him in an extreme looseness that " very night."

But as Ralegh had despatched captain King to London with instructions to be in readiness for him, he kept moving on; when there fell out an accident which gave him fresh hopes to facilitate his escape. For when he came to his inn at Brentford, he was met by a Frenchman, named La Chesnay, a follower of Le Clerc, agent from the French king; who told Ralegh, the said French agent was very desirous to speak with him, as soon as he got to London, about some affairs which highly concerned his safety. Accordingly, the next night after Ralegh was at London, the said Le Clerc and La Chesnay came to visit him at his house; and there Le Clerc offered him a French bark, which he had prepared for him to escape in; and withal, his letters recommendatory, for his safe conduct and reception, to the governor of Calais; and to send a gentleman expressly that should attend and meet him there. But Ralegh understanding the French bark not to be so ready, nor so fit as that he had already proposed for himself, gave him thanks, and told him, that he would make use of his own bark, but for his letters, and the rest of his offer,

that he should be beholden to him, because his acquaintance in France was worn out[e]. With this passage, and a word

[e] Ralegh might say this to get his recommendation the stronger, but indeed his fame was now in high request at the French court. For one of the noblest scholars in France, Nicholas Claudius Fabricius, lord of Peiresk, writing, soon after, a letter over to Camden, concludes it with these words; "J'ay eu un grand "desplaisir d'entendre le mauvais "succez de la navigation de my lord "Rallé; parce que c'est un person-"age, dont la valeur et le merite "sont en grande recommendation: "s'il se fait aucune relation de son "voyage, je seray bien aise de la "voir." Camdeni Epistolæ, 4to. 1691, p. 243. The original of this letter, written by the said Peireskus to Camden, is preserved in the Cotton library.

As for that negociation of this French agent with sir Walter Ralegh after he arrived at London, to remove him from those who thirsted after his blood, into the protection of a state which better knew how to value his great accomplishments, it was not so closely managed by them, but it took wind at court, insomuch that Monsieur de la Chesnaye was brought to an examination before the lords, and having confessed his being employed by Le Clerc in the design of conveying sir Walter Ralegh to France, he was, in September following, committed to a justice of peace's house in the nature of a close prisoner. Le Clerc was also cited to appear before the council. And here, through those eternal peccadillos which are ever brambling the course of embassies, arose a dispute, which, however justifiably it might be maintained by the said French ambassador, seems yet to have added some fuel to the fire of indignation already kindled against sir Walter Ralegh. For Le Clerc declared, he would continue dumb to all their interrogatories, till he should be used with that distinction which others, qualified as he was, had before been. Instancing, that sir W. Becher, then agent for king James in France, had, at an audience before the council of state, claimed the right, in honour of his representative quality, of not propounding his business till the lords of the council should stand up as he did, and be uncovered as he was: for, being in that place ambassador, he should be allowed to sit, and be covered, as the counsellors were at the time of their audience. This, Le Clerc affirmed, had been yielded to by the king his master's counsellors, and therefore he challenged the like respect from their lordships. The lords answered, that different countries had their different forms of treaty; and that the manner of proceeding in France was no rule for ours in England. But Le Clerc persisted inflexibly in his right to this privilege. Then the lords, neither to comply with his demand, nor constrain his resolution, determined to lay aside all form or ceremony, by retiring, promiscuously, into another room, no ways affected with the observances of the council-chamber, and there to discourse over his transactions in favour of sir Walter Ralegh, as a matter of private and indifferent conversation. Here Le Clerc made many solemn protestations that he knew nothing at all of the matter; till at length, after the confrontment of Le Chesnay, and his reconfession of their employment for sir Walter Ralegh's escape, Le Clerc could no longer face it out, but confessed it likewise himself. King James being informed thereof, Le Clerc had notice given him by the lords to forbear all further exercise of his charge, and not to appear at court, till it should be known, by the return of a messenger they had sent express to France, whether the king his master would herein avow his minister's actions. This was on, or not long after, the 17th of September, soon after sir W. Becher was confined to his house in France; and about a month after, a despatch came over to Le Clerc with particular charge to deliver it himself into king James's own hand, to try if he could by that means recover himself again at court. Away posted Le Clerc to Royston, where the king

or two only of Ralegh's attempt to escape, after he came to London, it not being thought proper here to expatiate upon the arts used in betraying it, ends the tedious fardel of objections accumulated to render him unworthy of mercy in the king's Declaration, and the story ascribed to the obscure Frenchman aforesaid in it, but unconfirmed by any affidavit or evidence upon oath, which, in other such cases, have been thought necessary vouchers: therefore how far to be called heinous offences, acts of hostility, depredations, abuses of his charge, impostures and declensions of justice, the reader may now first give his own judgment, and then compare it with what has been before said of these accusations by others [f].

And now comes on the remainder of captain King's narrative; wherein he tells us, that from Salisbury he was sent

then was, and offering himself to present the letters, could gain no admission; but being referred to the lords in waiting, he said, he would either personally, according to his instructions, or not at all, perform that service. So he returned to London, and from thence, in a few days, or about a week before sir Walter Ralegh's death, to France, with his letters undelivered; and the revocation of the English agent thereupon ensued. See Camden's Annals of King James; but chiefly Finetti Philoxenis; or Choice Observations of Sir John Finet, master of the ceremonies to the two last kings, touching the reception, precedence, treatment, audience, punctilios, and contests of foreign ambassadors in England, 8vo. 1656, p. 56. Also, L'Ambassadeur, et ses Fonctions, par Monsieur de Wicquefort, 4to. 1690, tom. 1. p. 397. where, though he says, "La cour de France "auroit bien voulu maintenir son "ministre;" yet that after monsieur Le Clerc returned to France, "il ne "fut pas fort consideré depuis ce "temps la." Such the fate of unsuccessful service!

[f] Upon the great murmurs and discontent among the people, which so generally arose at the putting of sir Walter Ralegh to death, insomuch that, though one of Essex's adversaries, he was pitied even by Essex's friends; "King James, after the "mode of weak and ill-consulted "princes," says Osborne, "set forth "a Declaration; which, according to "the ordinary success of such apolo-"gies, rendered the condition of that "proceeding worse in the world's "opinion." Another author observing, "Such is the power of envy, "and so really criminal it is to be "master of more merit than such a "prince knew how to value, and to "have done services which they could "not sufficiently reward, that this "alone was Ralegh's crime:" and having observed that his very enemies had acknowledged the reasonableness of his attempt at Guiana, with the just measures he took to put it in execution; and, besides his personal valour and public conduct, the excellence of all the dispositions he made for his expedition, concludes, (with regard to the king's Declaration,) "that they had not any "thing to lay to his charge on that "part, but what was so evidently "malicious, and so foolish in the "contrivance also, as made all men "ashamed that heard it." See the Historical Account of Sir Walter Ralegh's Voyages and Adventures, 8vo. 1719. p. 37, 38.

before to London to provide a boat, and to lay her as low as Tilbury; and that he was also advised to put one Cotterell in trust, who had been Ralegh's servant, for the provision of a wherry. As soon as King came to London, he dealt with Cotterell, who seemed as willing to do sir Walter Ralegh service as himself; but telling him of one Hart, who had been boatswain to the said captain's ship, and had a ketch of his own; with him the captain therefore agreed, and gave him money to get it in readiness, having vowed secrecy upon the reward which the captain further promised him. But he had no sooner received the thirty pieces of silver than he betrayed the design to Mr. William Herbert, who as suddenly made it known; but King not suspecting any discovery, still fed Hart with money to keep the ketch at Tilbury.

On Friday night, which was the 7th of August, sir Walter Ralegh came to London [g], when captain King attended on him at his lodgings, but was told by Ralegh that he could in no wise get ready to go off that night. It seems to be the next day that Stucley got his warrant to indemnify him for any contract he should enter into with sir Walter Ralegh, or to authorize his compliance with any offer he should make him for his escape, or in short, as others have not spared to call it, a licence to betray him; for though Ralegh might now have been secured in a direct and undisguised manner, yet the glory was to do it insidiously, and under the visor of friendship; being not more suitable to the genius of predominant power, than necessary on the present occasion, to give room for so many more little circumstances of objection as might occur to supply the place of one wanting, that should have been capital. And this night it was that the French ambassador aforesaid came to Ralegh's house, and made the proposal before recited. But when captain King came to him again the same

[g] Camden, in his Annals of King James, says, Ralegh was brought to London on the 9th of August, 1618; but, as I compute from the king's Declarations, it is a mistake. He also in the same article confirms Stucley's acceptance of the bribe to escape with Ralegh.

night, Ralegh said there was no going now without Stucley, whom he doubted not but he should engage to go along with him, and that the next night, without failure, he would meet the captain at the Tower dock. As for Mr. Herbert, aforesaid, he was employed in *garrowing* sir Walter Ralegh's house, as the captain phrases it, while Ralegh, being thus drawn out of it by Stucley, under pretence of bearing him company, might be the more unexpectedly seized with all such private papers as he should have about him; in hopes, no doubt, that by one means or other, something might turn out to make a charge of sufficient weight against him. But, in the conclusion, says our said author, all the papers which were found, proved to be no other than what might, without any discredit, have been laid open to all the world.

Captain King went, as he further tells us, on Sunday night to the place appointed with two wherries, and sir Walter Ralegh also came thither; having put on a false beard, and a hat with a green hatband. He was accompanied with sir Lewis Stucley, young Stucley, and his own page. Then asking captain King, if all things were ready? he answered, they were, and that the cloak-bag and the four pistols were in the boat. Stucley then saluted captain King, and asked, "whether thus far he had not distin-"guished himself an honest man?" to which King answered, "that he hoped he would continue so."

After they entered the boats and divided the pistols, they had not rowed above twenty strokes before the watermen told them, that Mr. Herbert had lately taken boat, and made as if he would have gone through bridge, but returned down the river after them. This raised some apprehension in Ralegh, but, upon Stucley's encouragement, they rowed on; yet Ralegh, not well satisfied, called captain King near to him, who was in the other boat with young Stucley and Hart, and intimated, that he could not go forward unless he was sure of the watermen, whom he then also spake to, asking, whether, if any should come to arrest them in the king's name, they would row forwards or

return? At this, the great boobies were so frightened that they cried, and answered, they knew nobody there but captain King, who had hired them to Gravesend; and that they neither dared nor would go any further. Ralegh said, that a brabbling matter with the Spanish ambassador was the cause that of necessity he must go to Tilbury, to embark for the Low Countries; and that he would give them ten pieces of gold for their pains.

Then began Stucley's part, cursing and damning himself that he should be so unfortunate as to venture his life and fortune with a man so full of doubts and fears. He swore that if the watermen would not row on, he would kill them; and persuaded Ralegh that there was no such danger as he suspected; of which opinion captain King also still was. Thus the time passed, till they drew near Greenwich, when a wherry crossed them, which Ralegh said came to discover them. King sought to dissuade him from this supposition, and told him, that if they could but reach Gravesend, he would hazard his life to get to Tilbury. These delays spent the tide, and the watermen said, it was impossible to get to Gravesend before morning. Hereupon Ralegh would have landed at Purfleet, and Hart would have possessed him, that, though it was night, he could procure him horses to Tilbury. Stucley appeared very zealous for this proposal, and said, that upon that condition he could be content to carry the cloak-bag on his own shoulders half a mile; but King told him, that if they could not go by water, it was impossible, at that time of night, to get horses to go by land.

By this time they had rowed as far as Woolwich, or rather about a mile beyond, which might be to a reach called the Gallions, near Plumstead. Here, approaching two or three ketches, Hart began to doubt whether any one of them was his. Upon this, Ralegh concluded they were all betrayed, and bid the watermen turn back, hoping to have got to his own house before morning; and began to examine Hart very strictly; who pretended he had given his men express charge not to stir from Tilbury till

he came down; but this would not induce Ralegh to proceed. Before they had rowed back a furlong, they espied another wherry, and hailing her, they said they were for the king. Ralegh perceiving they were some of Mr. Herbert's crew, proposed to Stucley, seeing they were discovered, and in respect to his safety, that he might remain still in his custody; and that Stucley should openly declare to the watermen he was his prisoner; which he did. Here Stucley and he fell into private discourse, contriving how Ralegh might reach his house; and how Stucley might save himself harmless by saying, that he only pretended to go along with Ralegh in order to discover his intentions, and seize upon his private papers. Then they whispered some time together, and Ralegh taking some things out of his pockets, (whether more rubies powdered with diamonds, our author does not say,) and gave them to Stucley, who all this while not only hugged and embraced him, as it seemed with the greatest tenderness, but made the utmost protestations of love, friendship, and fidelity. When they were got back to Greenwich, Stucley said, that he durst not carry Ralegh to his house, but persuaded him to land, which they did; the other strange boat landing at the same time, in which the men, they perceived, belonged to Mr. W. Herbert and sir William St. John, the same who had made good profit of Ralegh before, as we have read. Upon Greenwich bridge, Stucley told captain King, it would be for sir Walter's good, that he should pretend he was consenting with him to betray his master. King, not able to fathom the depth of this policy, as he tells us, refused it, thinking he should not only thereby belie his own conscience, but make himself odious to the world; therefore, though Ralegh himself made some motion of it to him, he could not, how serviceable soever it might prove, be guilty of so much insincerity towards him. Then Stucley arrested the captain in his majesty's name, and committed him to the charge of two of Mr. Herbert's men. After this, they all went to a tavern, and by the way, captain King heard Ralegh say, "Sir "Lewis, these actions will not turn out to your credit."

Ralegh was kept apart from King till morning, when as they entered into the Tower, Ralegh said to him, "Stucley and Cotterell have betrayed me;" adding, "for your part, you need be in fear of no danger, but as for me, it is I am the mark that is shot at." Then captain King, being forced to take his leave, left Ralegh "to his tuition, with whom I do not doubt," says he, "but his soul resteth." And so concludes his narrative.

Here the curious reader would probably be willing to know what Stucley had to say for himself upon this business; and this I have also some opportunity of relating from the tract he published after Ralegh's death in his own defence; which though, for its author's behaviour aforesaid, it has been so much disregarded, that of all the historians, general and particular, who have written of sir Walter Ralegh, and some few of them, whose characters are pretty well known, to his disparagement; I never met with one who has shewn it so much credit as to quote it: yet, as I have found some few passages not altogether useless in explaining other parts of this life, so those, which concern this part, I have thought proper more particularly here to insert, in observance to a good biographical maxim, which enjoins us, as far as the parts they bear in our narrative will permit, to shew a due respect to the characters of all men, and consequently not, in favour of any, to prostitute our own.

In this tract, which is properly enough addressed to the king, one of the earliest motives to revenge, in that poor *instrument of state*, as Stucley no less properly calls himself against Ralegh, appears to be a pretence, that Ralegh had abridged Stucley's father of an incredible dividend in a prize many years before taken at sea [h], whereof a more particular account has been before given in its proper place; as the last motive will appear to be what Ralegh said of this

[h] To the king's most excellent majesty, The humble petition and information of sir Lewis Stucley, knt. vice-admiral of Devon, touching his own behaviour in the charge committed to him for the bringing up of sir Walter Ralegh, and the scandalous aspersions cast upon him for the same. 4to. 1618. p. 8.

Stucley in his Dying Speech. But the arguments Stucley makes use of for having betrayed him, are drawn first from Ralegh's having pretended to be poisoned at sir Edward Parham's house, who was Stucley's kinsman. For he reports Ralegh to have said, "Though the gentleman would "not hurt me, yet there might be priests that did it: for I "remember, after my morning's draught of a cup of ale, "which sir Edward Parham offered me in the hall, I felt "presently a kind of excoriation in my bowels, as if some Je-"suit had been the butler." "Now," says Stucley, "when "I saw the pustules break out upon him at Salisbury, my "compassion, I confess, was too credulous to report it." But that being thus deceived himself, and thereby wronging his kinsman, it moved his indignation against Ralegh for abusing both: so that in short, he drew Ralegh to his destruction by a lie, because he had induced Stucley to asperse his kinsman with one. And though divinity would not, as Stucley owns, yet reason of state would hold it lawful to lie for the discovery of treason, in service to the commonwealth. Then he endeavours to reconcile himself to the commonwealth, by answering the objection of his being so instrumental to the depriving it of so sufficient a member as had not left his equal behind him, in these words: "No man de-"nies but he had many sufficiencies in him; but what were "these but so many weapons of practice and danger against "the state, if he escaped? being so deeply tainted in so "many points of discontent, dishonesty, and disloyalty. "He knew, as he had written, that as in nature, so in "policy, *a privatione ad habitum not fit regressio*. And "therefore being desperate of any fortune here, agreeable "to the height of his mind, who can doubt but he would "have made up his fortune elsewhere, upon any terms "against his sovereign and country[i]?" In another place, which relates to Ralegh's last endeavours of escaping, he tells the king, "On the Saturday when I received your "majesty's commission by my cousin Herbert, I received

[i] Ibid. p. 14, 15.

" also intelligence by him, that at that instant Ralegh was " flying from my custody without my privity, not having, as " yet, made him any semblance of condescent[k]; so that I " almost came upon him unawares, even as he was putting " on his false beard, and other disguisements; which de- " clares he did still distrust your goodness, doubtless out of " the conscience of his guiltiness, whatever he writ or said " to the contrary. And is it any marvel then, that he was " angry with me at his death for bringing him back? Be- " sides, being a man, as he was thought, of so great a wit, " it was no small grief that a man of so mean wit as I " should be thought to go beyond him. Yea, but you " should not have used such craft to go beyond him. No? " *Sic ars deluditur arte. Neque enim lex justior ulla est* " *quam necis artifices arte perire sua.* But why did you " not execute your commission bravely to his apprehension " on him in his house? why? my commission was to the " contrary, to discover his pretensions, and to seize his se- " cret papers, &c. And can any honest subject question " my honesty in the performance of such a commission, " which tended to discover the secret intentions of an ill- " affected heart to my sovereign? How can any dislike this " in me, and not bewray his own dishonest heart unto the " state? Yea, but though another might have done this, " yet how might you do it, being his kinsman and his " friend? Surely if I had been so, yet in a public employ- " ment and trust laid upon me, I was not to refuse it, much " less to prefer private kindness and amity before my pub- " lic duty and loyalty: for what did I know the dangerous " consequence of these matters which were to be discovered? " or who knows them yet, of those that make themselves " my competent judges? But if there were no kindred or " amity between us, as I avow there never was, what bond " then might tie me to him, but the tie of compassion to " his miseries? which was in my sovereign's heart to distri-

[k] Manourie's story, as before, somewhat discredits this of Stucley's, who seems, before he came with Ralegh to London, to have made some semblance of condescent when the jewel was offered him.

" bute, when he saw time, that did command me, and not " in the dispensation of me, nor of any other instrument's " power that is to be commanded [1]." These are his arguments; and he concludes his pamphlet with making two humble petitions to his most excellent majesty; " First, " seeing that I, your poor loyal subject, am burdened and " oppressed with the testimony of a bitter enemy, of a per- " jured and condemned man, against all reason, conscience, " and law; that I may have your majesty's leave, to the " confirmation of the truth, which I have avowed to be " sufficient; to receive the sacrament upon it in your ma- " jesty's chapel." But if he did receive the sacrament, to confirm the truth of his assertions, (for this seems to be the meaning of his words, if they have, or were intended to have any,) how that would justify the falsehood of his actions; and how his taking of the sacrament would be of any credit to him, who has owned, that divinity would not hold his practices lawful; or how clear him for the violation of that trust and fidelity he had before taken the sacrament, as we shall hear presently, to maintain, he was not thought casuist, or even instrument of state enough to resolve: the last petition is, " That his majesty would be so " gracious as to suffer a declaration to come forth from the " state, for the clearing of these matters, and further satis- " faction of the world;" which plainly discovers, that this pamphlet, sent out under the name of this instrument, was a mere concerted preparative to the said declaration which so observantly followed it; like a fomentation to supple the minds of the uneasy people, that the sovereign unguent might enter more effectually. But how little satisfaction the said declaration gave, we have already noted: and for Stucley's performance, it made not so much as himself easy; being, in his own opinion, so insufficient to deface the black and odious stains of his conduct, that he was forced to write an Apology besides; and that was so little regarded, as never to have been thought worthy of the press. Whether

[1] Stucley's Petition and Information, &c. p. 7. &c.

his life was more successful than his writings, and how it fared with him after this piece of court-service, may be gathered from several authors. Some historical compurgators of this reign, and consequently no friends to Ralegh's memory, yet own that Stucley's destiny was suitable to his dealings, being afterwards hanged, say they, for clipping of gold [m]. But those who had better intelligence, and knew the truth more particularly, have delivered it more perfectly; where they affirm, "That Stucley having, for a "bag of money, falsified his faith, which he had confirmed "by the tie of the holy sacrament, he was, before the year "came about, caught clipping the same coin, in the king's "own house at Whitehall, which he had received as the re-"ward of his perfidiousness; for which being condemned "to be hanged, he was driven to sell himself to his shirt, to "purchase his pardon of two knights; then (to avoid "the sight and scorn of mankind) withdrew himself to a "little island in the Severn sea, called the Isle of Lundy, "and there died, a poor distracted beggar [n];" which, as we find it elsewhere sufficiently confirmed, was in less than two years after Ralegh's death [o]. Thus horribly did the deceiver's reward prove his punishment; and thus we leave this notable monument of improsperous treachery.

Put into the Tower.

Ralegh, as we before mentioned, was now prisoner again in the Tower of London, being brought thither on Monday morning the 10th of August. About two or three days after, a committee was selected to examine into the aforesaid escape, it being a matter luckily capable, and highly necessary to be enlarged upon, in order to fill up the measure of accusation. Such a premeditated flight was therefore declaimed against as a crime so heavy and so heinous, such a disdain or despair of his majesty's mercy, as was greatly to be expected could never obtain his forgiveness.

[m] Aulicus Coquinariæ, 8vo. p. 94. And Franklaud's Annals of King James and King Charles I. fol. 1681. p. 32. &c.

[n] Howel's Letters, vol. 2. p. 372.

[o] Camden very well agrees in this miserable end of that faithless knight, where he says, "That sir Lewis "Stucley, who had betrayed sir "Walter Ralegh, died in a manner "mad, on the 29th of August, 1620." Annals of King James.

Then again, for sir Walter Ralegh to alienate himself thus from his native country by means of a foreign power, was stretched out to the idea of a separation as horrid as the breach of some huge rock or promontory from the main land, when its foundation was sapped and washed away by undermining waves.

The arguments Ralegh now returned to extenuate this mighty transgression, having been by no author transmitted to us, it is not impossible but they were with the rest of his justification before those commissioners, during the time of this his last imprisonment, industriously stifled. There is, notwithstanding, one of his own letters on this subject descended, by means of the press, to us. It is directed, by the error of the editor it seems, to the duke, though as yet no more than marquis of Buckingham, and dated the 14th of October. "Herein," says Ralegh, with relation to his late attempted escape, "that which doth comfort my soul in "this offence is, that even in the offence itself, I had no "other intent than his majesty's service, and to make his "majesty know that my late enterprise was grounded upon "a truth, and which with one ship speedily set out, I meant "to have assured or to have died; being resolved, as it is "well known, to have done it from Plymouth, had I not "been restrained. Hereby I hoped, not only to recover "his majesty's gracious opinion, but have destroyed all "those malignant reports which had been spread of me. "That this is true, that gentleman whom I so much trusted, "my keeper, and to whom I opened my heart, cannot but "testify; and wherein, if I cannot be believed living, my "death shall witness. Yea, that gentleman cannot but "avow it, that when we came back towards London, I de-"sired to save no other treasure than the exact description "of those places in the Indies. That I meant to go hence "as a discontented man, God, I trust, and my own actions, "will dissuade his majesty; whom neither the loss of my "estate, thirteen years' imprisonment, and the denial of my "pardon, could beat from his service: nor had the opinion "of being counted a fool, or rather distract, by returning

"as I did, balanced with my love to his majesty's person "and estate, any place at all in my heart.

"It was that last severe letter from the lords for the "speedy bringing of me up, and the impatience of dis-"honour, that first put me in fear of my life, or enjoying it "in a perpetual imprisonment, never to recover my reputa-"tion lost, which strengthened me in my late, and too late "lamented resolution, if his majesty's mercy do not abound; "if his majesty do not pity my age, and scorn to take the "extremest and utmost advantage of my errors; if his ma-"jesty, in his charity, do not make a difference between of-"fences proceeding from a life-saving natural impulsion, "without all ill intent, and those of an ill heart; and that "your lordship, remarkable in the world for the nobleness "of your disposition, do not vouchsafe to become my inter-"cessor; whereby your lordship shall bind an hundred "gentlemen of my kindred to honour your memory, and "bind me, for all the time of that life which your lordship "shall beg for me, to pray to God that you may ever pros-"per; and overbind me to remain your most humble ser-"vant, W. Ralegh [p]."

Though all other events and motions in this expedition were now also racked and tentered by his adversaries; though the commissioners (who were perhaps the same mentioned in a kind of oblique manner at the end of the king's Declaration, as witnesses thereof) came now constantly to the Tower, to pick out or catch hold of any thing that might contribute some plausible matter to condemn him; yet after the examinations, reexaminations, and confrontments of the most discontented persons in the late voyage, none of all the depositions upon oath, that are pretended to have been taken, or were really wormed out of them, were ever thought so material by the said commissioners, as to have been distinctly brought to light, either in that Declaration or elsewhere, against sir Walter Ralegh. Much less may we expect to meet with any of the argu-

[p] See the Cabala; or Mysteries of State, in letters of the great ministers to king James and king Charles, &c. 4to. 1654. p. 309.

ments urged by himself in his own defence during this inquisition, or close and private manner of sifting him from so many quarters. And yet, if they had been fairly presented to the public, it is not thought they could have given the world greater satisfaction, or have cleared him better than what he had just before written, both in his letter to the lord Carew and at the end of his Apology, to prove the authority he had for the late action at Guiana, the integrity of his conduct in it, with the reason and necessity thereof. Wherein it appears, he absolutely depended on the honour of king James to continue now, as he had begun, the maintenance of his right to that country which Ralegh had lawfully possessed for the crown; at least, so far, as not to renounce or circumvent his own commission: otherwise, how well he knew that if he made the least opposition to any resistance of his attempt, he was liable to be pursued as an invader; or, if he returned with any gold, to be persecuted as a plunderer by the Spaniards; and if he did neither, that he was still no less liable to be accused as an impostor by his co-adventurers. But in this latter respect, all suspicion was clearly removed, even from those who by their losses in this voyage would have been most readily prompted to make such reproach, when they found Ralegh prove himself as in these writings, to the face of mankind, such a far greater loser than any of the rest hereby, as was before observed: and as for the other two objections, Ralegh has also made it no less amply evident in the same pieces, how glaringly he must appear to the world, a mere premeditated or designed sacrifice to one of them, if king James should maim his sovereignty of its title to Guiana, or now disclaimed the undertaking there which he had before authorized. For therein he has shewed, that his majesty was well resolved of his right in those parts bordering the Orenoque to the south, as far as the Amazons, by having formerly given the English leave to plant and inhabit there; and that his own proposal to go thither was not accounted of as what would endanger the peace, even by the Spanish ambassador, who pretended it to be needless that Ralegh

should carry such strength with him, if he intended no other enterprise, for that he should work any mine there without disturbance; but had a good reason returned by Ralegh for that strength, from the example of sir John Hawkins. Further shewing, that for the Spaniards to set up a town upon the Orenoque was such a usurpation, and that their king should thereupon call himself king of Guiana was as unreasonable, as if he were to call himself king of Ireland, because he took possession at Smerwick, and built a fort there. Having also shewn, that no peace could be broken there by him, where no peace was maintained by the Spaniards, both from their bloody usage of the English, who had lately been to trade there, and from the words in the king of Spain's late letters to the governor; "who first "called us enemies, when he hoped to cut us in pieces," says Ralegh, "and having failed, peacebreakers: when to be "an enemy and a peacebreaker in one and the same ac-"tion is impossible[q]." Moreover, that here the Spaniards began the first slaughter; that their town was not burnt by any knowledge or permission of his, nor his directions to the mine followed. Lastly, having observed how little the Spaniards can endure that the English nation should look upon any part of America, being above a fourth part of the whole known world, though the hundredth part was never possessed by the Spaniards; and withal, the many ill consequences of acknowledging, that we have offended the king of Spain by landing in Guiana, even to the ruin of our navigation, trade, power, and dominion in this quarter of the globe, where there was as much room and reason for advancing the honour and riches of England as of any state in Christendom, he concludes his Apology with these words; "I have said it already, and I will say it again, that if "Guiana be not his majesty's, the working of a mine there, "and the taking of a town there, had been equally perilous; "for, by doing the one, I had robbed the king of Spain,

[q] Sir Walter Ralegh's letter to the lord Carew, at the end of his Apology, p. 62.

"and been a thief; and, by the other, a disturber or "breaker of the peace."

Now it is plain, that king James so much waved his right to Guiana, at least till Ralegh was put to death, (for then he assumed it again, by the power he gave for another expedition to those parts[r], however, irresolutely, according

[r] About a year after the death of sir Walter Ralegh, king James granted captain Roger North a commission to inhabit and settle a colony near the river of Amazons in Guiana; but was soon awed by Gondomar so much, that, on the 15th of May 1620, he issued a proclamation to recall that gentleman from the said undertaking, and committed his brother, the lord North, to the Fleet prison for hastening the said voyage, as may be read in Camden's Annals of that king's reign. Some other little attempts were several years after made there, which may be read of in a manuscript, entitled, An exact Narrative of the State of Guiana, and of the English colony in Surinam, in the beginning of the war with the Dutch, and of its actions during the war; with the taking thereof by the fleet from Zealand: of which some copies are preserved in the Ashmolean and other libraries. But how all this spacious and fruitful country has been since shamefully deserted, by the English especially, the quiet possession there by the Spaniards, to this day, is sufficient witness. Whereupon we cannot forbear reciting here the reflection of a late writer, in an essay, partly before quoted, On the needful Improvements in Trade: wherein, expressing how much he is for promoting merchants to rational and profitable adventures, and sailors to new discoveries, as things most valuable in their nature, solid in their design, and gloriously advantageous in their success, he proceeds thus: "By such "adventures and discoveries, all our "increase in colonies and plantations has been produced. It was "by such happy attempts, that the "famous sir Walter Ralegh and his "assistants settled the British nation upon the northern continent "of America; and, had he been encouraged, or rather had he not "been basely betrayed, he had settled "us also upon the southern continent; and the power of Great "Britain in her colonies and islands, "in that part of the world, had been "superior as well in wealth as in extent of land, and in strength of "people, to all the nations of the "world that ever settled there. And "perhaps, by this time, we had "wanted no assiento to carry negroes to America; no license to "trade to the gulf of Mexico, but "the South sea had been our own, "and all the wealth and glory of "America paid homage to king "George. But fate, and the ill policies of those times hindered; and "the golden mountains of Chili, and "the silver mines of Potosi, the "wealth of the richest part of the "world, is sacrificed to the lust and "sloth of the poorest and proudest "nation under the sun." See the Humourist, vol. 2. 8vo. 1725, p. 39. Another modern author, in his address to the South sea company, observing this attempt of sir Walter Ralegh's to have been the greatest enterprise that ever was undertaken by any private person; how much it would be to the glory of the said company to bring it to perfection; how much it was to the infamy of that age in which this great man suffered, that such an enterprise was not only discouraged, but even betrayed to the Spaniard, and this gallant gentleman exposed to ruin; also how just a reproach to this nation ever since, that such a part of the world, so timely and so effectually discovered to us, has not been made our own, and all those nations, who would submit to us, and be assistant

to custom, he revoked it,) that as we observe in his Declaration, not only the place which Ralegh went to is pretended to be out of his commission, but the title he stood upon, to be no ways compatible with it. Yet so incontestably did Ralegh make it appear, no doubt in his examinations at present, no less than in the writings above mentioned, "that if any peace could be broken where no peace "had been maintained, it must either be by king James "himself, in first granting a commission to plunder another "prince," (for he knew where Ralegh was going, and no where declines his knowledge that the Spaniards were settled there,) "and then betraying it to procure a defeat "of the very attempt he had empowered; or else by the "Spaniards themselves, in resisting his endeavours to put "it in execution;" that after all this questioning, canvassing, and heaping up of allegations against him, the council could not think it justifiable to take away sir Walter Ralegh's life for all that had passed at Guiana. Yet, as he must be put to death, they found a way to appease the Spaniards with his blood, by making this last action at St. Thome the efficient cause, but the obsolete condemnation at Winchester, fifteen years past, the nominal cause of his destruction; as a course whereby both the law would be judicially satisfied, and the title be left, for fear of displeasure, undecided. So in the whole, it was resolved there should be room

to the great work, be taken into protection, confederated and made use of in subjecting that inexhaustible treasure to be found there, to the government and crown of Great Britain; he concludes the said address in these words: "The country is "within the patent or charter of the "South sea company; the under-"taking seems to be their due: their "charter begins at the river Oreno-"que, and none can attempt it with-"out them. If they please to take "such a proposal into consideration, "the author of these sheets is ready "to lay before them a plan or chart "of the rivers and shores, the depths "of water, and all necessary instruc-"tions for the navigation, with a "scheme of the undertaking, which "he had the honour, about thirty "years ago, to lay before king Wil-"liam, and to demonstrate how easy "it would be to bring this attempt "to perfection. If the company de-"cline it, it is then humbly proposed, "that they will give leave to a so-"ciety of merchants to undertake it "under the company's license, and "on such conditions as may be "thought reasonable; of which more "shall be said when such a proposal "shall be entertained by the com-"pany." See an Historical Account of the Voyages and Adventures of Sir Walter Ralegh, 8vo. 1719; from p. 42. to 55.

enough to revoke the king's former mercy, as it appears in his Declaration; and that Ralegh might lose his head upon his former attainder[s], notwithstanding the repugnancies apparent in such a conclusion to men of penetration; among whom, Carew Ralegh has very well observed thereupon, "that his father was condemned for being a friend to the "Spaniards, and lost his life by the same sentence, for "being their enemy[t]."

A method, however, of despatching him being thus pieced out, the king, or those with whom he left the management of this affair when he went upon his progress, appeared very eager for bringing it to a period. Therefore, as the shortest

[s] "A head," says Osborne, "of "more weight to our court (espe- "cially in that dearth of wisdom "then raging) than the infanta "could be, notwithstanding that the "most general, no less than the "least suspected reports, made her "alone owner of the greatest beauty, "virtue, gallantry, and prudence, "that were at that day extant in "womankind! But, as the foolish "idolaters were wont to sacrifice the "choicest of their children to the "Devil, the common enemy of hu- "manity; so our king gave up this "incomparable jewel to the will of "this monster in ambition, (the "Spaniard,) under the pretence of a "superannuated transgression, con- "trary to the opinion of the most "honest sort of gownmen; who "maintained, that his majesty's par- "don lay inclusively in the commis- "sion he gave him upon his setting "out to sea: it being incongruous "that he, who remained under the "notion of one dead in the law, "should, as a general, dispose of "the lives of others, not being him- "self master of his own. But the "Spanish faction, then absolute at "court, and sole managers of the "king's power no less than his jus- "tice, did so far tender his catholic "majesty's full satisfaction in the "procuring of his death, (the only "man of note left alive who had "helped to beat them in the year "1588,) that no absurdity lying in "the way of his prosecution could "deter them from making use of "his former condemnation; remem- "bering withal, how far his wit "had puzzled them at Winchester, "and how much the jury, who con- "demned him there, were touched "in their consciences; which made "it the less probable they should be "able to impannel one so wicked as "would do it then. Besides, no "*peace beyond the line* was a be- "lief so rivetted in the opinion of "all, as he could not have been in- "dicted anew, without the king's "producing the original articles, by "which his accusers would have "been convinced of malice, or his "prince of folly." Memoirs of King James, p. 108.

[t] See Howel's Letters, vol. 2. p. 371; and the tract entitled, A brief Relation of Sir Walter Ralegh's Troubles, &c. where Carew Ralegh's words are, p. 9. as follows: "Here "justice was indeed blind! blindly "executing one and the same person, "upon one and the same condemna- "tion, for things contradictory; for "sir Walter Ralegh was condemned "for being a friend to the Span- "iard, and lost his life for being "their utter enemy. Thus kings, "when they will do what they please, "please not him they should, God; "and having made their power sub- "servient to their will, deprive them- "selves of that just power whereby "others are subservient to them."

way, a privy seal was sent to the judges, forthwith to order execution. But they considering there ought to be some face of regularity in the matter, and a little finger in the court of justice to slide it off with as much decency and smoothness as the business would allow of, demurred upon that extrajudicial manner of proceeding. Therefore, on Friday the 23d of October, there was a conference held upon the form or manner how prisoners, who have been attainted of treason and set at liberty, should be brought to execution, between all the justices of England; as one of them, judge Hutton, tells us: wherein the question being put, "Whether a privy seal was sufficient, it being directed "to the justices of the king's bench, to command them to "award execution against sir Walter Ralegh; or how they "should proceed before execution be awarded?" it was resolved by all, "That he ought to be brought to bar, by "habeas corpus to the lieutenant of the Tower, and then "demanded, if he could say any thing why execution "should not be awarded? For the proceedings against him "being before commissioners, they are delivered only into "the court of king's bench, or they might have remained in "a bag or a chest, and no roll made thereof; and so long "time passing, it is not a legal course that he should be "commanded by a privy seal or great seal to be executed, "without being demanded, what he hath to say? For he "might have a pardon, or he might say that he was not "the same person: as if one be outlawed of felony, and "taken, he shall not be presently hanged, but he shall be "brought to bar, and so demanded, &c. Upon this resolu-"tion, a privy seal came to the justices of the king's bench, "commanding them to proceed against him according to "law [u]." In what sense he was so proceeded against may be better understood by that notice which, on the 24th of October, being the next day, Ralegh received from the commissioners to prepare for death [x]; and by his not being

[u] Sir Richard Hutton's Reports, fol. 1656. p. 21. Also judge Crook's Reports, 2. fol. 495; sergeant Rolle's Reports, 50. p. 7. and W. Nelson's Abridgment, &c. vol. 3. 1726. fol. 365.

[x] Camden's Annals of King James.

suffered, when he soon after appeared, in court, before the judges, according to law, to make any defence of himself for what had been the occasion of his coming thither; as may be seen by the following abstract of the said proceedings, which I have been favoured with from authentic copies.

Brought to Westminster-hall.

On Wednesday, the 28th of October, sir Walter Ralegh, at eight o'clock in the morning, was awaked out of a fit of a fever, with summons presently to appear at the king's bench bar at Westminster; and, soon after nine o'clock, he was, by writ of habeas corpus, brought thither. The writ being delivered to the judges by sir Walter Apsley, and sir Walter Ralegh's conviction at Winchester read, the attorney, Mr. Henry Yelverton, set forth, "That the prisoner having been fifteen years since convicted of high treason, and "then received the judgment of death, his majesty, of his "abundant grace, had been pleased to shew mercy unto "him, till now, that justice calls to him for execution. Sir "Walter Ralegh," continued he, "hath been a statesman, "and a man who, in regard to his parts and quality, is to "be pitied: he hath been as a star at which the world have "gazed; but stars may fall, nay they must fall when they "trouble the sphere wherein they abide[y]. It is therefore "his majesty's pleasure now to call for execution of the "former judgment, and I now require order for the same." Then the clerk of the crown, Mr. Fanshaw, having read the record of the conviction and judgment, the prisoner, holding up his hand, was asked, "what he could say, why "execution should not be awarded against him?" Ralegh told the lords, "his voice was grown weak by his late sick-"ness, and an ague he had at that instant upon him, in "which he was brought thither; therefore (as it appears "in another copy of these proceedings before referred to) "desired the relief of a pen and ink." But the lord chief

[y] So in the copy here chiefly followed, but in one more ancient this comparison is thus turned into a metaphor; "Sir Walter Ralegh, in his "time, was a star; yea, and of such "nature as shined fair; but out of "the necessity of state, like stars, "when they trouble the sphere, "must indeed fall."

justice, sir Henry Montague, telling him, "he spake au-
"dibly enough," he went on to this effect: "That he
"hoped the judgment he received to die so long since,
"could not now be strained to take away his life; since by
"his majesty's commission for his late voyage, it was im-
"plied to be restored, in giving him power as marshal on
"the life and death of others; and since he undertook the
"same to honour his sovereign, and enrich his kingdom
"with gold, of the ore whereof, this hand," said he, "hath
"found and taken in Guiana." Then beginning to mention by what unavoidable and unblameable means the said enterprise miscarried, the lord chief justice interrupted, and told him, "whatever he spoke touching his voyage was not
"to the purpose; also that his commission could be of no
"service to him; that treason was not pardoned by impli-
"cation, and that he must say something else to the pur-
"pose, otherwise they must proceed to give execution[z]."
Ralegh then, finding whatever he should offer in his own justification would be no way to the purpose, put himself upon the king's mercy; yet gave some reasons, "why he
"hoped the king would take compassion upon him concern-
"ing that judgment which was so long past, in which both
"his majesty was of opinion, and there were some present
"who could witness, that he had hard usage[a]." The lord chief justice advised him to the wisdom of submission, and told him, "he was called to grant execution upon the judg-

[z] Another account relates this passage thus: "When Ralegh began "to justify himself for the late "voyage, the lord chief justice si-"lenced him therein, saying, There "was no other matter there in ques-"tion, but concerning the judgment "of death formerly given against "him, which, the king's pleasure "was, upon some occasions best "known to himself, to have exe-"cuted, unless he could shew good "cause to the contrary." See the proceedings against sir Walter Ralegh at Westminster, annexed to sir T. Overbury's account of his arraignment at Winchester, 4to. 1648. p. 26.

[a] In another copy of this proceeding against him at Westminster, which is the old MS. I have before me, as above mentioned, this passage is thus expressed: "Concerning my "judgment at Winchester, I pre-"sume most of you that now hear "me are resolved how that was ob-"tained; and I know that his ma-"jesty was so resolved, touching "that trial, that if he had not been "anew exasperated against me, cer-"tain I am, I might (if I could by "nature) have lived a thousand and "a thousand years, before he would "have taken the advantage there-"of."

"ment given fifteen years since; all which time he had "been as a man dead in the law, but the king, in mercy, "spared him; that he might think it heavy if this were "done in cold blood; but it was not so, for new offences "had stirred up his majesty's justice to revive what the "law had formerly cast upon him. I know," continued he, "that you have been valiant and wise, and I doubt not but "you retain both these virtues, for now you shall have oc-"casion to use them. Your faith hath heretofore been "questioned, but I am resolved you are a good Christian; "for your book, which is an admirable work, doth testify "as much. I would give you counsel, but I know you "can apply unto yourself far better than I am able to give "you." Yet, with the good neighbour in the gospel, he was for pouring some oil into his wounds; though far was it from yielding the refreshment he promised, by reason of the severity wherewith he so sharpened the infusion. "I give you the oil of comfort," said he, "though in re-"spect that I am a minister of the law, mixed with vine-"gar." Nay, the judge further gave him, how unnecessary soever he just before owned it to be, one lecture upon sorrow. "Sorrow," said he, "will not avail you in some "kind; for were you pained, sorrow would not ease you; "were you afflicted, sorrow would not relieve you; were "you tormented, sorrow would not content you; and yet "the sorrow for your sins would be an everlasting comfort "to you." Then another also upon death. "You must "do as that valiant captain did," said he, "who, perceiving "himself in danger, said, in defiance of death, Death, thou "expectest me; but, maugre thy spite, I expect thee. "Fear not death too much, nor fear death too little; not "too much, lest you fail in your hope; nor too little, lest "you die presumptuously: and here I must conclude my "prayers to God for it, and that he would have mercy on "your soul." So he ended with saying, "Execution is "granted."

Ralegh then desired, that he might not be cut off so suddenly; for that he had something to do in discharge of his

conscience, something to satisfy his majesty, and something the world in: he desired further, that he might be heard at the day of his death; and concluded with calling on "God "to be his judge, before whom he should shortly appear, "that he was never disloyal to his majesty; which I will "justify," said he, "where I shall not fear the face of any "king on earth." Thus the manuscripts here chiefly followed conclude[b]; but in the more ancient copy of these proceedings, Ralegh's conclusion, to the same sense, is thus more copiously expressed: "I most humbly beseech your "lordships, that you will grant me some time, before my "execution, that I may settle my affairs and my mind "more than they yet are; for I have much to do, both for "my reputation, conscience, and loyalty; and I would be-"seech the favour of pen, ink, and paper, to express myself "something thereby, and to discharge myself of some trust "of worldly matters that were put in me; which leisure, I "beseech you think, that I crave not for to gain one mi-"nute of life; for now being old, sickly, in disgrace, and "certain to go to it, life is wearisome to me. And I do "lastly beseech your lordships, that, when I come to die, "I may have leave to speak freely at my farewell, to sa-"tisfy the world only, that I was ever loyal to the king, "and a true lover of this commonwealth; for this I will "seal with my blood." So craving their prayers, he was led away to the Gatehouse, near the Palace-yard.

The king was all this while retired as it were, or at some remoteness from this tragical scene, and, as I have received it from particular tradition, in Hertfordshire; as if he would have diverted himself, not only from the sight or report, but even the thoughts of it[c]: yet what an effectual

[b] In a volume of the Harleian manuscripts, 90. C. 7. fol. 439. and another manuscript among the collections of the late Mr. Granger.

[c] In Camden also it may appear, that the king came not to London to give audience to foreign ambassadors now (as in all other parts of his reign) flocking over, till a day or two after Ralegh's death; then he came privately to Whitehall in the evening; but seems very restless about this time; very often in his boots, and hunting to and fro; sometimes at Oatlands, sometimes at Theobalds, sometimes at Hampton-court; not but he found time to dedicate his Meditations on the Lord's Prayer to

and expeditious hand he had in it may further appear by his special warrant for the execution; which was produced, ready signed, as if at Westminster, in a manner, as soon as the sentence was over, being dated the same day, and directed to his chancellor, Verulam. Herein, his gracious majesty, "dispensing with the manner of execution according to his former judgment, and releasing him of the same to be drawn, hanged, and quartered, says, Our pleasure is, instead thereof, to have the head only of the said sir Walter Ralegh cut off, at or within our palace of Westminster: commanding the said chancellor hereupon to direct two several writs under the great seal; one to the lieutenant of the Tower, or his deputy, for the delivery of sir Walter Ralegh to the sheriffs of Middlesex at the said palace; and the other, to the said sheriffs for the receiving the said sir Walter Ralegh from the said lieutenant, and for executing him there; for which this to be his warrant and discharge, against us, our heirs and successors for ever[d]."

We find, about the same time, some petitions presented to the king in behalf of sir Walter Ralegh, which were strengthened with the solicitations of some persons in great power and esteem with his majesty; but shall not wonder at their having no effect with him, to mitigate this peremptory and rigorous doom, if it be true, as an author, who had opportunity enough of observing his disposition, and abilities sufficient to give a clear judgment of it, has said thereof, with relation to sir Walter Ralegh, that "king James so far participated of the humour of a pusillanimous prince, as to pardon any sooner than those injured by himself[e]."

his favourite Buckingham, in February following; but how he reconciled a certain article in that prayer with the intention of his Declaration aforesaid against sir Walter Ralegh, about the same time published, I leave for others to compare. The queen, all this while, lay on her deathbed; nay, even when she lay dead, in March following, and before the solemnity of her funerals, the king was so busy in that important affair of his life, the horseraces at Newmarket, that he got a violent fit of sickness thereby; so that it was feared his favourite diversion would prove as fatal to him, as it was thought a few years after the medicinal applications of that favourite peer aforesaid did.

[d] Rymer's Fœdera, tom. 17. fol. 115.

[e] Osborne's Memoirs of King James, p. 107.

As for Ralegh, we find not that he harboured the least expectation or desire of a reprieve; for that all the oppressions of age, sickness, obloquy, spoil and loss of all his means, besides the other indignities he now lay under, banished every wish of redress in this world, but by that dissolution which puts an end to all worldly miseries, appears pretty evident in the letter he seems to have written but a short time before his death to the king; in which he rather acknowledges some former tendencies to favour and compassion, than desires any repetition of them, and gives a very good reason for his having no further prospect of any thing substantial therein, where he says, "I have not "spared my labour, my poor estate, and the hourly hazard "of my life; but God hath otherwise disposed of all, and "now end the days of my hope." But if the days of his hope had ended when he landed at Plymouth, the days of his life had probably been augmented to a much greater number. Not, if it had been prolonged into many other acts, that they might have adorned it with such unfading renown, as that one whereby with such universal admiration he finished it. That letter aforesaid he concludes with the generous profession of "being in nothing so miserable, "as in that I could never meet with an occasion," says he, "wherein to be torn in pieces for your majesty's service[f]." But his majesty chose rather to let his own name and memory be torn in pieces for Ralegh's honour, and not only by all indifferent or impartial judges, but by his own countrymen[g]; and even by antagonists to one another in other

[f] See Sir Toby Mathew's Collection of Letters, p. 65.

[g] Bishop Burnet, speaking of some great errors in king James's reign, goes on thus: "Besides these public "actings, king James suffered much "in the opinion of all people, by his "strange way of using one of the "greatest men of that age, sir Wal-"ter Ralegh; against whom, the "proceedings at first were much "censured, but the last part of them "was thought both barbarous and "illegal." A little further, speaking of the same king, he says, "His "reign, in England, was a continual "course of mean practices: the first "condemnation of sir Walter Ra-"legh was very black; but the exe-"cuting him after so many years, "and after an employment that had "been given him, was counted a "barbarous sacrificing him to the "Spaniards." History of his own Times, vol. 1. 1724. fol. 16. and 17. And a late historian, who was other-

parts of history, than suffer any mercy to interfere with that sordid but deceitful, and soon after derided pursuit of a profitable alliance with the crown of Spain.

Whether any such conditions were offered him at this time to lengthen the short line of an uncomfortable existence, which were either so extortionate as Ralegh could not comply with them, or so base and detestable as to be worse than death, the particulars are not come to light; unless some glimpses thereof may be discerned in that epigram he wrote a little while before his end, in allusion to the light of a candle; which is as follows:

> Cowards may fear to die, but courage stout,
> Rather than live in snuff, will be put out.

Moreover, how sublimely his thoughts were now sequestered or elevated from all worldly considerations, and with what serenity, what steadiness, he did in a manner possess the joys of a better state before he could be driven to it, is visible in that poem he wrote about the same time, on the pilgrimage his soul was suddenly to make to the regions of eternity, which concludes with this distich:

> Of death and judgment, heaven and hell,
> Who often thinks, must needs die well.

And that his faith was no less steadfast in the hopes of a resurrection, we are as convincingly assured by those verses which, this last night of his life, he probably wrote also here, in the Gatehouse; they being found there in his Bible; and, according to the most ancient copies I can meet with, penned in these words:

> Even such is time! who takes in trust
> Our youth, our joys, and all we have;

wise a great opposer of bishop Burnet, yet agrees with him in this particular; where, speaking of the artifices by which king James was prevailed on to put the gallant Ralegh to death, he says, however, he thinks it might result more from want of courage than from cruelty; that "the "action was inexcusable, being not "more unjust than mean-spirited, "and one of the greatest blemishes "in this reign." See A short View of the History of England, &c. by Bevil Higgons, esq. 8vo. 1734. p. 234.

And pays us but with earth and dust:
Who, in the dark and silent grave,
When we have wander'd all our ways,
Shuts up the story of our days.
But from that earth, that grave, and dust,
The Lord shall raise me up, I trust.

The next morning, being Thursday the 29th of October, and the lord mayor's day, sir Walter Ralegh was conducted, by the sheriffs of Middlesex, to the old Palace-yard in Westminster, where there was a large scaffold erected before the parliament-house for his execution. He had on a wrought nightcap under his hat; a ruff band; a black wrought velvet nightgown over a hair-coloured satin doublet, and a black wrought waistcoat; a pair of black cut taffeta breeches, and ash-coloured silk stockings. He mounted the scaffold with a cheerful countenance, and saluted the lords, knights, and gentlemen of his acquaintance there present. Then proclamation being made by an officer for silence, he introduced his speech with informing them, that as he was yesterday taken out of his bed in a strong fit of a fever, which much weakened him, and whose untimeliness forbearing no occasion or place, he expected it again to day: therefore did first implore God, that he would preserve him from the interruptions thereof at this time, and next, desired the audience, if any disability of voice or dejection of countenance should appear in him, that they would impute it rather to the disorder of his body than any dismayedness of mind. Then pausing a little, he sat down, and directed himself towards a window, where the lords Arundel, Northampton, Doncaster, with other nobles were sitting, and begun his speech. But they being at some distance from the scaffold, he apprehended they did not plainly distinguish his words, therefore said, he would strain his voice, for that he would willingly have them hear him. To which the lord Arundel answered, they would rather come down to the scaffold; which he, and some others, did. Then sir Walter Ralegh, having saluted them severally, began again, as follows:

His last speech.

"I thank God, that he has sent me to die in the light, "and not in darkness. I likewise thank God, that he has "suffered me to die before such an assembly of honourable "witnesses, and not obscurely in the Tower; where, for "the space of thirteen years together, I have been oppressed "with many miseries. And I return him thanks, that my "fever hath not taken me at this time, as I prayed to him it "might not, that I might clear myself of some accusations "unjustly laid to my charge, and leave behind me the tes-"timony of a true heart both to my king and country.

"There are two main points of suspicion that his majesty "hath conceived against me, and which, I conceive, have "specially hastened my coming hither; therefore I desire "to clear them to your lordships, and resolve you in the "truth thereof. The first is, that his majesty hath been in-"formed, I have had some plot or confederacy with France, "for which he had some reasons, though grounded upon a "weak foundation. One was, that when I returned to "Plymouth, I endeavoured to go to Rochel, which was be-"cause I would fain have made my peace before I came to "England. Another reason was, that again I would have "bent my course to France, upon my last intended escape "from London, being the place where I might have the "best means of making such peace, and the best safeguard "during that terror from above. These, joined with the "coming of the French agent to my house here in London, "only to confer about my said voyage, together with the "report of my having a commission from the king of "France, might occasion my being so suspected in this par-"ticular, and his majesty to be so displeased with me. But "this I say; for a man to call God to witness at any time "to a falsehood, is a grievous sin. To call him as witness "to a falsehood at the point of death, when there is no "time for repentance, is a crime far more impious and des-"perate; therefore, for me to call that Majesty to witness "an untruth, before whose tribunal I am instantly to ap-"pear, were beyond measure sinful, and without hope of "pardon. I do yet call that great God to witness, that,

" as I hope to see him, to be saved by him, and live in the " world to come, I never had any plot or intelligence with " the French king; never had any commission from him, " nor saw his hand or seal; that I never had any practice " or combination with the French agent, nor ever knew or " saw such a person, till I met him in my gallery un- " looked for. If I speak not true, O Lord, let me never " enter into thy kingdom.

" The second suspicion or imputation was, that his ma- " jesty had been informed I had spoken disloyally of him. " The only witness of this was a base Frenchman, a run- " agate, a chymical fellow, whom I soon knew to be per- " fidious; for being drawn by him into the action of free- " ing myself at Winchester, in which I confess my hand " was touched, he, being sworn to secrecy overnight, re- " vealed it the next morning. It is strange, that so mean a " fellow could so far encroach himself into the favour of " the lords; and, gaping after some great reward, could so " falsely accuse me of seditious speeches against his ma- " jesty, and be so credited. But this I here speak, it is no " time for me to flatter or to fear princes, I, who am sub- " ject only unto death: and for me, who have now to do " with God alone, to tell a lie to get the favour of the king " were in vain: and yet, if ever I spake disloyally or dis- " honestly of the king, either to this Frenchman or any " other; ever intimated the least thought hurtful or prejudi- " cial of him, the Lord blot me out of the book of life.

" I confess, I did attempt to escape, and it was only to " save my life. I likewise confess, that I feigned myself " to be indisposed at Salisbury, but I hope it was no sin; " for the prophet David did make himself a fool, and " suffered spittle to fall upon his beard to escape from the " hands of his enemies, and it was not imputed unto him as " a sin: what I did was only to prolong time, till his ma- " jesty came, in hopes of some commiseration from him.

" But I forgive that Frenchman, and likewise sir Lewis " Stucley the wrongs he hath done me, with all my heart; " for I have received the sacrament this morning of Mr.

" Dean, and I have forgiven all men; but, in charity to
" others, am bound to caution them against him, and such
" as he is. For sir Lewis Stucley, my keeper and kins-
" man, hath affirmed, that I should tell him, my lord Carew
" and my lord of Doncaster here, did advise me to escape;
" but I protest before God I never told him any such
" thing; neither did these lords advise me to any such
" matter. It is not likely that I should acquaint two privy-
" counsellors of my escape; nor that I should tell him, my
" keeper, it was their advice; neither was there any reason
" to tell it him, or he to report it; for it is well known he
" left me six, eight, or ten days together alone, to go whi-
" ther I listed, while he rode about the country. He fur-
" ther accused me, that I should shew him a letter, whereby
" I did signify that I would give him ten thousand pounds
" to escape; but God cast my soul into everlasting fire if
" ever I made such proffer of ten thousand pounds, or one
" thousand pounds; but indeed I shewed him a letter, that
" if he would go with me, there should be order taken for
" the discharge of his debts when he was gone; neither had
" I one thousand pounds, for, if I had, I could have made
" my peace better with it otherwise than by giving it
" Stucley. Further, he gave out, when I came to sir
" Edward Parham's house, who had been a follower of
" mine, and gave me good entertainment, I had there re-
" ceived some dram of poison. When I answered, that I
" feared no such thing, for I was well assured of those in
" the house; and therefore wished him to have no such
" thought. Now I will not only say, that God is the God
" of revenge, but also of mercy; and I desire God to for-
" give him, as I hope to be forgiven." Then casting his
eye upon his note of remembrance, he went on thus:

" It was told the king, that I was brought perforce into
" England; and that I did not intend to return again:
" whereas captain Charles Parker, Mr. Tresham, Mr. Leak,
" and divers others, that knew how I was dealt withal by the
" common soldiers, will witness to the contrary. They
" were an hundred and fifty of them who mutinied against

" me, and sent for me to come to them; for unto me they " would not come. They kept me close prisoner in my " cabin, and forced me to take an oath, that I would not " go into England without their consent, otherwise they " would have cast me into the sea. After I had taken " this oath, I did, by wine, gifts, and fair words, so work " upon the master-gunner, and ten or twelve of the faction, " that I won them to desist from their purposes, and in- " tended, when I returned home, to procure their pardon; " in the mean while proposed, that I would dispose of some " of them in Ireland; to which they agreed, and would " have gone into the north parts, from which I dissuaded " them, and told them, they were red-shanks who inha- " bited there, so drew them to the south; and the better " to clear myself of them, was forced to get them a hun- " dred and fifty pounds at Kingsale, otherwise I had never " got from them.

" There was a report also, that I meant not to go to " Guiana at all; and that I knew not of any mine, nor in- " tended any such matter, but only to get my liberty, which " I had not the wit to keep. But it was my full intent to go " for gold, for the benefit of his majesty, myself, and those " who went with me, with the rest of my countrymen: " though he that knew the head of the mine would not " discover it when he saw my son was slain, but made him- " self away." Then turning to the earl of Arundel, he said, " My lord, you being in the gallery of my ship at my " departure, I remember you took me by the hand, and " said, you would request one thing of me; which was, " whether I made a good voyage or a bad, that I would re- " turn again into England; which I then promised, and " gave you my faith I would." " So you did," said his lordship; " it is true, and they were the last words I said " to you." " Another slander was raised of me, that I " should have gone away from them, and have left them at " Guiana: but there were a great many worthy men, who " accompanied me always, as my sergeant-major, and divers " others, (whom he named,) that knew it was none of my

" intention. Also it hath been said, that I stinted them of " fresh water; to which I answer, every one was, as they " must be in a ship, furnished by measure, and not accord- " ing to their appetites. This course all seamen know must " be used among them, and to this strait were we driven. " Another opinion was held, that I carried with me sixteen " thousand pieces of gold; and that all the voyage I in- " tended, was but to gain my liberty, and this money into " my hands: but, as I shall answer it before God, I had no " more in all the world, directly or indirectly, than one " hundred pounds; whereof I gave about forty-five pounds " to my wife. But the ground of this false report was, that " twenty thousand pounds being adventured, and but four " thousand appearing in the surveyor's books, the rest had " my hand to the bills for divers adventures; but, as I " hope to be saved, I had not a penny more than one hun- " dred pounds. These are the material points I thought " good to speak of; I am at this instant to render my ac- " count to God, and I protest, as I shall appear before " him, this that I have spoken is true.

" I will borrow but a little time more of Mr. Sheriff, that " I may not detain him too long; and herein I shall speak " of the imputation laid upon me through the jealousy of " the people, that I had been a persecutor of my lord of " Essex; that I rejoiced in his death, and stood in a win- " dow over-against him when he suffered, and puffed out " tobacco in defiance of him; when as, God is my witness, " that I shed tears for him when he died; and, as I hope to " look God in the face hereafter, my lord of Essex did not " see my face at the time of his death; for I was far off, in " the armoury, where I saw him, but he saw not me. It is " true, I was of a contrary faction; but I take the same " God to witness, that I had no hand in his death, nor " bare him any ill affection, but always believed it would " be better for me that his life had been preserved; for " after his fall, I got the hatred of those who wished me " well before: and those who set me against him, set them- " selves afterwards against me, and were my greatest ene-

" mies: and my soul hath many times been grieved, that I " was not nearer to him when he died; because, as I un- " derstood afterwards, he asked for me at his death, and de- " sired to have been reconciled to me.

" And now I entreat, that you all will join with me in " prayer to that great God of heaven whom I have griev- " ously offended, being a man full of all vanity, who has " lived a sinful life in such callings as have been most in- " ducing to it; for I have been a soldier, a sailor, and a " courtier, which are courses of wickedness and vice; that " his almighty goodness will forgive me; that he will cast " away my sins from me; and that he will receive me into " everlasting life: so I take my leave of you all, making my " peace with God [h]."

Then proclamation being made, that all men should de-

[h] This last speech of Ralegh's is taken partly from an old MS. copy in the Harleian library, and another in MS. also before me, but principally from three of the most ancient copies we have of it in print, at the end of Overbury's Narrative of his Arraignment, and in his Remains; each supplying something the others are wanting in, yet none varying considerably from the rest, either in form of expression or matter of fact. From thence also the succeeding particulars above of his behaviour at his death are drawn. Sir Walter Ralegh was not content with pronouncing of this speech, but left a summary of it, signed at this time by his own hand. This we have but one copy of in print, and it is at the end of his Apology, as follows. Sir Walter Ralegh's Answer to some Things at his Death. " I did never receive any " direction from my lord Carew to " make my escape, nor did I ever " tell Stucley any such thing. I did " never name my lord Hay and my " lord Carew to Stucley in other " words or sense than as my ho- " nourable friends, among other " lords. I did never shew unto Stuc- " ley any letter wherein there was " 10,000*l.* named, or any one pound; " only I told him, that I hoped to " procure the payment of his debts " in his absence. I never had com- " mission from the French king. I " never saw the French king's hand " or seal in my life. I never had " any plot or practice with the " French, directly or indirectly, nor " with any other prince or state un- " known to the king. My true in- " tent was, to go to a mine of gold " in Guiana; it was not feigned; " but it is true, that such a mine " there is, within three miles of St. " Thome. I never had in my thought " to go from Trinidado and leave " my companies to come after to " the savage island, as Hatby Fearn " hath falsely reported. I did not " carry with me a hundred pieces. " I had with me about sixty, and " brought back near the same num- " ber. I never spake to the French " Manourie any one disloyal word " or dishonourable speech of the " king; nay, if I had not loved the " king truly, and trusted in his good- " ness somewhat too much, I know " that I had not now suffered death.

" These things are most true, as " there is a God, and as I am now " to appear before his tribunal seat; " where I renounce all mercy and " salvation if this be not truth. At " my death, W. RALEGH."

part the scaffold, he prepared himself for death, giving away his hat and cap and money to some attendants who stood near him. When he took leave of the lords and other gentlemen, he entreated the lord Arundel to desire the king, that no scandalous writings to defame him might be published after his death; concluding, "I have a long "journey to go, therefore must take my leave." Then having put off his gown and doublet, he called to the headsman to shew him the axe, which not being suddenly done, he said, "I prithee, let me see it. Dost thou think that I "am afraid of it?" Having fingered the edge of it a little, he returned it, and said, smiling, to the sheriff, "This "is a sharp medicine, but it is a sound cure for all dis-"eases;" and having entreated the company to pray to God to assist and strengthen him, the executioner kneeled down and asked him forgiveness; which Ralegh, laying his hand upon his shoulder, granted. Then being asked which way he would lay himself on the block, he answered, "So the "heart be right, it is no matter which way the head lies." As he stooped to lay himself along, and reclined his head, his face being towards the east, the headsman spread his own cloak under him. After a little pause, he gave the sign that he was ready for the stroke by lifting up his hand, and his head was struck off at two blows, his body never shrinking or moving. His head was shewed on each side of the scaffold, and then put into a red leather bag, and, with his velvet nightgown thrown over it, was afterwards conveyed away in a mourning coach of his lady's. His body, as we are told, was buried hard by, in the chancel of St. Margaret's church, near the altar; but his head was long preserved in a case by his widow, for she survived him twenty-nine years, as I have found by some anecdotes remaining in the family; and after her death it was kept also by her son Carew, with whom it is said to have been buried[i].

Beheaded.

[i] However, it was thought by Anthony Wood, as was observed in a former note, that the said Carew Ralegh was buried at Westminster, in the same grave with his father; it is asserted, at West-Horsley in Surry,

Thus have we seen how sir Walter Ralegh, after a shining and conspicuous series of actions against the enemies of his country, and for the improvement of navigation, as well as the enlargement and enrichment of the British empire, under one sovereign, was deprived of his liberty, his estate and his life under another; how sir Walter Ralegh, who had been one of the greatest scourges of Spain, was made a sacrifice to it; how the services of sir Walter Ralegh, I say, in camp, in court, by land, by sea, with sword and pen, were an honour to queen Elizabeth's reign; and how his sufferings at Winchester, at Westminster, by imprisonment, by law, with slander and the axe, were the disgrace of king James's. Writers vary in their accounts of his age; but the most credible historians inform us, that he was sixty-six years old at his execution [k]. Yet was it conjectured, by the extraordinary effusion of blood from his veins, that he had stock and strength enough left of nature to have survived many years. "His death was managed "by him," as one author has observed, "with so high and

which was his seat, that the said son was buried there. And they have a tradition, that when he was interred, the head of sir Walter Ralegh, which had been kept by him, was then put into the grave with his corpse. And I have seen a letter concerning such of the Raleghs as were baptized or buried at Horsley aforesaid, written by William Nicholas, esq. who resides upon that estate, to a friend; wherein that ingenious gentleman "does verily believe, the head he "saw dug up there in 1703, from the "side of a grave where a Carew Ra-"legh had been buried, was that of "sir Walter Ralegh; there being no "bones of a body to it, nor room for "any, the rest of that side of the "grave being firm chalk." All we shall mention more of sir Walter Ralegh's head is, the story remembered by Osborne and Fuller; who tell us, that Mr. Edward Wiemark, a wealthy citizen, great newsmonger, and constant Paul's-walker, hearing there the news of sir Walter Ralegh's death the day he was beheaded, and saying, among other things, "His *head* would do very well "upon the *shoulders* of sir Robert "Naunton," then secretary of state, was complained of, and summoned to the privy-council; where he pleaded, that he intended no disrespect to Mr. Secretary, only spake in reference to the old proverb, that "Two "heads were better than one;" so for the present was dismissed. Not long after, when rich men were called upon for a contribution to St. Paul's cathedral, Wiemark, at the council-table, subscribed a hundred pounds. But Mr. Secretary said, "Two hun-"dred are better than one, you know, "Mr. Wiemark:" which, between fear and charity, he was fain to subscribe.

[k] Camden's Annals of King James, Wood's Athen. Oxon. and Prince's Worthies.

"religious a resolution, as if a Roman had acted a Chris-
"tian, or rather a Christian a Roman[l]:" and this is confirmed by sir Richard Hutton's evidence, who says, "He
"died in a good and religious manner; spake much, and
"without any fear of death submitted himself to the block;
"by his death he gained great reputation in this life, and,
"by the grace and mercy of God, remission of his sins and
"eternal life hereafter[m]."

[l] Osborne's Memoirs.

[m] See Hutton's Reports, as before. Not only in prose, but in verse we have several testimonies of sir Walter Ralegh's heroic comportment at his death. I have seen three or four epitaphs on him, highly extolling the same, in print; whereof one ends thus:

"Heaven hath his soul, the world "his fame,
"The grave his corpse, Stucley his "shame."

But there is an elegy, written upon sir Walter Ralegh, by Dr. Henry King, afterwards bishop of Chichester, which, though printed among the said prelate's poems, in 8vo. 1657, has been so little known to any who have written of sir Walter Ralegh, that I choose rather to repeat that than any other in this place; and it is as follows:

"I will not weep, for 'twere as "great a sin
"To shed a tear for thee, as to have "been
"An actor in thy death: thy life "and age
"Was but a various scene on for-"tune's stage,
"With whom thou tugg'st and "strov'st e'en out of breath
"In thy long toil; ne'er master'd "till thy death;
"And then, despite of trains and "cruel wit,
"Thou didst at once subdue malice "and it.
"I dare not then so blast thy me-"mory,
"As say, I do lament, or pity thee.
"Were I to choose a subject to be-"stow
"My pity on, he should be one as low
"In spirit as desert: that durst not "die,
"But rather were content by slavery
"To purchase life. Or I would pity "those
"Thy most industrious and friendly "foes,
"Who, when they thought to make "thee scandal's story,
"Lent thee a swifter flight to heav'n "and glory:
"Who thought, by cutting off some "wither'd days,
"Which thou couldst spare them, "to eclipse thy praise;
"Yet gave it brighter foil, made thy "ag'd fame
"Appear more white and fair, than "foul their shame.
"And did promote an execution,
"Which, but for them, nature and "age had done.
"Such worthless things as these were "only born
"To live on pity's alms, too mean "for scorn.
"Thou diest an envied wonder, "whose high fate
"The world must still admire, scarce "imitate!"

Among the later poems which have been written upon him, since here is not room for Dr. S. Bowden's ingenious verses inscribed to miss Ralegh, who is a direct descendant, and now living at Salisbury, I shall here recite only the conclusion of major Richardson Pack's Prologue to Dr. Sewell's Tragedy of Sir Walter Ralegh, as containing a most notable admonition to succeeding times.

And now, since it is time to close the scene, "let this "glorious and gallant cavalier, whose enemies have con- "fessed he was one of the weightiest and wisest men that "this island ever bred, rest in his grave, and may his vir- "tues live in posterity [n];" whom to inspire therewith, the felicities of commemoration, however here disposed of, seem to have signally combined; having transmitted many ample testimonies, how emulous the harmony of record and the spirit of communication have been to restore those honours to his memory which were torn from his person, and make historical compensation for such honourable calamities; and that so early, that from this speedy growth of his fame, through his extraordinary merits and misfortunes, the learned and judicious Mr. Nathanael Carpenter, who wrote but few years after his death, drew that comprehensive character which has so much engaged the concurrence of all succeeding writers; where he says, "Who hath not known "or read of that prodigy of wit and fortune, sir Walter "Ralegh? a man unfortunate in nothing else but in the "greatness of his wit and advancement! whose eminent "worth was such, both in domestic policy, foreign expedi- "tions and discoveries; in arts and literature, both practick "and contemplative, that it might seem at once to conquer "both example and imitation [o]." But lest a private judg-

"Jealous of virtue that was so sub- "lime,
"His country damn'd his merit as a "crime.
"The traitor's doom did on the pa- "triot wait;
"He sav'd—and then he perish'd by "the state.
"A patient monarch, too securely "wise,
"Unhappy kings, they see with others' "eyes!
"Weakly consented to the guilty "deed,
"And made three kingdoms in their "champion bleed.
"Britons, by this example taught, "unite;
"Wound not the public out of pri- "vate spite.
"To great achievements, just re- "wards allow,
"Nor tear the laurel from the vic- "tor's brow.
"Exert your vigour in the nation's "cause,
"But grudge no rival his deserv'd "applause.
"Safely we may defy Madrid or "Rome,
"If no sly Gondomar prevails at "home."

[n] Howel's Letters, vol. 2. p. 372.

[o] Carpenter's Geography Delineated; in two books; containing the spherical and topical parts thereof. 4to. Oxon. 1625. and 1635; lib. 2. cap. 11. p. 261. From whence Howel, Anthony Wood, J. Prince,

ment should be suspected more liable to the ignorance of a stranger or the affection of a friend, and that there may be no room left to doubt either of such manifold worth in sir Walter Ralegh, or that it was all made a sacrifice of state to the enemies and deceivers of the state, we have reserved, as most convincing, the acknowledgments of an enemy, who made him that sacrifice, here to conclude with. For king James, soon after Ralegh's execution, beginning to see how he was and would be deluded by the Spaniard, made one of his ministers write to his agent in Spain, to let that state know they should be looked upon as the most unworthy people in the world, if they did not now act with sincerity, since his majesty had given so many testimonies of his; and now of late, "by causing sir Walter Ralegh to be "put to death, chiefly for the giving them satisfaction. "Further, to let them see how, in many actions of late, his "majesty had strained upon the affections of his people, "and especially in this last concerning sir Walter Ralegh, "who died with a great deal of courage and constancy. "Lastly, that he should let them know how able a man sir "Walter Ralegh was, to have done his majesty service. "Yet, to give them content, he hath not spared him; when "by preserving him, he might have given great satisfac-"tion to his subjects, and had at command, upon all occa-"sions, as useful a man as served any prince in Christen-"dom P.

and other writers on sir W. Ralegh, have copied this character.

P See a letter from a great minister of state to Mr. Cottington, agent in Spain, in Rushworth's Historical Collections, vol. 1. fol. 9, 10.

THE

LIFE

OF

SIR WALTER RALEGH,

BY

THO. BIRCH, M.A. F.R.S.

THE

LIFE

OF

SIR WALTER RALEGH.

THE character of sir Walter Ralegh is a combination of so many eminent qualities, of the statesman, the commander both at sea and land, and the writer; and the course of his life was so full of remarkable and interesting scenes at home and abroad, and of all the varieties of fortune, which could shew the extent and vigour of his mind in every situation; that, had he flourished in the earlier ages of the world, the history of him would unquestionably have been the choice of the Roman Nepos and the Grecian Plutarch; nor could the latter have found juster parallels to him, than two of the most illustrious names of antiquity, Xenophon and Cæsar, who were, like him, equal masters of the sword and the pen, and equally capable of performing the greatest actions, and recording them with dignity. And it were to be wished, for the honour of his countrymen, that his merits were represented with all the advantages of style and genius, of which the ancients have left us such admirable models, joined to that accuracy which distinguishes the moderns. But no subject perhaps stands less in need of the adventitious ornaments of eloquence, (though few deserve them more,) since even the simplest narrative is sufficient to raise and gratify the public curiosity. Of this kind is the present attempt, to draw a general sketch of this great man, by reducing into a short but comprehensive view all the facts relating to him, gathered by the industry of former

writers, or discovered by later inquiries. And such an account of him has a peculiar propriety in this place, as it will both give light to, and receive it from the collection, now exhibited to the world, of his invaluable pieces, all of them hitherto scattered, and few generally known; though the preservation of them in such a form has been a debt long due to his memory, to the honour of our language, and the service of our country.

Sir Walter Ralegh was descended of an ancient family in Devonshire, which was seated in that county before the Conquest [a]; and was fourth son of Walter Ralegh, esq. of Fardel, in the parish of Cornwood, eight miles east of Plymouth, by his third wife Catharine, daughter of sir Philip Champernon, of Modbury, and relict of Otho Gilbert, of Compton in Devon, esq. [b]: he was born in the year 1552, at Hayes, a pleasant farm of his father's, in the parish of Budley, in that part of Devonshire bordering eastward upon the sea, near where the Ottery discharges itself into the British channel [c]. After he had passed through his first education at school, he was transplanted to the university of Oxford, where he became a commoner of Oriel college [d], as likewise of Christ-church, according to Dr. Fuller [e]; and distinguished himself to great advantage, both by the strength and vivacity of his genius, and his application to his studies [f]. Upon his leaving the university, which he did without a degree, after about three years residence there [g], he is affirmed by some [h] to have settled himself in the Middle Temple, and to have studied the law: but this latter assertion is evidently a mistake, since he solemnly declared afterwards upon his trial, that he had never read a word of law or statutes before he was a prisoner in the

[a] Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 530. and Oldys's Life of sir Walter Ralegh, fol. 4, 5.

[b] Wood, Athen. Oxon. vol. 1. col. 435. 2d edit. and Oldys, fol. 6.

[c] Wood, ibid. and Oldys, fol. 7.

[d] Wood, ibid.

[e] Church Hist. l. 4. fol. 104. and lib. 5. sect. 32.

[f] Wood, ibid.

[g] Id. ibid.

[h] Id. ibid. and sir Robert Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia, p. 33. edit. 1641. 4to.

Tower[i]. So that if he was at all resident in the Temple, it was not as a student there. But it is more probable, that after his quitting the university, he immediately went to France; for in 1569, when he was not above seventeen years of age, he was one of the select troop of an hundred gentlemen volunteers, whom queen Elizabeth permitted Henry Champernon to transport into that kingdom, for the assistance of the protestant princes there[k]. This troop of horse arrived in the French camp on the 5th of October 1569, and were very honourably received by the queen of Navarre and the princes[l]: but what particular services they performed in France, or how long they continued there, we have no account, either in our own writers or those of that country. So great a scene of action, as the whole kingdom of France was at that period, gave Ralegh an excellent opportunity of acquiring experience in the art of war, and improving himself in the knowledge of the languages and manners of men; and his own History of the World contains some remarks, which he then made upon the conduct and characters of some of the great generals there, of which he had been the witness himself[m]. It appears likewise from that work, that he was employed with his troop in Languedoc[n]; and engaged in 1569 in the battle of Moncontour in Poitou, where count Lewis of Nassau, brother to William the first prince of Orange, made the retreat with such prudence and resolution, as saved one half of the protestant army, then broken and disbanded[o]. Ralegh stayed in France some time after the death of Charles IX. in May 1574, having spent at least six years in that kingdom[p]; so that he could not have returned to England before the end of 1575; and the year following, he had chambers in the Middle Temple, if the commendatory verses prefixed to Mr. George Gascoigne's Steel Glass, published that year, were of his composition,

[i] Trial of sir Walter Ralegh, State Trials, vol. 1. fol. 180.

[k] Camden's Annales Reginæ Elizabethæ, p. 172. edit. Lugd. Batav. 1625.

[l] Thuani Hist. lib. 46.

[m] Lib. 5. cap. 2. sect. 3. and sect. 8.

[n] Lib. 4. cap. 2. sect. 16.

[o] Lib. 5. cap. 2. sect. 8.

[p] Oldys, fol. 10.

as the name Walter Rawley, though spelt differently from his own manner, and the style and turn of them, shew them to be.

The activity of his temper did not suffer him to rest long at home, but drew him soon into the wars in the Low Countries, in the service of the prince of Orange, against the Spaniards [q]; in which he probably had a share in the battle of Rimenant, on the 1st of August 1578, wherein don John of Austria, natural son of the emperor Charles V. and governor of the Low Countries for Philip II. king of Spain, met with such vigorous resistance, especially from the English forces commanded by sir John Norris [r], that he was obliged to retreat with great loss and disgrace, which he did not survive above two months.

Soon after this, an opportunity was offered Ralegh of trying his fortune at sea; sir Humphry Gilbert, his brother by the mother's side, having obtained a patent of the queen to plant and inhabit some northern parts of America, unpossessed by any prince, with whom she was in alliance: upon which occasion, Ralegh was one of a considerable number of gentlemen who engaged in an expedition to Newfoundland, which proved unsuccessful. For divisions arising amongst the volunteers, and many failing of their promises, or refusing to embark when the ships were ready, sir Humphry, the general, was, in 1579, obliged to set sail with a few only of his assured friends, and after a variety of misfortunes at sea, returned with the loss of one of his ships in an engagement with the Spaniards, in which Ralegh was exposed to great danger [s].

The next year, 1580, upon the descent of the Spanish and Italian forces in Ireland, under the pope's banner, for the support of the Desmonds in their rebellion in Munster, he had a captain's commission under Arthur, Lord Grey, baron of Wilton, lord deputy of Ireland, who went over

[q] Lives English and Foreign, vol. 1. p. 76. edit. 1704. in 8vo. Naunton, p. 34. Aulicus Coquinariæ, p. 74. and Oldys, fol. 11.

[r] Meteren, Hist. des Pays Bas, fol. 157. edit. 1618.

[s] Oldys, fol. 13.

into that kingdom in August that year, and was a man of great courage and industry, but of equal severity of temper, which he particularly exercised towards the Irish[t]. But the chief services, which captain Ralegh performed, were under Thomas, earl of Ormond, governor of Munster, highly esteemed by queen Elizabeth for his fidelity, as well as capacity and activity. He surprised the Irish kerns at Rakele, and having enclosed them, took every rebel upon the spot, who was not slain in resistance. Among them there was one laden with withies, who being demanded, What he intended to have done with them? boldly answered, "To "have hung up the English churls:" upon which Ralegh ordered him to be immediately despatched in that manner, and the rest of these robbers and murderers to be punished according to their deserts[u]. He assisted likewise at the siege of the fort Del Ore, which the Spanish succours under San Josepho their commander, assisted by their Irish confederates, had raised and fortified, as a place of retreat whenever they found themselves distressed, as well as proper, by its situation upon the bay of Smerwick in the county of Kerry, for receiving such supplies as they expected from abroad. The lord deputy Grey himself besieged this fort by land, while sir William Winter, admiral of the fleet, attacked it by sea; and captain Ralegh commanded often in the trenches, and contributed so much to the reduction of it, that it was at last, on the 9th of November 1589, obliged to surrender at discretion; and the greatest part of the garrison put to the sword, by order of the lord deputy; a necessary severity, the execution of which fell to the share of the captains Ralegh and Mackworth, who had the word of that day, and first entered the castle[x]. During the winter of this year, Ralegh had his quarters assigned him at Cork, where he having been an attentive observer of the seditious practices of David lord Barry, Patrick Condon, and other ringleaders of the rebellion in these parts, to dis-

[t] Hooker's Supply of the Irish Chron. in the second vol. of Hollinshed, fol. 168. and Cox's Hist. of Ireland, p. 366.

[u] Hooker, fol. 167. Cox, fol. 376.

[x] Spenser's View of the State of Ireland, in the 6th vol. of his works, and Hooker's Supply, fol. 171.

tress those who were peaceably inclined, and to excite the disaffected to an insurrection; he took a journey to Dublin to the lord deputy, and remonstrated to him the dangerous consequences of these practices in so strong a manner, that his lordship and the council gave him a full commission to seize the castle of Barry-Court, with all the other lands of lord Barry, and to reduce him to peace and subjection by such means as he should think proper; for which purpose he was furnished with a party of horse. But during this interval, such measures were taken by those in authority at Cork, as rendered the commission of little effect. However, though the estate of Barry-More was conveyed over to the mother of David Barry, and only rented to the son, and though it was his principal seat; yet partly through fear of Ralegh's commission, and partly through resentment, that lord himself burnt the castle to the ground, and laid waste the country about it, with greater outrage and destruction, than even the zeal of his enemies, if they had taken it, would have extended to. Ralegh, in his return to Cork, was attacked by Fitz-Edmonds, seneschal of Imokelly, an old rebel of Barry's faction, with a party of horse and some kerns, at Corabby, a ford between Yougal and Cork. Ralegh was much inferior in number, being, at his setting out, accompanied but with six men, and those scattered behind, when he approached the ford. Here Fitz-Edmonds and his crew sallied from their ambuscades, and crossed him, to oppose his passage, whom Ralegh resolutely encountered and defeated, or at least broke through them, so that he got clear over the river. But a gentleman of his company, Mr. Henry Moyle, following, either took a part too deep, or unfordable, or plunged into a quick-spring, or his horse, otherwise foundering, threw him down in the middle of it; where, between the fear of drowning or being taken by the enemy, he called out to Ralegh for help; who, though escaped from both dangers, yet ventured into them, in order to rescue his companion. But Moyle, in haste and confusion remounting, over leaped his horse, and fell down on the other side into a deep mire, where he might have

been suffocated, if Ralegh had not recovered him a second time, and brought him safe to land. Ralegh waited on the opposite bank, with his staff in one hand and a pistol in the other, for the rest of the company, who were yet to cross the river; among whom was his servant Jenkin, who had two hundred pounds of his money in charge. Fitz-Edmonds, who had now got a recruit of twelve men, and was in all above twenty strong, yet finding Ralegh stand his ground, and the rest of his company advance, only exchanged a few rough words with him, and then retired. Not long after, in a parley between the earl of Ormond and the rebels, the seneschal boasting of his own exploits, Ralegh reproached him with cowardice, and that having lately had twenty to one on his side, yet he durst not encounter him alone: which one of the rebels own companions endeavouring to excuse, as an unusual instance of diffidence in their champion, and declaring, that he never would be so remiss again; the earl of Ormond, provoked at this, challenged the seneschal, with sir John Desmond, and any four whom they would name, to meet himself, captain Ralegh, and four others, at the place above-mentioned, where they would pass the great river to them, and there, two to two, four to four, or six to six, fight, and determine the point in debate between them. To this no answer being then returned, Fitz-Gibbon, the white knight, was sent with a second challenge, which was absolutely refused by the rebels[y]. The earl of Ormond departing for England about the spring of the year 1581, his government of Munster was given to captain Ralegh, in commission with sir William Morgan and captain Piers. Ralegh resided chiefly at Lismore, and spent all this summer in the woods and country adjacent, in continual action against the rebels[z]. He removed then, with his little band of eighty foot and eight horse, to his old quarters at Cork; but receiving intelligence in his march that the arch-traitor Barry was at Clove, with several hundred men, he resolved to pass through that town,

[y] Hooker's Supply, fol. 173. Cox's Hist. of Ireland, fol. 367.

[z] Hooker's Supply, fol. 174.

and offer him combat; and accordingly at the town's end met Barry with his forces, whom he charged with prodigious bravery, and put to flight. As he pursued his journey, he overtook another company of the enemy, in a plain by a wood side; whom he likewise attacked, though he had only six horsemen with him, expecting probably that his company would soon join him. But the rebels, who had greatly the advantage of numbers, being cut off from the wood, and having no other relief, faced about, and fought very desperately, killing five of the horses belonging to Ralegh's company, and amongst these his own; and he was in extreme danger himself of being overpowered by numbers, if his servant Nicholas Wright had not interposed; who, perceiving his master's horse mortally wounded with darts, and plunging past all recovery, encountered six of the enemy at once, and killed one of them; while Patrick Fagaw, another of his fellow-servants, rescued Ralegh, after it had been so unsuccessfully attempted by James Fitz-Richard and his kern, both of Ralegh's company, that the man was slain, and the master near the same fate. Ralegh, upon the sight of this, would not suffer Wright to fight by him any longer, but ordered him to assist Fitz-Richard; which he immediately did by rushing into the throng of the enemy, and despatching the rebel who pressed upon Fitz-Richard, rescuing the latter from the most imminent danger. In this sharp skirmish many of the rebels perished, and two were taken prisoners, and carried by Ralegh to Cork; who, during his residence there, performed several other services, which raised his reputation; particularly by his courage and address in seizing the lord Roch in his own castle, who was suspected of a confederacy with some of the chief rebels [a].

In the month of August, the same year 1581, captain John Zouch being appointed governor of Munster by the lord deputy, Ralegh attended him in several journeys to settle and compose that country; but the chief place of

[a] Hooker's Supply, fol. 174.

their residence was Cork: and after Zouch had cut off sir John Desmond, one of the most formidable rebels, and brother of the earl of Desmond, he left the government of that city to Ralegh [b]; whose company being not long after disbanded, upon the reduction of that earl, the slaughter of his brothers, and the submission of Barry, he returned to England.

His eminent accomplishments soon introduced him to the notice of the court, and her majesty's favour. In February 1581-2, he was one of those persons of distinction, who, by the queen's command, accompanied the duke of Anjou, upon his departure from England to the Netherlands, in order to take upon him the government of that country, and in 1582, on his return, he brought over the prince of Orange's letters to her majesty, that prince desiring him, at the delivery of those letters, to say to her from him, *sub umbra alarum tuarum protegimur* [c]; as it is certain, that the united provinces had at that time their chief support, as well as expectation, from the queen.

The lord Grey having resigned the sword of Ireland towards the end of August 1582, the dispute between him and Ralegh, upon reasons which are variously assigned by different writers, was brought to an hearing before the council-table in England, where the latter supported his cause with such abilities, as fixed him in the good opinion both of her majesty and the lords of council [d]: and this, added to the patronage of the favourite earl of Leicester, is supposed to have been one considerable occasion of his preferment; though it did not immediately take place. Nor could the hopes of it restrain him from engaging in a second expedition of his brother sir Humphry Gilbert to Newfoundland; for which he built a strong ship of two hundred tons, called the Bark Ralegh, and furnished it completely for the voyage, in which he resolved to attend his brother as his vice-admiral. That fleet departed from Ply-

[b] Cox's Hist. of Ireland, fol. 367.

[c] Sir Walter Ralegh's invention of shipping, in his Select Essays, p. 36. edit. 1656.

[d] Naunton, p. 34, 35. Aulic. Coquin. p. 90.

mouth the 11th of June 1583; but after it had been two or three days out at sea, a contagious distemper having seized the whole crew of Ralegh's ship, obliged him to return to that port. However, by this accident he escaped the misfortunes of that expedition, in which, after sir Humphry had taken possession of Newfoundland in right of the crown of England, and assigned lands to every man of his company, and sailed three hundred leagues in his voyage home, with full hopes of the queen's assistance to fit out a fleet, not only for the north, but one also for the south the next year, he unfortunately perished; for, venturing rashly in a frigate of but ten tons, called the Squirrel, he was on the 9th of September that year, at midnight, swallowed up in an high sea. Another of the vessels, called the Delight, suffered the same fate a few days before; and even the rest returned not without great hazard and loss [e]. But this ill success could not divert Ralegh from pursuing a scheme of such importance to his country, as these discoveries in the north of America. As soon therefore as he had drawn up an account of the advantages of such a design, and the means of prosecuting it, he laid it before the queen and council, who were so well satisfied with it, that her majesty, on the 25th of March, 1584, granted him letters patents in favour of his project, "containing free liberty to discover "such remote heathen and barbarous lands, as were not ac-"tually possessed by any Christian, nor inhabited by Chris-"tian people." Immediately upon this grant, Ralegh chose two able and experienced commanders, captain Philip Amidas, and captain Arthur Barlow, and furnished them with two vessels fitted out at his own expense, with such expedition, that on the 27th of April following they set sail from the west of England, taking their course by the Canary islands, where they arrived on the 10th of May, towards the West Indies: and that being in those days the best and most frequented route to America, they passed by the Carribbee islands in the beginning of June, and reached the

[e] Capt. Edw. Hayes's report of sir Humphry Gilbert's voyage to Newfoundland, in Hakluyt, vol. 3. p. 149. See likewise p. 165.

gulf of Florida on the 2d of July; sailing along the shore about one hundred and twenty miles, before they could find a convenient harbour. At last they debarked on a very low land, which proved to be an island called Wokoken; and after taking formal possession of the country, on the 13th of that month, in the name of the queen of England, they carried on a friendly correspondence with the native Indians, who supplied them with great variety of fish and venison, and gave them furs and deer skins in exchange for trifles. Thus encouraged by the natives, eight of the company in a boat went up the river Occam twenty miles; and next day in the evening they came to an island called Roanok, which was about seven leagues from the place where their ships lay. Here they found the residence of the Indian chief, whose name was Granganimeo; whose house consisted of nine apartments built of cedar, and fortified round with sharp pieces of timber. His wife came out to them, and ordered her people to carry them from the boat on their backs, and shewed them many other civilities, to express their friendly entreaties towards them, in the absence of her husband. They continued their intercourse with the natives for some time, still viewing the situation of the adjacent country; and after having obtained the best information they could of the number and strength of the Indian nations in that neighbourhood, and of their connections, alliances, or contests with each other, they returned to England about the middle of September [f], and made such an advantageous report of the fertility of the soil and healthiness of the climate, that the queen favoured the design of settling a colony in that country, to which her majesty was pleased to give the name of Virginia [g].

About two months after, Ralegh was chosen knight of the shire for his own county of Devon, sir William Courtney being the other [h]; and made a considerable figure in parliament, where a bill passed in confirmation of his patent

[f] Hakluyt, vol. 3. fol 246.
[g] Oldys, fol. 25.
[h] Willis's Notitia Parliamentaria, vol. 2. p. 274.

for the discovery of foreign countries. During the course of the session, he received the honour of knighthood from her majesty, a distinction the more honourable to him, as the queen was extremely cautious and frugal in the bestowing of honours. And besides the patent for discoveries, she had granted him about the same time another, to license the vending of wines throughout the kingdom, which was in all probability a very lucrative one to him; but it engaged him in a dispute with the university of Cambridge, which had opposed one Keymer, whom he had licensed to sell wine there, contrary to the privileges of that university [i].

The parliament being prorogued on the 29th of March 1585, sir Walter was at leisure to pursue his views for the improvement of navigation; and accordingly his brother, Adrian Gilbert of Sandridge, afterwards knighted, having been at great charges in finding out the northern passage to China and the Moluccas, and obtained a patent two years before to prosecute the discovery by partners, under the title of, *The colleagues of the fellowship for the discovery of the north-west passage;* Ralegh was one of the associates in this enterprise, in which captain Davis, an experienced navigator, was employed. That captain first set out upon it this summer from Falmouth in two barks; and when he came to land in sixty-six degrees forty minutes latitude, anchored in a very good road under a mountain, the cliffs of which resembled the colour of gold, which he named Mount-Ralegh, in honour of sir Walter; and soon after fell into the very passage which he was in quest of, since well known by the name of Davis's Straits [k]. But the further search of it was made by captain Davis, under the same patronage and support, in two voyages more, the two following years, when he in a manner completed that discovery [l].

Sir Walter was so intent upon the planting of his new colony in Virginia, that about two months before Davis began his first voyage, Ralegh set out his own fleet of seven sail

[i] Oldys, fol. 26, 27.

[k] John Jane's account of captain Davis's first voyage, in June 1585, for the discovery of the north-west passage, in Hakluyt, vol. 3. fol. 101.

[l] Hakluyt, ibid.

for that country, under the command of his cousin sir Richard Grenville, general of the expedition, appointing Mr. Ralph Lane, afterwards knighted, to be governor of the colony, which was now transported thither. They sailed from Plymouth on the 9th of April 1585, and pursuing the same course which they had done the preceding year, they came to anchor at Wokoken on the 26th of June, whence they sent their compliments to king Wingina at Roanok. Then the general, taking one week's provision with him, and a select company, made a progress to the main land, and visited many Indian towns; but unhappily, at one of them, the Indians having stolen a silver cup, the English were so indiscreet in their revenge as to burn the town, and destroy the corn-fields; an act, which they had afterwards sufficient reason to repent of. The general returning to his fleet at Wokoken, thought fit to weigh anchor, and remove from thence to Hattarass; where having rested a little, some of the Indian chiefs were entertained on board the admiral; and on the 25th of August the general himself set sail for England, taking in his passage a Spanish prize worth fifty thousand pounds; with which, on the 18th of October, he arrived at Plymouth, having left behind him in Virginia an hundred and seven persons, to settle a colony at Roanok, amongst whom was Mr. Thomas Harriot, the celebrated mathematician [m].

The rich Spanish prize above mentioned was not the only circumstance of good fortune which happened to Ralegh this year; for the rebellion in Munster in Ireland being now suppressed, and the forfeited lands divided into seigniories among those principally who had been instrumental in the important service of reducing that country; her majesty granted him one of the largest portions, consisting of twelve thousand acres, in the counties of Cork and Waterford, with certain privileges and immunities, upon those conditions of planting and improving the same, to which the

[m] Hakluyt, vol. 3. fol. 251.

other grantees were obliged [n]. This great estate he planted at his own expense, and at the end of the queen's reign sold it to Richard Boyle, afterwards earl of Cork [o], who owns this purchase to have been one great step to the vast fortune which he afterwards acquired. Encouraged by this noble grant, Ralegh fitted out a third fleet for Virginia, where the colony left under the care of Mr. Lane having suffered great distresses, had procured a passage into England, in June 1586, from sir Francis Drake, who had visited it in his return from his conquest of St. Domingo, Carthagena, and St. Augustine [p]. Ralegh had, in the spring of that year, sent one ship of an hundred tons, well provided of all things necessary for the succour of that colony; but not arriving before the people had left the country, this ship returned with all her lading to England. And about fifteen days after, sir Richard Grenville arrived at Virginia with three ships more, well stored for the same company of planters, which he had left there in 1585. But finding neither them nor the last mentioned ship, as he expected, and observing that all their former habitations were quite abandoned, sir Richard, unwilling to lose the possession of so good a country, landed fifteen men on the island of Roanok, leaving them a plentiful stock of provisions for two years, and set sail for England, and in his return took some Spanish prizes at the Azores [q]. Ralegh had likewise great success at the same place, having about the same time despatched two ships, called the Serpent and Mary Spark, under the conduct of captain Jacob Whiddon, John Evesham, and others, who departed from Plymouth on the 10th of June 1586, and took more Spanish prizes than they could bring home. On board of one of these prizes was taken prisoner the governor of St. Michael's island; and in another Pedro de Sarmiento, governor of the straits of Ma-

[n] Cox's Hist. of Ireland, fol. 389. 391.

[o] True remembrances of Richard Boyle, earl of Cork, in the Life of the honourable Robert Boyle, by Thomas Birch, M. A. p. 8, 9. edit. Lond. 1744, 8vo.

[p] Hakluyt, vol. 3. fol. 264. and 547.

[q] Hakluyt, vol. 3. fol. 265.

gellan, the most eminent and experienced navigator of all Spain [r]. Ralegh was likewise the same year an adventurer of his fine pinnace named Dorothy, in an expedition designed for the south-sea by the earl of Cumberland, but prosecuted no further than the latitude of forty-four degrees to the south of the equinoctial, in the course of which voyage some small prizes were taken [s].

Ralegh was now equally esteemed for his zeal for the improvement of all arts and sciences, as the encouragement of new discoveries of countries, and the plantation of new colonies; and his patronage of learned and ingenious men was acknowledged in the dedication of their several works. Particularly in this year 1586, Martin Bassaniere of Paris, having printed there a very valuable history of the first discovery of Florida about twenty years before by René Laudonniere, and three other French captains, the manuscript of which had been sent over to him by Mr. Richard Hakluyt, he inscribed it to Ralegh; to whom the English translation of it by Mr. Hakluyt, printed the year following, was likewise dedicated. Ralegh gave likewise great encouragement to Mr. Hakluyt, to enable him in the publishing of his noble collection of English Voyages; and supported James Morgues, an eminent French painter, who had been sent over by Coligny, admiral of France, with the above-mentioned discoveries of Florida, in the great expense of publishing the draughts and descriptions of that country in London, where that painter for some time resided [t].

In the latter part of this year 1586, he was advanced so highly in the queen's favour, that her majesty made him seneschal of the duchies of Cornwall and Exeter, and lord warden of the stannaries in Devonshire and Cornwall. But these preferments were attended with the usual effects of them, and exposed him to the envy of those who were much inferior to him in merit [u]; and even the earl of Leicester himself, who had been formerly his friend, grew jea-

[r] Hakluyt, vol. 2. part 2. fol. 120.
[s] Hakluyt, vol. 3. fol. 769.
[t] Hakluyt, vol. 3. fol. 301.
[u] Hooker's dedication to sir Walter Ralegh, of his Supply of the Irish Chronicle.

lous of him, and set up in opposition to him his nephew, the young earl of Essex [x].

The comedians themselves likewise took the liberty to reflect upon Ralegh's power and influence upon the queen; which her majesty resented so highly, as to forbid Tarleton, the most celebrated actor of that age, from approaching her presence [y].

But neither the factions of the court, nor the aspersions of the people, whom Ralegh would never condescend to court by the usual arts [z], could deter him from attending the duties of his several posts and employments upon all occasions; and in the latter end of this year 1586 we find him in the parliament, which was dissolved on the 23d of March, and in which the fate of the queen of Scots was determined: and he was one of the committee appointed to consult upon the amendment of some things, to which the clergy were required to be sworn, and for considering the proper means to procure a learned ministry; the queen having, in her speech at the close of the last session, reminded the bishops of some faults and negligences, which if they did not amend, she threatened to depose them [a].

In the beginning of the year 1587, Ralegh prepared a new colony of one hundred and fifty men for Virginia, under the command of Mr. John White, whom he appointed governor, and with him twelve assistants, to whom he gave a charter, and incorporated them by the name of *the governor and assistants of the city of Ralegh in Virginia.* Their fleet, consisting of three sail, departed from Portsmouth on the 26th of April, and on the 23d of July arrived at Hattarass. The governor immediately despatched a strong party to the isle of Roanok, expecting to find the fifteen men left there by sir Richard Grenville the year before, intending from thence to pass to the bay of Chesepiock, where

[x] Sir Henry Wotton's Parallel of Devereux earl of Essex and Villiers duke of Buckingham.

[y] Bohun's Character of Queen Elizabeth, p. 353.

[z] The lord treasurer Burghley takes notice of this contempt of popularity in Ralegh, as well as the affectation of it in the earl of Essex. "Seek "not to be Essex; shun to be Ra-"legh." Precepts to his son sir Robert Cecil.

[a] Sir Simonds D'Ewes' Journal of Parliaments, p. 413. and 328.

they designed to fix their seat, and build a fort, according to the directions of sir Walter Ralegh. But they sought their companions in vain, whom they afterwards found to have been treacherously attacked, and several of them murdered, by a party of savages, and the rest driven to some remote part of the country. But this new colony having re-established their interest and alliance with the natives, the planters considering they should soon want fresh supplies of provisions and other necessaries, but differing about the choice of an agent to go to England for that purpose, they at last prevailed on the governor to undertake that office, who returned with the ships in the latter end of the same year [b].

Ralegh, solicitous for the safety of the colony, upon the return of Mr. White the governor, immediately ordered a pinnace to be sent to them, with all such provisions as he apprehended they might want; promising that he would prepare a good supply of shipping and men, with all other necessaries, to be with them the summer following. He accordingly prepared a fleet at Biddeford, in the west of England, under the command of sir Richard Grenville; but the situation of the nation, under the apprehensions of the invasion from Spain in the year 1588, prevented their sailing; so that governor White could only obtain two small pinnaces, called the Brave and the Roe, with fifteen planters, and all convenient provisions for those who wintered in Virginia. These vessels sailed from Biddeford on the 22d of April that year; but one of them meeting with two strong men of war of Rochelle, about fifty leagues to the north-east of Madeira, suffered so much in the engagement with them, and was so thoroughly rifled by the enemy, that it was obliged to return to England; as its companion did soon after, having perhaps met with the like misfortune; at least without performing the intended voyage, to the distress of the planters abroad, and regret of their patron at home [c].

Before this time, and probably in the beginning of the

[b] Hakluyt, vol. 3. fol. 208. 287. [c] Id. fol. 771.

year 1587, he received a new and considerable mark of her majesty's favour, being advanced to the post of captain of her guard, which he held together with those of lord warden of the stannaries and lieutenant-general of the county of Cornwall.

The nation, during the course of that year, being alarmed with the preparations in Spain, which seemed intended against England, sir Walter was, in November 1587, one of the council of war appointed to consider of the most effectual methods for the security of the nation; upon which occasion he drew up a scheme for that purpose, which is a proof of his judgment and abilities[d].

But he did not confine himself to the mere office of giving advice, but exerted himself in action in every circumstance which could contribute to the safety of his country. He raised and disciplined the militia of Cornwall; and after having performed all possible services at land, joined the fleet in July 1588, with a squadron of volunteers, both of nobles and gentlemen, and had a very considerable share in the several engagements with, and at last total defeat of, the Spanish armada, in the latter end of that month[e]. His merits in so important a crisis justly raised him still higher in the queen's favour, to whom he was now gentleman of her privy chamber, and who granted him this year some additional advantages to his wine office; which he enjoyed during the rest of her reign[f].

The establishment of the colony of Virginia having met with so many interruptions and misfortunes, though he had spent no less than forty thousand pounds upon it, he thought proper, on the 7th of March 158$\frac{8}{9}$, to make an assignment of his right, title, and interest in it, to certain gentlemen and merchants of London, reserving only to himself the fifth part of all gold and silver ore; and at the same time contributing an hundred pounds towards their first expenses, and continuing to assist them upon all occasions, with his advice and interest[g].

[d] Oldys, fol. 39, 40, 41.
[e] Id. fol. 43. 46.
[f] Id. fol. 47.
[g] Id. fol. 49.

Don Antonio, king of Portugal, who had been expelled from his dominions by Philip II. of Spain, and was here in London after the destruction of the Spanish fleet, having taken that opportunity to apply to queen Elizabeth for her assistance in the recovery of his kingdom, and her majesty consenting to bear her share in that undertaking, by contributing six men of war, and threescore thousand pounds, and encouraging her subjects to concur in the design; sir Walter Ralegh took a considerable part in it, and accompanied that prince, with sir Francis Drake and sir John Norris, in the expedition to Portugal in April 1589. But we have few particulars which relate personally to him during the course of it, except his taking a great number of hulks and other ships belonging to the Hans Towns, laden with Spanish goods, provisions, and ammunition, for a new invasion of England: and his conduct in the whole affair was so highly satisfactory to her majesty, that she honoured him, as well as the other commanders, with a gold chain [h].

In his return home he touched upon the coast of Ireland [i], where he probably made a short excursion to his seigniory in Munster, and saw the old countess of Desmond, who had been married in the reign of Edward IV. [k] and visited Spenser the poet, who mentions the circumstances of this visit, in his pastoral, entitled, Colin Clout's come home again, dedicated, about two years after, to sir Walter, who carried that admirable writer with him to England, and introduced him to the queen, and encouraged him to the publication of the Fairy Queen; Ralegh himself having an excellent genius, as well as taste, for poetry; his odes being

[h] Oldys, fol. 49, 50.

[i] The supposition, that it was in his return home from Portugal, that he touched upon the coast of Ireland, seems contradicted by an original letter of captain (afterwards sir) Francis Allen to Anthony Bacon, esq. elder brother of lord chancellor Bacon, dated at London, August 17, 1589, extant among the papers of Mr. Bacon, vol. 1. fol. 122. in the Lambeth library; in which letter that gentleman writes, "My lord of "Essex hath chased Mr. Ralegh "from the court, and confined him "into Ireland. Conjecture you the "rest of that matter."

[k] History of the World, l. 1. c. 5. sect. 5.

celebrated for their sublimity and pathos in a judicious writer upon that art, as early as the year 1589[l].

His moderation, with regard to the controversy between the established church and the puritans, appears from his intercession and procuring a reprieve for Mr. John Udal, a nonconformist minister, who had been condemned in July 1590, for felony, in writing The Demonstration of Discipline. And the warmth of his friendship is evident, from the elaborate defence which he wrote of the conduct of his friend sir Richard Grenville, who had lost his life in the expedition in 1591, for intercepting the Spanish Plate fleet at the isles of the Azores[m].

Ralegh had now formed a design against the Spaniards in the West Indies, and particularly at Panama, with a design of meeting the Plate fleet; and was at a great expense in fitting out a maritime force for that purpose, and used his utmost interest to engage his friends and others in the adventure. The scheme, which he had drawn up, appeared so feasible to her majesty, he having provided no less than thirteen ships of his own and his fellow adventurers, all well manned, and plentifully furnished with arms, provisions, and all other necessaries, that she added to them two of her own men of war, the Garland and Foresight, and gave him a commission as general of the fleet; the post of lieutenant-general being conferred upon sir John Burgh. He departed with his ships to the west of England, in February 159½; but the winds proved so contrary, that he could not put to sea from thence till the 6th of May 1592; and the next day sir Martin Frobisher followed and overtook him with the queen's letters to recall him. But he finding his honour so far engaged in the undertaking of this voyage, that without proceeding he saw no method of saving his reputation, or satisfying his friends, who had contri-

[l] The Art of English Poesy, p. 51. l. 1. edit. London, 1589. Wood, Ath. Oxon. vol. 1. fol. 323. ascribes this book to Mr. Puttenham, one of the gentlemen pensioners to queen Elizabeth.

[m] Oldys, fol. 59—63.

buted so largely to the adventure; and interpreting the queen's letters with some latitude, resolved to continue in the fleet, and pursued his course, notwithstanding he understood that the king of Spain had ordered that no ships should sail that year, nor any treasure be brought from the West Indies. But on the 11th of May, meeting with a storm off cape Finister, and considering that the season was too much advanced for his design upon Panama, and that his provisions were now too far consumed for so long a voyage; he divided his fleet into two squadrons, committing one to sir John Burgh, and the other to sir Martin Frobisher; with orders to the latter to lie off the south cape, to keep in and terrify the Spaniards on their own coast; while the former lay at the Azores for the caracks from the East Indies. The success of these directions was answerable to the excellent judgment that formed them. For the Spanish admiral receiving intelligence that the English fleet was cruising upon their coast, collected his whole naval power to watch Frobisher, and defend the southern parts of Spain; while the caracks unguarded were left a prey to sir John Burgh, who, on the 3d of August, made himself master of the *Madre de Dios*, one of the greatest ships belonging to Portugal, and esteemed the richest prize that had ever been brought to England, being in burden no less than 1600 ton, whereof 900 were merchandise. But by the embezzlement of jewels and other valuable effects by the sailors, the cargo fell short above two-thirds of the computation of five hundred thousand pounds, which had been made by Ralegh and sir John Hawkins, his chief partner in the enterprise[n]; and the queen herself took the largest share of it[o].

In the latter end of this year, and the beginning of the next, sir Walter exerted himself in parliament with all the abilities of an accomplished speaker, and declared strongly for an open war against Spain, and vigorously promoted the subsidies raised for the public service. He was con-

[n] Oldys, p. 63. and 65. [o] Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 181.

cerned likewise in several bills, particularly one against aliens selling foreign wares in England by retail; and in revising and correcting an act to retain the queen's subjects in due obedience; which, in its first form, though levelled against the Brownists and other sectaries, confirmed some clauses, which he thought dangerous to innocent persons [p].

Father Parsons, the Jesuit, whose bigotry and malice were at least equal to his talents as a writer, which were by no means contemptible, in the libel which he published in Latin, in the year 1593, under the name of Andreas Philopater, against the great men of her majesty's court, who had been instrumental in framing her proclamation of November 29th, 1591, against the popish seminaries abroad, shewed a peculiar spleen against sir Walter Ralegh. And the imputation which he cast upon him was no less than that of being a direct founder and doctor of a school of atheism, and ambitious of making converts of young gentlemen to the principles of it. A later writer observes likewise [q], that his dissent from some principles of school divinity exposed him to the reproach of atheism, though a known assertor of a God and providence; while Anthony Wood, whose judgment and censures are very little to be regarded, though his collections of facts are extremely valuable, contents himself [r] with imputing to him deism, which that historian pretends he had learned from his friend Mr. Harriot the mathematician. The lord chief justice Popham likewise, upon sir Walter's trial at Winchester, in 1603, after charging him with eager ambition and corrupt covetousness, adds, that he had been taxed by the world with the defence of most heathenish and blasphemous opinions. But the most considerable authority which I have met with, to countenance the suspicions of sir Walter's religion, is that of archbishop Abbot, who, in an original letter, never printed, dated at Lambeth, February the 19th, 161$\frac{5}{6}$,

[p] Sir S. D'Ewes' Journal, fol. 478. 484. 492. 493. 495. 509. and 517. and Townshend's Collections, fol. 76.

[q] Francis Osborne's Miscellanies, in the preface.

[r] Ath. Oxon. vol. 1. fol. 460.

addressed to sir Thomas Roe, then ambassador at the Mogul's court, expressly charges sir Walter with "questioning God's being and omnipotence; which," adds his grace, "that just Judge made good upon himself, in overtumbling his estate, but last of all bringing him to an execution by law, where he died a religious and Christian death." But it is highly probable, that sir Walter's opinions might be misrepresented by his enemies, or wrong conclusions drawn from those which he maintained: and it would be a shocking injustice to the memory of so great a man, to suspect him of irreligion, whose writings contain not the least trace of it, and whose history in particular breathes a strong spirit of real and genuine piety. It is difficult at this distance to trace the origin of such an imputation; which some have imagined might have been the more industriously propagated on account of his having obtained of the crown a grant in 1594 of some church-lands, a course of reward usual with queen Elizabeth towards such as had performed any considerable service to the state: for doctor John Coldwell, upon his election to the see of Salisbury, having consented to alienate the manor of Sherborne in Dorsetshire to the crown, sir Walter requested and procured it of her majesty [s].

But in the height of his favour with the queen, he fell under her majesty's displeasure [t]; for being enamoured of

[s] Sir John Harrington's Brief View of the State of the Church of England, p. 92. and Fuller's Church History, l. 10. p. 27.

[t] The conjecture about the time of sir Walter's disgrace and confinement, on account of debauching Mrs. Throckmorton, is fully established by the following passage of an original letter of sir Edward Stafford to Anthony Bacon, esq. among that gentleman's papers, vol. 2. fol. 123. dated at Drury-house, July 30, 1592: "If you have any thing to do with sir Walter Ralegh, or any love to make to Mrs. Throckmorton, at the Tower to-morrow you may speak with them, if the countermand come not to-night, as some think will not be, and particularly he that hath charge to send them thither." Sir Walter continued in the Tower till the latter end of September, when he was discharged from it, and after shewing himself two days in London, went into the west to look after his share in the great prize, the *Madre de Dios*, taken from the Spaniards; as we learn from a letter of Mr. Morgan Colman to Mr. Anthony Bacon, dated at London, September 23, 1592, among Mr. Bacon's Papers, vol. 2. fol. 142. And Mr. Bacon himself writes to Mr. (afterward sir) Anthony Standen, in a letter about March 1592-3, ibid. fol. 167. that sir Walter "having been almost a year in disgrace for several

Mrs. Elizabeth Throckmorton, daughter of that able statesman and ambassador sir Nicholas Throckmorton, and one of the queen's maids of honour, and the consequences of their amour discovering the intrigue, her majesty was highly exasperated, and ordered him to be confined for several months, and after his enlargement forbid him the court, whence the lady was likewise dismissed from her attendance; to whom he afterwards made the most honourable reparation he could by marriage [u], in which they were both examples of conjugal affection and fidelity.

It was probably during his confinement above mentioned, that an incident happened of a very remarkable kind, which, as we have not the least mention of it any where else, will be best related in the words of an original letter, never yet published, from Mr. (afterwards sir) Arthur Gorges to sir Robert Cecil, then a privy counsellor, and afterwards secretary of state, earl of Salisbury, and lord high treasurer. The letter has no date of month or year, but the endorsement is 26th of July, and is as follows:

"Honorable Sir,

"I cannot chuse but advertyse you of a straunge tra-
"gedye, that this day had lyke to have fallen oute betweene
"the captayne of the guarde and the lyvetennant of the or-
"denaunce, if I had not by greate chaunce cummen att the
"very instant to have turned it into a comedye. For uppon

"occasions . . . . is yet hovering be-
"tween fear and hope." However, he took his seat in the parliament, which begun February 1592, and was dissolved on the 9th of April 1593; and distinguished himself in it upon many occasions. His endeavours to recover her majesty's favour proved unsuccessful during the rest of that year: but in the end of January 1593-4, he had hopes of being appointed a privy counsellor, among some others then expected to be made; as we find by an original letter of Mr. Nicholas Faunt, formerly secretary to sir Francis Walsingham. This letter is dated on the 31st of that month, and addressed to Mr. Anthony Bacon, among whose papers (vol. 2. fol. 34.) it is extant; but the writer of it, who was attached to the earl of Essex, was no friend to sir Walter. "Of other choice of counsellors," says he, "here is a bruit; but
"nothing assured. Sir Walter Ra-
"legh looketh for a place amongst
"them; and it is now feared of all
"honest men, that he shall presently
"come to the court; and is thereto
"wrought to serve a turn. And yet
"it is well withstood. God grant
"him some further resistance, and
"that place he better deserveth, if
"he had his right."

[u] Camden, ad ann. 1595, and sir John Harrington, ubi supra.

" the report of hyr majestie's beinge att sir George Carye's,
" sir W. Rawly having gazed and syghed a long tyme att
" his study-wyndow, from whence he myght discerne the
" barges and boates aboute the Black-fryars stayers, soo-
" daynly he brake owte into a greate distemper, and sware
" that hys enymyes hadd of purpose brought hyr majestie
" thether to breake his gaule in sounder with Tantalus tor-
" ment, that, when shee wentt away, he myght see hys
" death before hys eyes; with many such lyke conceyts.
" And as a mann transported with passion, he sware to sir
" George Carew, that he wolde disguyse hymeselfe, and
" gett into a payer of oares to ease hys mynde but with
" a syght of the queene, or els he protested his harte wolde
" breake. But the trusty jaylor wold non of that, for dis-
" pleasing the hygher powers, as he sayde, which he more
" respected than the feeding of hys humor; and so flatly
" refused to permitt hym. But in conclusion uppon this
" disspute, they fell flatt owte to colloryq outragious wordes,
" with streyning and struggling att the doores, that all
" lamenes was forgotten, and in the fury of the conflyct,
" the jaylor he had hys newe perwygg torne of hys crowne;
" and yet heare the battle ended not, for att laste they had
" gotten owte theyr daggers; which when I sawe, I played
" the styckler betweene theme, and so purchased such a
" rapp on the knockles, that I wysht both theyr pates
" broken; and so with much adoo they stayed theyre brawle
" to see my bloodyed fyngers. Att the fyrste I was ready
" to breake with laughinge to see theme too so scamble
" and brawle lyke mad menn, untyll I sawe the iron
" walkinge; and then I dyd my best to apease the fury.
" As yet I canot reconcyle them by any perswasions, for
" sir Walt. sweares, that he shall hate hyme for so re-
" strayning hyme from the syht of hys mistress, whylst he
" lyves; for that he knowes not," as he sayd, " whether
" ever he shall see hyr agayne, when shee is gonn the pro-
" gress. And sir Georg, on hys syde, swares, that he had
" rather he should lose hys longinge, then that he wolde
" draw on hyme hyr majestie's displeasure by such liberty.

"Thys they contynew in mallyce and snarlynge, but I am "sure all the smarte lyghted on me. I cannot tell wheare "I should more alowe of the passionat lover or the trusty "jailor. But yf yourselfe had seene it, as I dyd, yow "would have byne as hartely merry and sorry, as ever yow "weare in all your lyfe for so shorte a tyme. I praye yow "pardon my hasty wrytten narration, which I acquaynt "yow with, hoping yow wyll be the peace-maker. Butt, "good sir, let no body knowe theareof, for I feare sir W. "Rawly wyll shortely growe to be Orlando Furioso, if the "bryght Angelyca persever agaynst hyme a lyttle longer.

"Your honor's humbly to be commaunded,

London in haste, this Wensdaye. "A. Gorges."

The following postscript is added upon a little slip of paper, waxed on to the letter itself.

"If yow let the Q. majestie know heareof, as yow thinck "good, be it; but otherwyse, good sir, keepe it secrett, "for theyr credytts; for they know not of my discourse, "which I could wyshe her majestie knewe."

While Ralegh continued under her majesty's displeasure, and in retirement from her court, he projected a greater design than any which he had yet undertaken; the discovery of the rich and extensive empire of Guiana, in the south of America, which the Spaniards had then only visited, and to this day have never conquered. For this purpose, having collected whatever informations he could procure relating to it, and the means of entering it, he drew up, in 1594, instructions for captain Whiddon, an old officer, whose experience he had before tried, and sent him to take a view of the coast, who returned the year following with a very favourable report of the riches of the country, which he had received from some of the principal cassiques upon the borders of it. This determined Ralegh's resolution, who having provided a squadron of ships at a very great expense, the lord high admiral Howard and sir Robert Cecil

conceived so good an opinion of the design, that they both concurred in it. There is no exact account of the number of the ships, but we may distinguish in his own account five at least, besides barges, wherries, and other necessary tenders. With these he set sail from Plymouth on the 6th of February 159$\frac{4}{5}$, and proceeded to the Canaries, and arrived at the isle of Trinidad on the 22d of March; where he made himself master of St. Joseph, a small city, and took the Spanish governor, Antonio de Berreo; who, in return for the courteous treatment which he received from sir Walter, frankly opened to him the knowledge and experience which he had gained in the many years which he had spent, together with great sums of money, upon Guiana, though at the same time he discouraged Ralegh's attempt upon the country. But sir Walter, who was not to be diverted by any apprehensions of difficulty or danger, leaving his ships at Curiapan in Trinidad, with an hundred men, in several little barks, sailed up the river Oronoque, 400 miles, in search of Guiana. Several of the petty kings of the country resigned their sovereignties into his hand for the queen's use. But the weather was so hot, and the rains so violent, that he was forced to retire, in as much danger of being borne down by the rapid torrents of water, as of his enemies. The inhabitants of Cumana refusing to bring in the contributions which he required, he fired the town, as also part of St. Mary's, and Rio de la Haca; and having satisfied himself of the certainty of the gold mines of the country, and made a much greater progress in the discovery of it in a month, than the Spaniards had done in many years; he returned home with honour and riches in the latter end of the summer of 1595; and the year following published in quarto an account of his voyage and discoveries, dedicated to the lord admiral Howard and sir Robert Cecil, his fellow-adventurers.

But this account of his was not sufficient to procure him the public concurrence for the prosecution of his discovery of Guiana; some affecting to treat many things in it as fabulous, or at least uncertain; and others insisting upon the

hazard of sending a large fleet well manned into so unhealthy a climate; while envy perhaps was the chief cause of the rejection of his proposals. But, to shew that he had a thorough confidence in his own scheme, he fitted out two ships at his expense, the Darling and the Discoverer, under captain Laurence Keymis, who had attended him in the first voyage. Keymis set sail in the latter end of January 1595-6, and having made further discoveries with relation to Guiana, and the gold mines there, he returned to England in June following, and published an account of his expedition, dedicated to Ralegh.

Sir Walter continued still in a state of banishment from the court in December 1595, though strong solicitations were made in his favour; but he lived about London in great splendour [x]. However, in the year following, 1596, he was so far restored to favour, that he was engaged in the important and successful expedition to Cadiz, wherein the earl of Essex and the lord admiral Howard were joint commanders, and Ralegh, with many other persons eminent for military skill, of the council of war, and one of the admirals [y]. The fleet sailed in the beginning of June, and on the 20th of that month arrived before Cadiz. The lord admiral was of opinion, that the land forces should attack the town first, that the fleet might not be exposed to the fire of the ships in the port and that of the city and forts adjacent at the same time. The council of war, called upon this occasion, concurred in this opinion; in consequence of which a resolution was taken to attack the town immediately. Sir Walter not happening to be present at this council of war, nor being acquainted with the resolution, till the earl of Essex was actually putting his men into boats, in order to land them, went directly, upon hearing of the design, to that earl, and offered such convincing reasons against it, and for their first falling upon the galleons and ships in the harbour, that the earl saw the necessity of altering their scheme, and desired sir Walter to dissuade the admiral

[x] Letter of Rowland Whyte, esq. to sir Robert Sidney, Dec. 13, 1595. Sidney Papers, vol. 1. p. 377.

[y] Camden, ad ann. 1596. p. 667.

from that of landing; in which he succeeded, and prevailed with him to consent that the fleet should first enter the port, and attack the Spanish galleons and galleys. When he returned to the earl of Essex with the news of the admiral's agreement, crying out in his long boat, *Entramos*, the earl cast his hat into the sea for joy, and prepared to weigh anchor. The day was now far spent, and sir Walter advised the deferring of the attack till next morning, and in the night wrote the admiral a letter concerning the disposition of it; particularly that two great flyboats should board each galleon, after the queen's ships had sufficiently battered it. This method being agreed upon, and both the generals persuaded to lead the main body of the fleet, sir Walter in the Warspite had the command of the van, which was to enter the harbour, and consisted of the Mary-Rose, commanded by sir George Carew, the Lion, by sir Robert Southwell, the Rainbow, by sir Francis Vere, the Swiftsure, by captain Cross, the Dreadnought, by sir Conyers Clifford, and the Nonpareil, by Mr. Robert Dudley; besides twelve London hired ships and the flyboats; the lord Thomas Howard leaving his own ship, the Mer Honeur, to go on board the Nonpareil. On the 22d of June, sir Walter weighed anchor at break of day, and bore in towards the Spanish fleet, which lay in this disposition to support the attack. Under the walls of the city were ranged seventeen galleys, that they might the better flank the English ships as they entered, and hinder them from passing forward to the galleons. The artillery from Fort Philip played on the fleet, as did the cannon from the curtain of the town, and six culverins scoured the channel. When the Spanish admiral, the St. Philip, perceived the English approaching under sail, she set sail likewise; and with her the St. Matthew, St. Andrew, and St. Thomas, four of the capital galleons of Spain, the two great galleasses of Lisbon, three frigates of war, two argosies, the admiral, vice-admiral, a rear-admiral of New Spain, with forty other great ships bound for Mexico and other places. Of these, the St. Philip, the St. Matthew, the St. Andrew, and the St. Thomas,

came again to anchor under the fort of Pontal, in a strait of the harbour which leads to Puerto-Real. On the starboard side were placed the three frigates, behind them the two galleasses of Lisbon. The argosies and seventeen galleys were posted in a situation to play upon the English, as they entered the harbour; and behind these the admiral, vice-admiral, and rear-admiral of New Spain, with the body of the fleet, in order to defend the entrance, their line stretching like a bridge over the strait, which was also guarded by the fort of Puntal. Sir Walter, advancing in the van of the English, was first saluted by Fort Philip, next by the cannon of the curtain, and lastly by all the seventeen galleys, which lay near the town with all their prows bent against him as he entered. He answered their fire with a flourish of his trumpets, and still kept driving forwards, that he might draw up a sufficient number of the English ships into play, and to engage those which he passed by, while he attacked the body of the enemy. Accordingly the ships which followed him beat so thick upon the galleys, that they soon betook themselves to their oars, and got up to join the galleons in the strait. Sir Walter gave them several broadsides as they passed him, and bore down upon the St. Philip, as more worthy of his fire, and came to anchor by the great galleons, which he began to batter with the utmost resolution. The lord Thomas Howard came soon to an anchor on one side of him, though pretty much behind, with sir Robert Southwell; sir George Carew and the Cliffords on the other, and sir Francis Vere towards the Puntal. At last, after they had cannonaded the enemy for a long time, about ten in the morning the earl of Essex, impatient of continuing any longer at a distance from the action, bore through the fleet, heading the ships on the left hand, and anchored near to sir Walter. Captain Cross afterwards advanced as near as he could; but Ralegh was always closest to the enemy, and stood single in the head of all. After this vigorous exchange of shot for near three hours, in which his ship suffered so much, that it was ready to sink, he went to the admiral in his skiff, to desire that

he would oblige the flyboats to advance, that he might board the enemy. The earl of Essex was then coming up, to whom Ralegh declared, that if those boats did not come, he would board them in the queen's ship; for it was the same loss to burn or sink, and one he must endure. The earl promised to second him in whatever he attempted, as did likewise the lord Thomas Howard; upon which, after a long and desperate fight, sir Walter having no hopes of the flyboats, prepared to board the Spanish admiral; which the latter perceiving, ran his ship ashore, and was followed by the other capital ships. The admiral and the St. Thomas were burnt; and the St. Matthew and St. Andrew saved by the English boats before they took fire. The English shewed great moderation after the victory; but the Dutch, who did little or nothing in the fight, made a great slaughter among the enemy, till they were restrained by the lord admiral and sir Walter. This action was the more remarkable from the disproportion between the English and Spanish force, there being but seven ships of the former opposed to seventy-one of the latter. And the success of it was immediately followed by the taking of the city of Cadiz; in which sir Walter, though wounded in the sea-fight, was resolved to have had a share, and accordingly went ashore; but finding all things in confusion there, the conduct of the officers being far inferior to the bravery of the soldiers, he soon returned on board the fleet, where his presence was wanted in the absence of the admiral. The next morning he sent to the generals for orders to fall on the Spanish West India fleet outward bound, and said to be worth twelve millions, then lying in the Puerto-Royal, where they could not escape him. But he received no answer upon his repeated messages, which he imputed to the hurry and confusion which they were in. In the afternoon the merchants of Cadiz and Seville offered them two millions of ducats to spare that fleet; but the admiral being averse to any composition, and the earl of Essex desirous that the land officers should seize the ships, which sir Walter would not consent to, out of regard to the honour of the

sailors, the opportunity of either taking or ransoming them was lost; for the next morning, June 23d, the duke of Medina Sidonia caused all that rich fleet to be burnt. Thus the galleons, frigates, argosies, the fleet of New Spain, and all, except the galleys, which appear to have escaped, were consumed to ashes. A good number of the enemy's ordnance was recovered out of their ships, and the plunder of the city, in merchandise, plate, jewels, and money, was very considerable; their whole loss being computed at twenty millions of ducats. Many wealthy prisoners were given to the land commanders, who were enriched by their ransom, some gaining by that means ten, some sixteen, others twenty thousand ducats. While sir Walter got, to use his own words, "a lame leg and a deformed. For the rest, either I "spoke too late, or it was otherwise resolved. I have not "been wanting in good words, or exceeding kind and re-"gardful usage; but have possession of nought but poverty "and pain [z]."

The army embarked on the 5th of July; and it was deliberated in the council of war, whether the fleet should not continue at sea, in order to intercept the West Indian ships: but the want of provisions not permitting the execution of this design, it was resolved to return towards England, and visit the Spanish coasts in their way, to destroy the enemy's shipping. Accordingly they sacked and demolished Faro, a large and populous town, but unfortified. The earl of Essex proposed likewise some other enterprises, but met with great opposition from the rest of the principal land and sea officers; which, together with other causes, so highly disgusted him, that upon his return he wrote A Censure of the Omissions in this expedition, in which paper he raises four objections to the conduct of it; that they did not possess the Indian fleet; that they abandoned Cadiz; that they did not wait for the caracks and Indian ships; and

[z] Sir Walter Ralegh's relation of the action at Cadiz in 1596, published by his grandson Philip Ralegh, esq. at the end of an abridgment of sir Walter's History of the World, 1700. in 8vo. Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 184. Hakluyt, Purchas's Pilgrims, vol. 4. fol. 1929. Sir Francis Vere's Commentaries, p. 26. 30. &c.

lastly, that they did not attack the enemy in other parts. These omissions he charges upon the other commanders; and in the two last articles particularly names sir Walter Ralegh; whose behaviour in this whole expedition had been such, as was greatly approved of by the queen, and admired by her subjects[a].

About two months after his return from the conquest of Cadiz, he prepared a new attempt in favour of his scheme for settling Guiana. In order therefore to enlarge his discoveries, and open a trade there, he fitted out a stout pinnace, which had been with him in the late engagement, called after his own name, the Watt, well furnished with every thing necessary, under the command of captain Leonard Berrie. This vessel sailed from Weymouth in the latter end of December 1596, and arrived on the coast of Guiana in March following; and having entered into a friendly commerce with the inhabitants of it, and learned from them the state and riches of the more inland country, returned to England, arriving at Plymouth on the 28th of June, 1597[b].

This expedition affords a strong proof of two things; that sir Walter himself was earnest in this discovery, since no other cause can be assigned why, having so many affairs of importance upon his hands, he should yet busy himself in an undertaking of this kind; and that his hopes of success were as well founded as it was possible in things of this nature, since the account given us of this voyage is such as is liable to no just objections[c].

He was still suspended from the execution of his office of captain of the guard, though in the beginning of April 1597 he was in great hopes to be restored to it[d]; and had, in the middle of March preceding, stood for the place of vice-chamberlain[e]. And to strengthen his interest, he endeavoured about that time to procure a reconciliation between the earl of Essex and secretary Cecil, whose contests had

[a] Oldys, p. 253—261.
[b] Hakluyt, vol. 3. fol. 692.
[c] Lives of the Admirals; by John Campbell, esq. vol. 2. p. 56.
[d] Letter of Mr. Whyte, April 9, 1597. Sidney Papers, vol. 2. p. 37.
[e] Letter of March 12. ibid. p. 27.

given continual uneasiness to the queen[f]; and at last, on the 19th of April 1597, he effected it[g], and was admitted for some time afterwards into the secret consultations which the earl and the secretary held with each other[h]. On the first of June following, the secretary brought Ralegh to the queen, who treated him with great kindness, and restored him to the execution of his place of captain of the guard: and the same evening he rode abroad with her majesty, and had private conferences with her, and attended her in her privy chamber, with the same freedom as formerly[i].

Being thus restored to the full favour of her majesty, he was employed in the island voyage in 1597, as rear-admiral, the earl of Essex having the chief command, and the lord Thomas Howard the post of vice-admiral. The design of it was to defeat and destroy at Ferrol, as well as in other ports of the enemy, the Spanish fleet intended for a new expedition against England and Ireland; and to seize upon such Indian fleets of treasure as they should meet with, belonging to the king of Spain; but especially to conquer, retain, and garrison most of the isles of the Azores, and above all the Tercera. But the success of this expedition did not answer the greatness of the preparations for it; the jealousy of the earl of Essex, the commander, obstructing the great services which sir Walter Ralegh's abilities might otherwise have performed. Their differences began soon after the sailing of the fleet from Plymouth, on the 9th of July. A misfortune befalling sir Walter's ship in the bay of Biscay, obliged him to lie behind the fleet; and afterwards, when this accident was repaired, and he came to the rock of Lisbon, he met with a large number of ships and tenders, which were by him conducted to the Azores. This signal service was misinterpreted by the earl's creatures into an high offence, as if these vessels had quitted the general to wait on the rear-admiral. But sir Walter satisfied the earl, that these ships came to the rock of Lisbon, as the

[f] Letter of March 4. Sidney Papers, vol. 2. p. 24.

[g] Letter of April 19. ibid. p. 42.

[h] Letter of April 23. ibid. p. 44.

[i] Letter of June 2, 1597. ibid. p. 54.

rendezvous appointed by his lordship himself; and that he finding them there, had brought them, according to his duty, to attend upon his lordship. In the council of war, which was held before the isle of Flores, it was resolved, that the general and sir Walter should jointly attack the island of Fayal; where the latter waited seven days for his lordship, and hearing nothing of him, called a council of war, in which it was determined, that Ralegh should attempt the town himself; which he did with all the personal bravery of a soldier, and all the conduct of an able commander, and on the 22d of September made himself master of the place. The next day, the earl arrived from a fruitless chase in quest of the enemy's Indian fleets, which were not in those parts; and finding himself deprived of the honour of taking Fayal, was exasperated to such a degree, that he broke some of the officers, who had behaved with great gallantry under Ralegh; and some of his dependents intimated, that Ralegh himself deserved to lose his head for breach of articles, in landing without his lordship's orders. But his justification of himself, and the mediation of the lord Thomas Howard, the vice-admiral, brought the earl to more moderation, and the cashiered officers were restored, and sir Walter returned to the public service. The earl however continued under the influence of his own rash and unadvised temper, heightened by the flatteries of sir Gilly Morrick and sir Christopher Blount, and his other creatures; which led him into several errors, in consequence of which he missed the West India fleet, though Ralegh had the good fortune to take several prizes[k]. Upon their return to England, the earl endeavoured to transfer the miscarriages of the expedition upon Ralegh; and indeed gained on his side the populace, whom the latter had never managed, while the more intelligent part of the nation were more just to the merits of his antagonist[l]; and the queen herself was not well pleased with the earl's conduct, since it was judged, that he might have done more

[k] Sir Arthur Gorges's relation in Purchas's Pilgrims, vol. 4. fol. 19. 38. Vere's Commentaries, fol. 65, 66, 67.

[l] Oldys, p. 308.

than he did; and his proceedings against sir Walter, in calling his actions to public question, before a council of war, were highly disapproved [m].

The parliament being met on the 24th of October this year, sir Walter, after a short recess to his seat at Sherborne, took his seat there, and continued an active member during the rest of the session, which ended by a dissolution on the 9th of February, 1597-8 [n]. During the course of it, he was employed by the queen, in the latter end of December 1597, to procure a reconciliation between the earl of Essex and the lord admiral, who having been created earl of Nottingham during the absence of the former, it was so highly resented by him, as this promotion, with the post of admiral, gave Nottingham the precedence [o], that Essex insisted upon the alteration of the new earl's patent, or to maintain his own right by combat against that earl, or any of his sons or family [p]; in which he was so inflexible, that her majesty was obliged to create him earl marshal of England, in order to support his precedence [q].

Soon after this, in the beginning of January 1597-8, sir Walter Ralegh, and sir Robert Cecil, secretary of state, who had been for some time upon ill terms with the earl of Essex, were brought into a great degree of familiarity, to the surprise of the public [r]; and sir Walter solicited the earl's interest to obtain some reward for his service, or some honour to be conferred upon him; having laid aside all hopes of the place of vice-chamberlain, for which he found his lordship's promise engaged to sir Robert Sidney, whom her majesty was inclined to prefer to it [s]. He was likewise very importunate with sir Robert Cecil, that something might be done for him, before that secretary went to France as ambassador to Henry IV. to divert him from the peace

[m] Letter of Rowland Whyte, esq. to sir Robert Sidney, Nov. 5, 1597. Sidney Papers, vol. 2. p. 74.

[n] Oldys, p. 309.

[o] Camden, ann. 1597. p. 692.

[p] Mr. R. Whyte's Letter to sir Robert Sidney, St. Thomas's day, 1597. Sidney Papers, vol. 2. p. 77.

[q] Camden, ubi supra.

[r] Mr. Whyte's Letter of the 3d of January, 1597. ibid. p. 79.

[s] Mr. Whyte's Letter of January 14, 1597. ibid. p. 80.

then in treaty at Vervins: and an offer was made to the earl of Essex, that if he would assist sir Walter, in procuring what he wanted, which was probably the vice-chamberlainship, a third part of the prizes should be obtained for the earl towards the payment of his debts [t]. Before the secretary's departure for France, sir Walter, who cultivated his friendship at that time with great assiduity, entertained him with a banquet and play [u], and attended him to Dover [x], the secretary having, before he left London, agreed with the earl of Essex to bring Ralegh, as well as sir Robert Sidney, into the privy council [y].

About the 18th of February, 1597-8, upon the advice of a Spanish fleet coming upon the coast, in their passage to reinforce their army in Flanders, sir Walter hastened into Cornwall, in order to put that county into a situation of defence [z]; and on the 4th of March following, there was a talk of sending him lord deputy to Ireland [a], which continued for several days after [b]; and on the 15th of that month, he was sent for by the privy council to give his opinion with relation to the affairs of that kingdom [c]: but he was averse to the acceptance of the post of lord deputy [d].

Before the death of the lord treasurer, in August 1598, sir Walter procured the restoration of the duchy manors in Cornwall to their ancient tenures [e], and a revocation of a tax on the curing of fish [f]; and he shewed himself upon all occasions a zealous friend to the privileges and interests of that county, where he filled the most important offices [g].

Upon the alarm of an invasion from Spain in the beginning of August 1599, a fleet being immediately fitted out, Ralegh was appointed vice-admiral [h]; and about the 17th

[t] Mr. Whyte's letter of January 19, 1597. Sidney Papers, vol. 2. p. 82.
[u] Letter of January 30, 1597. ibid. p. 86.
[x] Letter of February 11, 1597. ibid. p. 89.
[y] Letter of February 15, 1597. ibid. p. 90.
[z] Letter of February 18, 1597. ibid. p. 91.
[a] Letter of March 4, 1597. ibid. p. 94.
[b] Letter of March 10, 1597. ib. p. 95.
[c] Letter of March 15. ibid. p. 96.
[d] Letter of March 18. ibid.
[e] Carew's Survey of Cornwall, p. 36, 37. Oldys, p. 312.
[f] Carew, p. 79, 80.
[g] Oldys, p. 314.
[h] Letter of Mr. Whyte, of August

of that month he took his leave of the court, to go on board the fleet [i]. But the apprehensions of danger from the Spaniards being soon removed, he returned to court; having a strong desire to be created a baron [k].

The earl of Essex, who had given new offence to sir Walter [l], before his going lord lieutenant to Ireland, about April 1599, having by his conduct there, and unexpected return from thence, on the 28th of September, provoked the queen to order him to be confined, and to be examined the next day before her council, sir Walter adhered to secretary Cecil, who was of the opposite party to the earl, dining with Cecil that very day, after his lordship's examination [m]. And his prejudices against and jealousy of the earl were now so much heightened, that upon a slight circumstance of favour shewn by the queen to his lordship in the beginning of November following, sir Walter fell sick; upon which her majesty graciously sent to see him [n]. A few days after, there was discovered a breach of the long friendship between him and lord Cobham; though the cause was not known [o]. In the beginning of December he fell sick [p], and his disorder soon appeared to be an ague; at which time he was suspected with relation to some libels [q], but of what kind they were, we have no account. However, in the beginning of January following $1\frac{599}{600}$, he had expectations of being advanced to be a privy counsellor [r]; and a few days after, his advice was asked and followed with regard to the victualling and manning of Ireland [s]. In March following, he solicited to be one of the commissioners of the treaty at Boulogne; but her majesty, as it was thought, perceiving that if he were appointed to that commission, he would apply to be of the privy council, before he went

5, 1599. Sidney Papers, vol. 2. p. 113.

[i] Letter of August 18. ibid. p. 117.

[k] Letter of September 20, 1599. ibid. p. 126.

[l] Oldys, p. 320.

[m] Mr. Whyte's letter of Sept. 30, 1599. Sidney Papers, p. 129.

[n] Letter of Nov. 4. ibid. p. 139.

[o] Letter of Nov. 13. ibid. p. 141.

[p] Letter of December 8. ibid. p. 149.

[q] Letter of Dec. 13. ibid. p. 150.

[r] Letter of January 5, 1599. ibid. p. 156.

[s] Letter of Jan. 12. ibid. p. 159.

thither, which she had no inclination to grant, he was refused his request in the other point[t]. Upon this disappointment, he retired with some discontent to his seat at Sherborne, where he continued above two months; but being sent for about the middle of May[u], returned to court about the beginning of June, and renewed his solicitation for the vice-chamberlainship[x]. In the latter end of that month, or beginning of the following, he went with lord Cobham to Flanders, to the camp of count Maurice; and as this might give umbrage to the archduke, secretary Cecil wrote to the English commissioners at the treaty at Boulogne, on the 14th of July[y], that Cobham and Ralegh had no charge, nor carried either horse or man, but some half a dozen of their own: but that finding the queen resolved to have peace, if good conditions could be had, they had obtained leave with importunity to see that one action, then expected, since they despaired of seeing any more of the like kind in her majesty's time. And in another letter, written on the 18th of that month, from Boulogne to the secretary, by sir Henry Neville[z], one of the commissioners there, he mentions it as a report, that Cobham and Ralegh were gone over upon pretext to see the camp and siege of the fort Isabella near Ostend, where count Maurice lay yet unprofitably, as he had before at Newport: but sir Henry thought that they had some other end, and that in England there was some alarm taken at these matters, though the commissioners at Boulogne were not worthy to know it. Sir Henry likewise, in a letter to Mr. Winwood[a], observes, that the journey of Cobham and Ralegh was not upon curiosity only, but that they carried some message. But their stay in Flanders was very short, for they were returned to England by the 14th of July[b].

Upon the death of sir Anthony Paulet in the beginning of August, the government of Jersey becoming vacant, sir

[t] Letter of March 11. Sidney Papers, p. 178.
[u] Letter of March 22, p. 181. April 3, 1600, p. 185. April 19, p. 188. and May 16, p. 195.
[x] Letter of June 2, 1600, p. 198.
[y] Winwood's Memorials, vol. 1. p. 215.
[z] Ibid. p. 230.
[a] Ibid. p. 231.
[b] Ibid. p. 215.

Walter was immediately thought the likeliest person to succeed in it[c], though he had sir William Russel for a competitor, to whom it was said that sir Walter had offered to resign his wardenship of the stannaries, and the lieutenancy of Cornwall, on condition sir William would desist from his application. Sir Walter, who at that time was indisposed with an ague, had of late grown into high credit with the queen; and his interest with the great men of the court was then very considerable[d]. And about the 23d of that month of August, it was known that he would have the government of Jersey, upon condition of paying the lord Henry Seymour 300*l.* a year out of it, who claimed a grant from her majesty of that sum, which had been paid him before by sir Anthony Paulet[e]; and accordingly the patent was passed to sir Walter for that government, on the 26th of that month, with a grant of the manor or lordship of St. Germain in Jersey[f].

The earl of Essex, who since his return from Ireland had been confined, and suspended from all his offices, not being yet sufficiently humbled by the persecutions which he had suffered, continued his practices against his enemies at court, both by domestic factions, and by representing them to the king of Scotland as ill affected to his succession; and in this manner he was particularly injurious to Ralegh. And when that unfortunate earl, on the 8th of February 160$\frac{0}{1}$, was so ill advised by his creatures to attempt a public insurrection, he pretended that the cause of his taking arms was to defend himself against the violence of his personal enemies, the lord Cobham and Ralegh having formed a design of murdering him; though, on the other hand, it is certain that sir Ferdinando Gorges, one of the earl's accomplices, afterwards accused sir Christopher Blount, another of them, of persuading him to kill, or at least apprehend sir Walter; which Gorges refusing, Blount discharged four shots after him in a boat. Blount acknow-

[c] Mr. Whyte's letter of August 12, 1600. Sidney Papers, p. 210.

[d] Letter of Aug. 16, p. 210.

[e] Letter of Aug. 23, p. 112. and Aug. 12, p. 110.

[f] Rymer's Fœdera, vol. 16. fol. 398.

ledged this, and at the time of his execution asked sir Walter forgiveness for it, which he readily granted. While the earl garrisoned his house, sir Walter was one of those who invested it; and when his lordship was brought to trial on the 19th of February, he with forty of the queen's guard was present upon duty, and likewise examined with relation to a conference which he had upon the Thames the morning of the insurrection with sir Ferdinando Gorges. At the execution of Essex six days after in the Tower, Ralegh attended, probably in his charge as captain of the guard, and stood near the scaffold, that he might the better answer, if Essex should be desirous of speaking to him; but retired, before the earl's execution, because the people seemed to take his appearance there in a wrong light; though he afterwards repented of his retiring, since the earl had a desire to see and speak with him before his death; which was, in all probability, to have asked Ralegh's forgiveness for having traduced and calumniated him, in order to colour his own rash and criminal designs[g].

In the summer of the year 1601, Ralegh attended the queen in her progress; and when the king of France came to Calais, upon the alarm of the archduke's besieging of Ostend, and sent over to her majesty, then at Dover, monsieur de Rosny, afterwards duke of Sully, sir Walter was one of the persons of distinction who received him[h].

Soon after the queen's return from her progress, her last parliament met at Westminster on the 27th of October 1601, in which sir Walter sat as one of the knights of the shire for Cornwall; and this being a session full of important business, he was frequently engaged in it. He opposed the act for sowing of hemp, disapproving of such schemes of compelling people to manure or use their ground, contrary to their own judgment or inclination; and the bill was accordingly rejected. He promoted the subsidy; and when the complaint against monopolies was brought into

[g] Oldys, p. 334.
[h] Mémoires de Sully, tom. 3. part. 2. p. 40. edit. de Rouen, 1663.

the house of commons, on the 20th of November, he defended his patent for the preemption of tin; but offered, that, if all other patents of that kind should be repealed, he would give his consent as freely to the cancelling of that, as any member of the house [i]; and it does not appear, that he had any occasion to blush at Dr. Bennet's mentioning the monopoly of cards, as Mr. Townshend [k] affirms he did, since that monopoly belonged to sir Edward Darcy. He shewed the defects and hardships in the bill for reformation of abuses in inns [l]; and was very active in that to restrain the transportation of ordnance, which was of great importance at that time; for though sir Henry Neville had a patent for transporting it, which produced a duty to her majesty of three thousand pounds a year, yet the inconveniences were great; the English cannon being exported to all countries, which were friends with Dunkirk, and confederates with Spain, in such quantities, that the Spaniards were well supplied upon very easy terms [m]. He declared likewise for the repeal of the statute of tillage, which had been made in the time of dearth; and for the tax to repair Dover haven; and exposed the defects of a bill for the more diligent resort to church on Sundays, which was afterwards rejected [n].

It was probably in the year 1602 that he sold his estate in Ireland to Mr. Boyle, afterwards earl of Cork. And about midsummer he settled his estate of Sherborne upon his son Walter, on account of a challenge which he had received from sir Amias Preston, who had been knighted at Cadiz by the earl of Essex; which challenge sir Walter intended to answer, and therefore put his affairs in order. The cause of their quarrel does not appear; but they were afterwards reconciled without proceeding to a duel [o].

The death of queen Elizabeth, on the 24th of March, 1602-3, proved a great misfortune to Ralegh; her successor, king James I. having been, as is already observed, ex-

[i] Townshend's Collections, fol. 188. 204. 235. 244. 245. D'Ewes' Journal, fol. 626. 633.
[k] P. 232.
[l] Townshend, fol. 278.
[m] Oldys, p. 344, 345.
[n] Townshend, fol. 299. 309.
[o] Oldys, p. 358.

tremely prejudiced against him by the earl of Essex. And those prejudices seem to have been heightened by secretary Cecil, in his private correspondences with that timorous and jealous king before his accession to the crown of England, or at least immediately upon that event[p]; for though Ralegh and Cecil had united against Essex, yet after the ruin of that earl and his party, their friendship soon terminated in a rivalship for power. To which is added another very important cause of his majesty's disgust to sir Walter; that he, together with the lord Cobham, sir John Fortescue, and others, would have obliged the king to articles before he was admitted to the throne, and that the number of his countrymen should be limited[q]. Nor is it improbable, that an offence might be taken from his design of marrying his son to a ward of his, the daughter and heiress of Basset of Umberleigh and Hinton-court in Devonshire, with an estate of three thousand pounds a year; that family being descended from the Plantagenets, and laying some claim to the crown at this very time[r]. But whatever dislike the king had of Ralegh, he did not discover it immediately upon his arrival in London in the beginning of May 1603, but treated him for some weeks with great kindness. However, his majesty's pacific genius could not long relish so martial a man, who, he apprehended, might engage him in a war[s]; and actually proposed to him to carry two thousand men to invade the Spaniards without any expense to the king[t]; and wrote a discourse, designed to be presented to him, against the peace with Spain now in agitation; advising his majesty to continue the protection of the United Provinces: and he intended another discourse concerning the method of carrying on war against Spain and the Indies. He offered likewise to the king a memorial, in which he reflected severely upon secretary Cecil for his conduct

[p] Oldys, p. 361.

[q] Osborne's Memorials of King James, p. 102.

[r] Observations on Sanderson's History, p. 12. edit. 1656. Prince's Worthies of Devonshire, fol. 114. and Wood, Athen. Oxon. vol. 1. fol. 366.

[s] A Brief Relation of Sir Walter Ralegh's Troubles, p. 1. edit. 1669. in 4to.

[t] Sir W. Ralegh's Remains, p. 190. edit. 1726.

towards the earl of Essex, transferring the whole blame of that nobleman's death from himself to the secretary; and imputing to him, and the lord treasurer his father, the execution of Mary queen of Scots, his majesty's mother. But this memorial had no effect upon the king, and a very pernicious one on the writer of it, by exasperating Cecil still more against him [u]. Ralegh therefore began to be neglected and ill treated at court, and was soon after removed from the captainship of the guards, which was given to sir Thomas Erskin, his majesty's favourite as well as countryman [x]; nor was it long before he was charged with being engaged in a plot against the king and royal family, which appears to have had some reality with regard to some of the persons charged with it; but no clear evidence has yet been produced of Ralegh's having any concern in it. Thuanus's account of this affair [y] is entirely faulty, and has nothing of that accuracy which we so justly admire in his admirable history, being formed upon the gross misrepresentations of his countryman Victor Cayet [z]; but the sum of what our own writers furnish upon this subject is to this purpose. In the train of count Aremberg, who, in the beginning of June 1603, came over ambassador from the archduke Albert to congratulate king James, and promote a general peace, was one Matthew de Laurencie, a merchant of Antwerp, with whom the lord Cobham had held intelligence some years before upon matters of state, with license from the government. Five days after Aremberg's arrival, that is, about the 9th of June, Cobham went to him with Laurencie, and the same night supped with sir Walter Ralegh, at Durham-house in the Strand, who by this means came to understand, that Cobham was entered into a new negotiation with Aremberg; and he was, as the chief of those who opposed the peace, offered a sum of money by Cobham to be a promoter of it; an offer of the same kind

[u] Dr. Welwood's notes on Wilson's Life of King James, in Kennet's Complete History, vol. 2. p. 663, 664.

[x] Oldys, p. 368.

[y] Tom. 5. l. 129. p. 1056.

[z] Chronologie Septennaire, p. 424. edit. Paris, 1605, 8vo.

having likewise been made to him by Cobham before the arrival of Aremberg [a]. But how little disposed Ralegh was to accept of money from, or to enter into the interest of Spain, is evident from his application to the marquis de Rosny, afterwards duke de Sully, immediately upon his arrival in England as ambassador extraordinary from France, in the beginning of the same month of June, and at the very time when Ralegh is represented to have attached himself to Spain. For we find by a letter of Rosny's to Henry IV. written from London the $\frac{15}{25}$ of that month, that both Ralegh and Cobham had come to him, expressly to acquaint him of the practices of the agents and friends of Spain, and especially the English catholics, to engage king James in an alliance with that court against France and the United Provinces: which intelligence was confirmed to him by the earl of Northumberland, who had been gained to the French interest by the presents made to him by Rosny, and the offer of a pension [b].

In the beginning of the next month, the conspiracy, in which George Brooke, brother to lord Cobham, Watson and Clarke, two Romish priests, and others, were engaged, being discovered, secretary Cecil, who had lately been created baron of Essendon, finding upon the confession of Anthony Copley, one of the conspirators, who was apprehended on the 6th of July [c], that the king's person was to be surprised by the lord Grey of Wilton, and George Brooke, brother to Cobham, he suspected that lord himself to be in the secret; and Cobham's intimacy with Ralegh, who was now purchasing an estate for him, and settling his domestic affairs, drew Ralegh into the same suspicion. Lord Cecil therefore meeting sir Walter upon the terrace at Windsor, acquainted him, that the lords of the council had something to say to him [d]; upon which the latter was examined by them about Cobham's practice with Aremberg, whom he fully cleared [e], and after examination further said,

[a] Ralegh's Trial, p. 672.
[b] Mémoires de Sully, part. 2. tom. 3. p. 400—403.
[c] Stowe's Annals, fol. 826.
[d] Trial, p. 665.
[e] Ibid.

that whatever correspondence was between Cobham and Aremberg, Laurencie might be better able to give account of it; and therefore advised the sending for him; though he knew of no intelligence between them, but such as might be warranted. The same advice he afterwards gave in a letter to lord Cecil [f]. When Ralegh returned from examination, a private prisoner to his own house, Cobham sent to him to know what had passed. Ralegh returned an answer by captain Keymis, that he had been examined, and had cleared him of all; and Keymis bid Cobham be of good comfort, for one witness would not condemn him. This precaution, to arm Cobham against making discoveries, was, after his confession of it, objected against Ralegh; but he absolutely denied that he had sent any such verbal message [g]. When Cobham was brought to his examination at Richmond, the date of which appears to have been the 18th of July, and after he had, by a constant denial, cleared both himself and Ralegh of all that was questioned against them both, he was by device, as a gentleman who was present at Ralegh's trial observes [h], induced to think, that Ralegh had first impeached and betrayed him. For that part of Ralegh's letter to lord Cecil mentioned above, which referred the lords of the council to Laurencie for the transactions of Cobham with Aremberg, being shewed to Cobham, and accompanied probably with such artful suggestions as were proper to raise suspicions in him of Ralegh, who, he imagined, had accused him of all, or more than he knew; he burst out into vehement exclamations against that gentleman, and in his rage and madness made the following confession: "That having a passport to go to the king of Spain, "he intended first to confer with the archduke; and be-"cause he knew he had not money to pay his own army, "meant from thence to go to Spain, to deal with the king "for six hundred thousand crowns, then to return by Jer-"sey; and that nothing should be done about the distribu-

[f] Letter from a gentleman present at the trial, to Mr. John Donne. Printed in sir Toby Matthews's Collection of Letters, p. 181. edit. London, 1660.

[g] Trial, p. 678.

[h] Letter to Mr. Donne, ubi supra.

" tion of that money to the discontented in England, till he " had spoken with sir Walter Ralegh. And that he had " never entered into these courses but by his instigation." He spoke likewise of plots, of the particulars of which he could give no account; yet acknowledged, that he was afraid that Ralegh, upon his return to Jersey, would deliver both him and the money, that he should bring over, to the king[i]. After all this, before Cobham departed to the stair-foot, he retracted his confession, and professed, that he had done Ralegh wrong[k]; nor is it certain, that he subscribed his confession[l]. In another branch of his examination he said, that he had received of Ralegh a book written against the king's title, which he gave to his brother Brooke, and that Ralegh said it was foolishly written; but this he likewise retracted. Upon this and other parts of his confession more foreign to Ralegh, concerning the advancement of the lady Arabella Stuart to the throne, as also from that of George Brooke, a known enemy to Ralegh, as lord Cecil could not deny, asserting, that his brother Cobham told him, (though Cobham in his confession refused to own it,) " That the lord Grey and others were only on the *bye*, " but he and Ralegh on the *main*; meaning by this," said Brooke, " the taking away of the king and his issue;" together with what Ralegh acknowledged in his own examination, " That lord Cobham offered him eight thousand " crowns for his furtherance of the peace, though lord Ce- " cil and the earl of Northumberland were to have the same " proffers[m]; and that in some discourses he might have " said, that the way to invade England was to begin with " stirs in Scotland." Upon these circumstances Ralegh was indicted at Staines in Middlesex, on the 21st of September, 1603[n], as Cobham and Grey were three days after; and all of them returned prisoners to the Tower of London.

The situation of these unhappy men in the beginning of

[i] Trial, p. 661.
[k] Ibid. p. 662.
[l] Sir Thomas Overbury's copy of sir Walter Ralegh's Confession, p. 5. edit. 1648, 4to.
[m] Ibid. p. 12.
[n] Stowe's Annals, fol. 83.

the next month, appears from lord Cecil's letter of the 3d of that month from the court at Winchester, to Mr. Ralph Winwood, then resident in Holland [o]; wherein he observes, that all the conspirators were already indicted, and that their design was reducible to these two heads: "The one, "the treason of surprise of the king and court, the conse-"quence whereof must needs have proved very dangerous "and bloody; the other, a purpose to propound to Spain "the means to raise him a party to extirpate the king and "his issue, by disbursing a sum of five hundred thousand "crowns. In the first, the lord Grey, Mr. George Brooke, "sir Griffin Markham, and many other private gentlemen, "were engaged: in the second, the lord Cobham con-"fesseth himself guilty, and so doth George Brooke; but "sir Walter Ralegh yet persists in denial of the main trea-"sons; which though he doth by having gotten some in-"telligence of the lord Cobham's retractation, yet the first "accusation is so well fortified with other demonstrative "circumstances, and the retractation so blemished by the "discovery of that intelligence, which they had, as few "men can conceive it comes from a clear heart."

When the time of their trial drew nigh, in the beginning of November, Ralegh got a poor man in the Tower to cast up a letter, fastened to an apple, in at Cobham's window, while the lieutenant was at supper, to entreat him, (because he then knew not but Cobham might be arraigned before him,) "for God's sake, to do him justice by his answer, and "signify to him, that he had wronged him in his accusa-"tion:" and Cobham did, by an answer under his hand, confess the same; but this not being perhaps so full and expressive as Ralegh expected, he afterwards sent Cobham another letter, desiring that he would publish his innocence at his arraignment. But though Ralegh did not now request any further justification under his hand, Cobham sent him another answer, clearing him in the most solemn and perfect manner [p].

[o] Winwood's Memorials, vol. 2. p. 8.

[p] Overbury, ubi supra, p. 23.

The plague raging at that time in London, and the term being proclaimed to be held at Winchester, sir Walter Ralegh was conveyed in his own coach, under the custody of sir Robert Mansel, on the 10th of November, to Bagshot in Surry, and thence, two days after, to the castle at Winchester; whither the other conspirators were conducted about the same time [q].

Here Cobham having been again prevailed upon to make fresh accusations against Ralegh, in a letter to the lords of the council, at least subscribed with his name, the trial of the latter was first brought on upon the 17th of that month, before the following commissioners, the earl of Suffolk, lord chamberlain, the earl of Devon, the lord Henry Howard, the lord Cecil, the lord Wotton, sir John Stanhope, vice-chamberlain, Popham, lord chief justice of England, Anderson, lord chief justice of the common pleas, and the two judges Gaudy and Warburton, and sir William Wade. He excepted against none of the jury, being all strangers; but it is affirmed, that another jury had been appointed, the foreman of which was sir Michael Stanhope, the next sir Edward Darcy, the next sir William Killigrew, all men of honour, and who had been near servants to queen Elizabeth: but these being found not proper for the purpose, were all changed the night before, and the others put in their places [r]. The indictment having been opened and aggravated by sergeant Heath, and Coke the attorney general, who endeavoured to fix the treasons of the rest upon Ralegh, because he was a man of wit and the sword; Cobham's examination was read; upon which sir Walter shewed the improbability of the accusations contained in it. The rest of the proceedings upon the trial may be seen in the account of it, which has been frequently printed: but it were to be wished, that it had been drawn up with more clearness and less partiality, of which there are strong marks throughout the whole. Instead therefore of transcribing from so common as well as so suspected a narrative, it will

[q] Stowe's Annals, fol. 829.

[r] Observations on the History of Mary Queen of Scots and King James, p. 8. edit. 1656, 4to.

be to more purpose to insert here some passages from the letter[s] of a gentleman present at the trial, who remarks, that sir Walter, during the course of it, behaved himself so worthily, so wisely, and so temperately, that in half a day the minds of all the company were changed from the extremest hate, to the greatest pity. The points with which he was charged, were designs of sedition in Scotland; of the invasion of England; of the setting up of lady Arabella's title; of the procuring of 600,000 crowns to be distributed to discontented persons; the delivery of a book against the king's title; the persuading Cobham to procure, that the lady Arabella should write for assistance to the king of Spain, and to promise peace between England and Spain, the toleration of the popish religion, and to be governed by Cobham, Brooke, and Ralegh in her marriage; and a purpose to destroy the king and his issue: all which things were alleged to have been undertaken at the instigation of Ralegh. With regard to the setting up of Arabella, the writer of the letter observes, nothing was proved, any more than with regard to the invasion of England, or sedition in Scotland, or destruction of the king. Ralegh confessed, that he had been offered by Cobham eight thousand crowns from the archduke, which he accepted not, but referred him to another time. He owned likewise, that such a book, as was mentioned, had been in his hands; but denied that he had sent it to Cobham. The proof against him rested only upon Cobham's accusation, and some presumptions, of which that only was the ground. He spent a considerable time in disabling that accusation, as being only uttered in fury, by reason, that by a device Cobham was brought to think that Ralegh had accused him. He urged, that as the accusation proceeded from passionate revenge, and therefore not to be alleged to the prejudice of another man's life; so the accuser had afterwards repented of it; and though he was again by practice drawn to affirm it, yet he would never be brought to set his hand to the

[s] To Mr. John Donne, ubi supra.

examination. He shewed them, from the maxims of divinity, and civil statute, and common law, and conscience, that there ought to be produced against him two witnesses; and that his accuser should be brought to accuse him face to face. The judges determined, that this latter request did not stand with the use of law; and to the former it was answered, that a witness accusing another, together with himself, was *instar multorum*. He brought several strong arguments in disproof of these opinions. The writer of the letter allows, that there were some circumstances to give presumption, but no proof at all; but what weighed most with him was, that as soon as Ralegh had been questioned the first time at large, when Cobham was not so much as named, he speedily despatched a letter to that lord to this effect: "I have been examined of divers points touching "you before the lords of the council; but I have cleared "you in all. Be firm, and know, that one witness cannot "hurt you." Which letter seemed to have been written by Ralegh rather to arm Cobham for that which might be to come, than to instruct him for that which was past; since there was in truth no ground for such expedition.

Again it was urged, that a month before Cobham's accusation, George Brooke had delivered it, as out of Cobham's mouth, "that Cobham and Ralegh were *upon the main*, "and that it would never be well, till the king and his "*cubs* were taken away." To this Ralegh answered, that Brooke was his known enemy, and therefore did not care what he uttered to endanger him; and besides, that Cobham had never confessed that under his hand. To the other point of the letter to Cobham, the weakness of his answer made it strong; for he denied it improbably. But the main evidence being only Cobham's accusation, which, all things considered, says the writer of the letter, was no more to be weighed than the barking of a dog, "I would "not for much," adds he, "to have been of the jury, to "have found him guilty." For a little before the jury went out, after Ralegh had put himself upon this, that Cobham had never thoroughly departed from his recantation; and

that if he would *viva voce* accuse him of any part, he would confess the whole indictment; the attorney read a letter from Cobham to the lords, dated the 16th of that month of November, wherein he again generally accused Ralegh as before, and particularly, that he had promised to become a pensioner to the king of Spain for fifteen hundred pounds a year, for which he would discover to him all the secrets which he could discover: and withal confessed, that Ralegh had procured him eight or ten days before, to justify him by a letter; which though he had done through importunity, yet this last letter to the lords, he protested, was true. To this Ralegh answered, confessing that Cobham had offered him such a pension; but that he not only did not accept it, (though Cobham told him of divers great counsellors, particularly lord Cecil, who should have been offered the like for the furtherance of the peace,) but likewise so dissuaded Cobham from thinking of the like, as that he believed never to hear more of it. And as for the letter, which Cobham confessed to have written in Ralegh's justification, it was true, and there it was; desiring lord Cecil to read it, (which he did,) and praying the jury to mark with how much stronger protestations and more particularity that was written to acquit him, than the other to condemn him. This was the last evidence given; and the jury, after about a quarter of an hour's deliberation, brought in their verdict Guilty: but some of them are reported to have been afterwards so far touched in conscience, as to demand his pardon on their knees [t]: and it is affirmed by an anonymous writer [u], who is supposed to be his son Carew, concerning Coke the attorney general, whose insolence and scurrility of language towards sir Walter has reflected a great dishonour upon his own memory, which his eminent abilities in his profession will never efface; that when his servant brought him word in the garden, whither he had retired for air, that the jury had condemned Ralegh of treason, he could hardly be per-

[t] Osborne's Memoirs of King James, p. 108.

[u] Observations on the History of Mary Queen of Scots, and her Son, p. 9.

suaded of it, declaring, that he himself had accused him but of misprision of treason. But this latter story is not reconcilable with the attorney's conduct upon the trial, in which he strenuously endeavours to support the indictment, which contains a direct charge of treason against sir Walter.

Upon the whole, the trial must appear, to every impartial and intelligent person, a most unjustifiable proceeding; and sir John Hawles, solicitor general to king William, pronounces it [x] very irregular throughout, and that the accusations against Ralegh did not amount to legal proof. "I would know," adds he, "by what law is the deposition "of a person, who might be brought face to face to the "prisoner, read as evidence? I would know, by what law "it is forbidden, that the accuser should be brought face to "face to the accused? I would know, by what law Brooke's "deposition of what the lord Cobham told him of Ralegh "was evidence against Ralegh? I would know, by what law "the story Dyer told of what an unknown man said to him "at Lisbon of don Ralegh, was evidence against Ralegh? I "would know, by what statute the statutes of the 25th of "Edward III. and 5th of Edward VI. are repealed?"

Sentence of death being pronounced against sir Walter, he humbly desired, that the king might know the proofs against him; that he still persisted in his loyalty, notwithstanding that verdict, which he prayed that his jury might never answer for; and only craved pardon for concealing lord Cobham's offer to him, which he did through a confidence, that he had diverted him from those humours; and so accompanied the sheriff to the prison with admirable magnanimity, though in a manner suitable to his unhappy situation [y]. He had indeed expected the treatment which he received, as is evident by the letter [z] which he wrote to the king just before his trial, in which he solemnly protested, that he had never intended, consented to, or performed treason against his majesty; "and yet," adds he,

[x] The Magistracy and Government of England vindicated, p. 35. edit. 1689, fol.

[y] Sir Thomas Overbury's Arraignment of sir W. Ralegh, p. 25.

[z] Scrinia Sacra, p. 85. edit. 1654. 4to.

"I know I shall fall into their hands, *e quibus non possum* "*evadere*, unless by your majesty's gracious compassion I "be sustained." And in another letter to the king, after his trial, he observes [a], that he was "lost for hearing a vain "man; for hearing only, and never believing or approving: "and so little account made I of that speech of his, which "was my condemnation, that I never remembered any "such thing, till it was at my trial objected against me."

Ralegh was kept near a month at Winchester in daily expectation of death; the time of which was probably appointed, and intimated to him, since he wrote what he intended for his last words to his wife, the night before he expected to die, in a very pathetic letter [b], in which he hoped that his blood would quench their malice who had murdered him, and prayed God to forgive his persecutors and accusers. The two priests, Watson and Clarke, were executed on the 29th of November; and George Brooke was beheaded on the 5th of December, in the castle of Winchester, dying very penitently, recalling to the bishop, who attended him, upon receiving the sacrament, that accusation which he had made of his brother, concerning those odious words supposed to be uttered by lord Cobham, that it would never be well, until *the fox and cubs were taken away*. This fact is related by the lord Cecil himself in a letter to Mr. Winwood, from the court then at Wilton, the 12th of December 1603 [c], who commends this remorse of Brooke. And it is the more remarkable, as all the evidence which was ever pretended, in relation to Ralegh's knowledge of the plot to surprise the king and court, was the hearsay testimony of this Brooke, that his brother Cobham should say the words abovementioned; and likewise that Ralegh and himself were on the *main*, while lord Grey, Brooke, and others, were only on the *bye*: whereas Brooke now, upon the approach of death, retracted those words; which takes away the other story grounded upon it. This acknowledgment of an enemy of sir Walter is a new proof

[a] Ralegh's Remains, p. 188.
[b] Ibid.
[c] Winwood's Memorials, vol. 2. p. 11.

of his innocence[d]; who constantly upon his trial distinguished between the *surprising* treason and the conferences with Aremberg; denying the least knowledge of the former; but, as to the latter, owning, that Cobham had talked to him of a large present, in case he would be for a peace with Spain.

The king signed the warrants for the execution of the lords Cobham and Grey, and sir Griffin Markham, at Winchester, on Friday the 9th of December, "pretending," says lord Cecil[e], "to forbear sir Walter for the present, until lord "Cobham's death had given some light how far he would "make good his accusation." Accordingly Markham was first brought upon the scaffold, and having ended his speech and prayers, with all he had to say, and being on his knees ready to receive the stroke of the axe, John Gill, groom of the king's bedchamber, produced to the sheriff his majesty's warrant to stay the execution; and Markham was told, that he must withdraw a while into the hall, to be confronted by the lords. Then lord Grey was brought forth, and after having poured out his prayers and confession, was likewise called aside; and lastly, lord Cobham was exposed in the same manner; and performed his devotions, though we do not find that he said one word of his guilt or innocence, or charged Ralegh with having instigated him. And when he had done, the sheriff proclaimed his majesty's mercy, in respiting the execution of the three prisoners, his warrant charging the two priests, and George Brooke, "as the prin-"cipal plotters and enticers of all the rest, to the embracing "of the said treasonable machinations[f]:" though Coke, the attorney-general, upon Ralegh's trial, frequently reproached him with being the chief plotter and traitor in all this conspiracy.

Ralegh was remanded to the Tower of London, on the

[d] Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, vol. 2. p. 65, 66.

[e] Ubi supra.

[f] Copy of a letter written from master T. M. near Salisbury, to master H. A. at London, concerning the proceeding at Winchester, &c. printed at London, 1603. in 4to. reprinted in Stowe's Annals, and Morgan's Phœnix Britannicus, p. 51. et seq.

15th of December [g], with the rest of the prisoners; of whom, Markham afterwards obtained his liberty, and travelled abroad; lord Grey of Wilton died in the Tower, July the 6th, 1614, being the last of that title [h]; and lord Cobham was confined there many years, during which he is said to have been reexamined, at the queen's and Ralegh's request; and to have absolutely cleared that gentleman [i], whom he survived but a few months, and died in the lowest circumstances of distress. Sir Walter, not long after his confinement in the Tower, upon the unwearied solicitations of his lady, who petitioned the king that she might be prisoner with him, was allowed the consolation of her company, and had his younger son Carew born there in the year 1604. In February following, a grant was made by the king of all the goods and chattels, forfeited by sir Walter's conviction, to trustees of his appointing, for the benefit of his creditors, and of his lady and children [k]. But some debtors taking advantage of his misfortunes, refused to do him justice, and particularly Mr. William Sanderson, who had married his niece Margaret Snedale, daughter of his sister Mary, and had been intrusted by him with receiving great sums for him out of his office of wines, and his other places; but now, instead of paying, pretended a debt to himself of two thousand pounds from sir Walter; who thereupon directed his trustees to commence a suit against Sanderson, who, in consequence of it, was cast into prison [l]. This circumstance is mentioned, to account for that spleen and malice which Sanderson the historian, the son of the other, has shewn to the memory of Ralegh, in that despicable performance of his, entitled, A Complete History of King James, which wants every quality, even those of common sense and grammar, necessary to such a work. Sir Walter at last obtained a restoration of his estate; which having been actually made over to his eldest son Walter before the

[g] Stowe's Annals.

[h] Dugdale's Baronage, vol. 1. fol. 716. edit. 1675.

[i] Observations on Sanderson's History, p. 12. and Weldon's Court and Character of King James, p. 38, 39, 40. and Oldys, p. 392.

[k] Rymer's Fœdera, tom. 16. p. 569.

[l] Observations on Sanderson's Complete History of Mary Queen of

death of queen Elizabeth, upon his resolution to accept of the challenge from sir Amias Preston; that settlement prevented his forfeiture of it, except during his own life; and the king now granted him that term in it. But he did not long enjoy it; for the new Scots favourite of the king, Robert Carr, afterwards earl of Somerset, having no fortune of his own, and looking out for one, discovered a flaw in the conveyance of Ralegh's estate to his son; upon which an information being exhibited in the exchequer by the attorney-general Hobart, judgment was given for the crown, and Sherborne and others of his estates granted in 1609 to Carr; the king being inflexible to all the petitions of the lady Ralegh and her children [m], and Ralegh himself in vain expostulating with the favourite upon the wrong done to him [n].

He softened the rigours of his long confinement in an application to various kinds of studies, even those of chymistry and physic, in which last he discovered the cordial which bears his name, though the composition has been so mixed with an excessive number of ingredients, as has of late lessened its reputation [o]; but it is now reduced, by the royal college of physicians at London, to its original simplicity [p]. He wrote likewise several treatises upon different subjects; but his greatest work, and indeed the greatest of any writer of any age, is his History of the World, published in April 1614, in which the collection and disposition of that vast body of facts, and the beauty, strength, and majesty of the style, are equally admirable. He seems to have formed a plan for a continuation of that History, but not to have had leisure to make any considerable progress in it; for the story of his throwing the second part of it into the flames, upon his bookseller's complaining, that the slow sale of the

Scots, and her son King James, p. 2.

[m] A Brief Relation of sir Walter Ralegh's Troubles, p. 6, 7. edit. 1669. 4to. and Carew Ralegh's case at the committee for sale of delinquents' estates, MS. quoted by Mr. Oldys, p. 399.

[n] Oldys, p. 400.

[o] Quincy's Dispensary, p. 445, 446. 11th edit.

[p] Plan of a new London Pharmacopœia, p. 72. edit. London, 1745.

first had ruined him, has not the least authority or probability [q].

The patron of his studies was prince Henry, who had an high esteem for Ralegh's abilities, and for whom the latter drew up several of his discourses: and that prince, a few months before his death, in 1612, obtained the grant of Sherborne for himself, with an intention to restore it to sir Walter; the king having given Carr, then viscount Rochester, twenty-five thousand pounds in money for resigning it to the prince [r]; and his majesty allowed sir Walter's wife and son eight thousand pounds for that estate [s]. But the death of this prince, to whom Ralegh sent his cordial just before he expired, was an important loss to him, as well as to the nation. And though sir Walter had the queen's protection during the height of lord Rochester's (now earl of Somerset's) favour, yet he could not obtain his liberty till after the disgrace and condemnation of that favourite for the murder of sir Thomas Overbury.

However, in 1614 he had the liberty of the Tower allowed him; but in April the same year, before he obtained that favour, he had the misfortune of seeing his eldest son Walter obliged to fly into the Low Countries, on account of a duel, in which he had been engaged with Mr. Robert Tyrwhit, a dependent of the earl of Suffolk, lord high treasurer [t]. At last, by the means of fifteen hundred pounds given to sir William St. John and sir Edward Villiers, half brother to the lady Villiers, mother to the new favourite sir George Villiers, afterwards duke of Buckingham, sir Walter procured his liberty [u], for which he returned thanks to that favourite on the 17th of March 1615-16 [x]; being the same day released out of the Tower [y], after above twelve years confinement there. But some months before he left that

[q] Oldys, p. 457.

[r] Relation of sir Walter Ralegh's Troubles, p. 8.

[s] Sir Walter Ralegh's Apology, p. 47.

[t] MS. letter of the lord Carew to sir Thomas Roe, dated from the Savoy, Westminster, January 24, 1615-16.

[u] Observations on Sanderson's History of King James, p. 10.

[x] Letter of sir Walter Ralegh to sir George Villiers, apud Oldys, p. 468.

[y] MS. letter of lord Carew to sir Thomas Roe, 18th of Jan. 1616-17.

place, he saw the earl of Somerset brought thither prisoner, and afterwards condemned to death; which occasioned sir Walter to compare his own case with that of the earl's, and to remark, "That the whole history of the world had not "the like precedent of a king's prisoner to purchase free-"dom, and his bosom favourite to have the halter, but in "scripture, in the case of Mordecai and Haman." Upon hearing of which the king is said to have replied, that *Ralegh might die in that deceit:* which proved true; for his majesty afterwards pardoned Somerset, and executed Ralegh, equally to the astonishment of the world.

Sir Walter being now at large, had the means of prosecuting his old scheme of settling Guiana, with which he was so strongly possessed, that, even during his imprisonment, he held a constant correspondence with that country, sending thither every year, or every second year, a ship, to keep the Indians in hopes of being relieved from the tyranny of the Spaniards, who had again encroached upon them, and massacred several, both of the inhabitants and of his own men. In these ships were brought over several natives of that country, with whom he conversed in the Tower, and obtained all possible informations concerning it[z]. Upon these lights he offered his scheme for prosecuting his discovery to the court, before he undertook it in person: nor were there then any doubts, either as to the improbability of the design, or its unlawfulness, notwithstanding the peace made with Spain; otherwise the king would not have made such grants as he did, even at that time[a]; which shews, that he was then convinced, that sir Walter had in his first voyage discovered and taken possession of that country for the crown of England; and that consequently his subjects were justly entitled to any benefits that might arise from its discovery, without the least respect to the pretensions of the Spaniards. Besides, at the time when sir Walter first moved the court upon this subject, the Spanish match was not thought of; and the king's necessities being

[z] Ralegh's Apology, p. 52, 53. [a] Oldys, p. 465.

then very pressing, he may be presumed to have conceived great hopes from that discovery; though he might afterwards change his opinion, when he grew so unreasonably fond of that match [b]. Upon sir Ralph Winwood's advancement to the post of secretary of state, which was on the 29th of March 1614, Ralegh revived his proposal about Guiana in a letter to him, in which he complained of having been extremely misrepresented by two or three courtiers to the king to such a degree, that even the united interests of prince Henry, the queen, and her brother the king of Denmark, who were all convinced of his innocence, could not set him right in his majesty's opinion; but at the same time acknowledging, that all he had remaining was owing to his majesty, declared, that he was ready to sacrifice it all in his service; since to die for the king, and not by the king, was all the ambition he had in the world [c]. But he could not procure leave of the court to execute his design, till after he had purchased his liberty; and on the 26th of August 1616, obtained a royal commission to settle Guiana, at the expense of himself and his friends. Some writers [d] have represented this commission as under the *great seal* of England, and directed, *To our trusty and well-beloved sir Walter Ralegh, knt.* But according to others [e], and the account given by king James himself in his Declaration, published after Ralegh's death [f], it was only under the *privy seal*, and without those expressions of trust or grace. But it is not impossible, that this commission might pass both seals; and this conjecture is countenanced by a passage in a letter, which Ralegh drew up for Mr. Peter Vanlore, an eminent merchant, to be sent to his brother sir Adrian Thibaut in Amsterdam, requesting him to engage another merchant there to communicate to sir Walter something of importance, which he knew relating to Guiana; in which let-

[b] Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, vol. 2. p. 71.

[c] Sir Walter Ralegh's letter to Mr. secretary Winwood, printed in his Remains.

[d] See Ralegh's Remains, p. 200. Coke's Detection of the four last reigns, p. 85. Rapin's History of England, and Mr. Tindall's notes.

[e] Rymer, tom. 16. p. 759.

[f] P. 4. edit. 1618. in 4to.

ter mention is made of a commission to him under the *great seal*[g]. However, even that commission under the *privy seal*, which was unquestionably given, grants him very extensive powers. By one clause he is constituted general and commander in chief of this enterprise; and by another appointed governor of the new country, which he was to settle, and this with ample authority; by a third he has power of exercising martial law, in such a manner as the king's lieutenant-general by sea or land, or any of the lieutenants of the counties of England, had. These powers seem to imply in them a virtual pardon to Ralegh, and perhaps made him less solicitous for an actual one. It is affirmed indeed, in the king's Declaration, that he sued much for such a pardon, but that it was refused by his majesty, "both to disauthorize him with those that were under his "command, in case he should attempt to exceed his com-"mission, and to reserve him to the justice of the law, if "by new offences he should make himself indign of former "mercies." But it is expressly affirmed in a letter of Carew Ralegh, that his father had overtures made him of a pardon for fifteen hundred pounds by sir William St. John, one of the persons of whom he had before bought his freedom; but that sir Francis Bacon, newly made lord keeper of the great seal, being consulted by him, dissuaded him in these words: "Sir, the knee-timber of your voyage is money. "Spare your purse in this particular; for upon my life "you have a sufficient pardon for all that is past already, "the king having under his broad seal made you admiral of "your fleet, and given you power of the martial law over "your officers and soldiers[h]."

The Spanish ambassador, don Diego Sarmiento de Acuna, better known by the title of count de Gondomar, who by his address and vivacity of humour had gained a prodigious ascendant over the king, at the expense of his majesty's honour and the nation's interest, took immediate alarm at

[g] Oldys, p. 473.

[h] Howell's Familiar Letters, vol. 2. letter 63, p. 371. 5th edit. London, 1678; and Observations on Sanderson's History, p. 10.

Ralegh's preparations, and made loud and vehement assertions to the king, as his majesty affirms in his Declaration [i], that he knew and had discovered the intention and enterprise of sir Walter to be only hostile and piratical, tending to a breach between the two crowns, and the danger and destruction of the king his master's subjects in those parts. The king's answer was, as he represents it himself [k], that he would send Ralegh with a limited commission, and that "he "durst not, upon peril of his head, attempt any such mat-"ter; and if he did, he would surely do justice upon him, or "send him bound hand and feet into Spain, with all the gold "and goods he should obtain by robbery and bring home, "were they never so great." But the limitations intimated in this Declaration do not appear in the commission, in which there is no restriction to any part of America, not only the southern, but other parts, being authorized, and all that is inhabited by heathen and savage people, without the least specification of Guiana, or prohibition to meddle with the king of Spain's subjects there or elsewhere; but on the contrary, with full liberty to carry what arms and ammunition they pleased for defence, and the royal assurance of enjoying unmolested whatever they returned with. The commission is not therefore so well and clearly penned, as the king represents in his Declaration; who affirms there likewise, that he, in his own princely judgment, gave no belief to sir Walter's assertions, that he had seen and tried the gold ore of the mine of Guiana, as being persuaded, that in nature there were no such mines of gold entire, or that the Spaniards, so industrious in the chase of treasure, would not have neglected it so long: and yet in the commission his majesty takes care to secure to himself his own dividend of a full fifth of such gold, &c. His majesty observes also in the same Declaration, that he had, for further caution, enjoined secretary Winwood to urge sir Walter, upon his conscience and allegiance, to deal plainly, and express himself, whether he had any other intention,

[i] Page 5. [k] Ibid.

but only to go to these golden mines in Guiana; which sir Walter not only protested solemnly unto the secretary, but by him wrote a close letter to his majesty, containing a solemn profession thereof, confirmed with many asseverations, and that he never meant or would commit any outrages or spoils upon the king of Spain's subjects; with which protestation of sir Walter his majesty acquainted the Spanish ambassador, who still persisted in his jealousy and importunity to king James to stay the voyage, alleging, that the great number that sir Walter had prepared for it shewed manifestly that he had no peaceable intention; and offering, upon Ralegh's answer thereto, that those ships were only provided for his safe convoy, that, if sir Walter would go with one or two ships only to seek the mine, he would move the king of Spain to send two or three ships with him back again for his safe convoy to England with the gold, and the ambassador himself to remain here in pledge for the king his master's performance thereof. "But "such," adds his majesty, "were the constant fair offers of "the said sir Walter Ralegh, and specious promises, as his "majesty in the end rejected the importunate suit of the "said Spanish ambassador for his stay, and resolved to let "him go; but withal took order, both that he, and all "those that went in his company, should find good security "to behave themselves peaceably towards all his majesty's "friends and allies, and to observe strictly all the articles of "the commission, which his majesty, for that cause, had "the greater care to have it well and clearly penned and "set down." But how clearly this commission was penned has been remarked already; and with regard to the close letter, which the king takes notice sir Walter had written to him, it was probably that in which that gentleman had, in obedience to his majesty's commands, given an account of the number of his men, the burden and strength of his ships, together with the country and river which he was to enter[1]. This letter appears to have been commu-

[1] Sir Walter Ralegh's letter to sir Ralph Winwood.

nicated by the king to the Spanish ambassador, by which means the king of Spain had an exact knowledge of Ralegh's whole enterprise; and accordingly sent to Guiana, before sir Walter left the channel, to prepare a greater force than his to oppose him [m]: and the original of that very letter is said to have been found afterwards in the Spanish governor's closet at St Thome in Guiana, when that town was taken [n]. This account is favoured by this remarkable circumstance, of his majesty's omitting to insert that close letter, which he mentions of sir Walter, in his Declaration, as he would most probably have done, if it had been then in his possession. But to justify the truth of his majesty's communications with the Spanish ambassador upon this subject, I shall insert here the following passage from an original letter [o] of Villiers earl of Buckingham to secretary Winwood, dated March 28, 1617, from Lincoln, where the court then was: "His majesty perceiveth, by a letter he "hath received from the Spanish ambassador, that you "have not been yet with him, to acquaint him with the "order taken by his majesty about sir Walter Ralegh's "voyage; and therefore would have you go to him, as "soon as you can possibly, to relate unto him particularly "his majesty's care of that business, and the course he hath "taken therein." This letter, though it gives us no light into the particulars of what sir Ralph Winwood was to deliver to the Spanish ambassador, shews evidently, that his business was of a kind, which that honest secretary had no inclination or forwardness to be employed in.

The whole expense of Ralegh's expedition was defrayed by him and his friends. For this purpose he called in the eight thousand pounds which he had lent to the countess of Bedford [p], reckoned in king James's Declaration a competent satisfaction for all his estates, though Sherborne alone was afterwards valued by the state at 5000*l.* per

[m] Shirley's Life of sir Walter Ralegh, p. 183. edit. 1677. Howell's Letters, ubi supra, p. 369.

[n] Howell, ibid. and Shirley, ibid.

[o] In the possession of the late duke of Montagu.

[p] Observations on Sanderson's History of King James, p. 11.

annum. He prevailed likewise with his wife to sell her estate at Mitcham in Surry, for 2500*l.* for the promoting the design [q], in which he engaged many adventurers. But the company of volunteers were such, as had never seen the sea nor wars, and, except about forty gentlemen, were a very dissolute, disorderly, and ungovernable crew, "whom "their friends thought it an exceeding good gain to be dis-"charged of, at the hazard of some thirty, forty, or fifty "pounds, knowing they could not have lived a whole year "so cheap at home [r]." Several merchants, both in England and foreign parts, contributed likewise to this adventure; so that at last Ralegh was enabled to fit out a fleet consisting of seven sail. The first was the admiral called the Destiny, a stout ship, built by sir Walter himself, of the burden of four hundred and forty tons, and carrying thirty-six pieces of cannon. On board of it were sir Walter Ralegh general, and his son Walter captain, besides two hundred men, of whom eighty were gentlemen volunteers and adventurers, most of them sir Walter's relations; which number was afterwards increased. The second, the Jason of London, two hundred and forty tons, and twenty-five guns; captain John Pennington vice-admiral; eighty men, one gentleman, and no more. Third, the Encounter, one hundred and sixty tons, seventeen guns; Edward Hastings captain; succeeded, upon his death in the West Indies, by captain Whitney. Fourth, the Thunder, one hundred and fifty tons, twenty guns; sir William St. Leger captain; six gentlemen, sixty soldiers, and ten landmen. Fifth, the Flying Joan, one hundred and twenty tons, fourteen guns; John Chidley captain; twenty-five men. Sixth, the Southampton, eighty tons, six guns; John Baily captain; twenty-five mariners, two gentlemen. Seventh, the Page, a pinnace, twenty-five tons, three rabnets of brass; James Barker captain; eight sailors. But before Ralegh left the coast of England, he was joined by as many ships more, so that his whole fleet consisted of thirteen sail, besides his own ship.

[q] Ibid. and Ralegh's Apology, p. 47, 48. [r] Ralegh's Apology, p. 4.

Among these were the Convertine, commanded by captain Keymis; the Confidence, commanded by captain Wollaston; a shallop, named the Flying Hart, under sir John Ferne; two flyboats, under captain Samuel King and captain Robert Smith; and a caravel, with perhaps another named the Chudley, besides.

With the former part of this fleet Ralegh sailed from the Thames, on the 26th of March 1617, but it was the end of June, or beginning of July, before all his company joined him, and he left Plymouth with his whole fleet; after which he was obliged to put into Cork in Ireland through stress of weather, and remained there till the 19th of August. He reached the Canaries on the 6th of September, and obtained there some refreshments, with an ample certificate from the governor, that he had behaved himself with great justice and honour [s]. In the whole voyage, between the Cape de Verd islands and America, he met with such contrary winds and so many storms, that the fleet was in great want of water, and the crew so sickly, that many of the ablest men, both for sea and land, died. However, on the 17th of November they came in sight of Guiana, and soon after to anchor, in five degrees, off the river Caliana, where they stayed till the 4th of December [t]. Here Ralegh was received by the Indians of those parts with the utmost joy, who not only assisted him with provisions and every thing else in their power, but offered him the sovereignty of the country, if he would settle amongst them; which he declined to accept [u]. His extreme sickness for six weeks preventing him from undertaking the discovery of the mines in person, he was obliged to depute captain Keymis to that service; and accordingly on the 4th of December ordered five small ships to sail into the river Oronoque. Aboard these five vessels were five companies of fifty men each; the first commanded by captain Parker, brother of the lord Monteagle; the second by captain North, brother

[s] Oldys, p. 488.

[t] Sir Walter Ralegh's letter to secretary Winwood.

[u] Letter to his lady from Caliana, Nov. 14, 1617. printed among his Remains.

of lord North; the third by his son captain Ralegh; the fourth by captain Thornhurst; and the fifth by Prideaux, lieutenant to captain Chidley. Sir Warham St. Leger, Ralegh's lieutenant, who had the charge of these companies, falling sick at Caliana, it was conferred upon George Ralegh, sir Walter's nephew, who had served with great reputation in the Low Countries; and captain Keymis had the chief charge of landing and conducting them [x]. But Keymis having laid down the plan of his intended attempt upon the mine, and undertaken to discover it with six or eight persons in sir John Ferne's shallop, Ralegh disliking that method of proceeding, determined to alter it, and therefore sent to him the following instructions [y]:

"Keymis, Whereas you were resolved, after your arrival "into the Oronoque, to pass to the mine with my cousin "Herbert and six musketeers, and to that end desired "to have sir John Ferne's shallop; I do not allow of that "course; because you cannot land so secretly, but that "some Indians on the river side may discover you, who "giving knowledge thereof to the Spaniards, you may be "cut off before you recover your boat. I therefore advise "you to suffer the captains and companies of the English "to pass up westward of the mountain Aio, from whence "you have no less than three miles to the mine, and to en-"camp between the Spanish town and you, if there is any "town near it; that being so secured, you may make trial "what depth and breadth the mine holds, and whether or "not it will answer our hopes. And if you find it royal, "and the Spaniards begin to war upon you, then let the "sergeant-major repel them, if it is in his power, and drive "them as far as he can; but if you find the mine is not so "rich, as to persuade the holding of it, and it requires a "second supply, then shall you bring but a basket or two "to satisfy his majesty that my design was not imaginary, "but true, though not answerable to his majesty's expecta-"tion; for the quantity of which I never gave assurance,

[x] Ralegh's Journal, MS. apud Oldys, p. 494.
[y] Ralegh's Apology, p. 26.

"nor could. On the other side, if you shall find any great "number of soldiers are newly sent into the Oronoque, "as the cassique of Caliana told us there were, and that "the passages are already enforced, so as without manifest "peril of my son, yourself, and the other captains, you "cannot pass towards the mine; then be well advised how "you land, for I know (a few gentlemen excepted) what a "scum of men you have, and I would not for all the world "receive a blow from the Spaniard to the dishonour of the "nation. I myself, for my weakness, cannot be present; "neither will the company land, except I abide by the "ships, the galleons of Spain being daily expected. Piggot "the sergeant-major is dead; sir Warham St. Leger, my "lieutenant, without hope of life; and my nephew, George "Ralegh, your sergeant-major now, but a young man. It "is therefore on your judgment that I rely, whom I trust "God will direct for the best. Let me hear from you as "soon as you can. You shall find me at Punta de Gallo, "dead or alive; and if you find not my ships there, yet "there you shall find their ashes; for I will fire with the "galleons, if it comes to extremity, but run away I will "never."

With these instructions the five ships set forward, parting from Ralegh and the rest of the fleet, with a month's provision, on the 10th of December [z]. But when they found a new Spanish town, called St. Thome, consisting of about one hundred and forty houses, though lightly built, with a chapel, a convent of Franciscans, and a garrison, erected on the main channel of the Oronoque [a], about twenty miles distant from the place where Antonio Berreo, the governor taken by Ralegh in his first discovery and conquest here, attempted to plant; Keymis and the rest thought themselves obliged, through fear of having the enemy's garrison between them and their boats, to deviate from their instructions, which enjoined them, first to carry a little party to make trial of the mine, under shelter of their own camp;

[z] Ralegh's Journal, apud Oldys, p. 496.
[a] Heylin's Cosmography, p. 1084.

and then to deal with the Spanish town as it should behave towards them. They determined therefore to land in one body, and encamp between the mine and the town [b], by which means, though themselves were the stronger, their boats were exposed, and the mine left untried, contrary to Ralegh's order. For about three weeks after their departure, landing by night, nearer the town than they suspected, and intending to rest themselves on the river side till morning, they were in the night-time set upon by the Spanish troops, apprised of, and forearmed for their coming. This charge was so unexpected, and struck the common soldiers with such amazement and confusion, that had not the captains and some other gentlemen animated the rest, they had all been cut to pieces. But the rest, by their example, soon rallying, made so vigorous an opposition to the Spaniards, that they forced them to a retreat, till in the warmth of the pursuit the English found themselves at the Spanish town before they knew where they were. Here the battle was renewed against them, being assaulted by the governor himself don Diego Palameca, and four or five captains at the head of their companies; against whom captain Ralegh, from the heat and impatience of youth, being but twenty-three years old, neglecting his own safety, and not waiting for the musketeers, rushed forward at the head of a company of pikes, and having killed one of the Spanish captains, was himself shot by another; but pressing still forward with his sword upon Erinetta, probably the captain who had shot him, this Spaniard with the but-end of his musket felled him to the ground; and after these words, "Lord have mercy upon me, and prosper your en-"terprise," young Ralegh spoke no more. His sergeant, John Plessington, immediately thrust the Spanish captain through the body with his halbert. Two other Spanish officers were killed at the same time, and the governor himself fell in the same engagement [c], which happened on the

[b] Ralegh's Apology, p. 29. and his letter to lord Carew, printed at the end of that Apology, p. 64.

[c] Ralegh's Apology, p. 30. 31. 33. and his letter to his wife.

2d of January 1617-18[d]. The Spanish leaders being all thus despatched, and many of their soldiers, the rest fled and were dispersed, some to shelter about the market-place, from whence they killed and wounded the English at pleasure, so that the latter saw no way left for safety but by firing the town, and driving the enemy to the woods and mountains, whence they still kept the English waking with perpetual alarms[e]. Others were more careful to defend the passages to their mines, of which they had three or four not far distant, than they had been to defend the town itself[f].

Captain Keymis had now, by the removal of all obstructions, an opportunity of visiting and making a trial of the mine, which he assured Ralegh, in a letter of the 8th of January, he was preparing to do[g], and actually attempted, with captain Thornhurst, Mr. W. Herbert, sir John Hamden, and others; but at their first approach near the bank, where they intended to land, he received from an ambuscade of the Spaniards in the woods a volley of shot, which slew two of his company, hurt six others, and wounded captain Thornhurst dangerously in the head. This staggered his resolution, especially as he found the river so low, so that he could not approach the banks in most other places near the mine by a mile, and the woods thick and unpassable; and considered, that if they should discover the mine, they had no men to work it, the Spaniards themselves having several gold and silver mines near the town, which were useless, for want of negroes. Keymis therefore about the middle of February returned to Punta de Gallo, without discovering the mine, alleging the reasons mentioned above, and that the companies of English in the town of St. Thome were not able to defend it against the daily and nightly assaults of the Spaniards[h]. Besides, as some mitigation of their ill success, and inducement to further hopes, Keymis

[d] Camdeni Annales Regis Jacobi, p. 28.
[e] Ralegh's Apology, p. 31.
[f] Ralegh's Remains, p. 178.
[g] Keymis's letter to Ralegh's Apology, p. 32.
[h] Ralegh's Apology, p. 42—46. and letter to Winwood.

produced two ingots of gold, which had been reserved at St. Thome, as the king of Spain's quinto or proportion, together with other valuable spoils of the governor, and a large quantity of papers, letters, memorials, schemes, plans, and maps found in that governor's study. Among these were four letters, which plainly discovered, not only Ralegh's whole enterprise to have been betrayed, but his life thereby put into the power of the Spaniards. The first was from the king of Spain dated the 19th of March 1616-17, and sent by a bark of advice to Guiana; the second, another of that king of the 2d of May, to the governor of that country; the third, sent from that king by the bishop of Porto Rico, and delivered to that governor on the 15th of July; and the fourth, from the farmer and secretary of the customs in the Indies. These letters discovered the preparations made by the Spaniards to receive Ralegh; who complained of the treachery of betraying and exposing him to them, in the letter which he wrote about a month after to secretary Winwood, and in that to his lady. To the just indignation which he conceived upon this occasion, was added the mortification of finding that captain Keymis had made no trial of the mine; upon which he reproached that captain with having undone him, and wounded his credit with the king past recovery. This affected Keymis with so sensible a concern, that he retired to his cabin, where he shot himself; but finding the wound not mortal, he despatched himself with a long knife thrust through his left pap into his heart [i].

The ill state of sir Walter's health would not suffer him to repair the neglect of Keymis, by going up the river himself; for all the while he lay with the five larger ships at Punta de Gallo, he was incapable of such a voyage, and at the same time was in continual apprehension of being attacked in this divided state of his fleet by the Spanish armada, sent out purposely to lay wait for and destroy him; but the enemy missed him by staying in the wrong place [k].

[i] Ralegh's Apology, p. 39. and letters to Winwood and to his wife.

[k] Ralegh's Journal and letter to Winwood.

However, his misfortunes and disappointments did not alter his resolution of returning home, though the crew of his own ship fell to mutiny upon their arrival at Newfoundland, where some were for staying abroad. But the majority being of opinion to return to England, he arrived with his leaky ships at Kingsale in Ireland [l]. By this time the news of the firing St. Thome, and the slaughter of the Spaniards there, being brought to England, and the Spanish ambassador insisting upon satisfaction for the injuries done to his master's subjects; king James, on the 11th of June, 1618, published a proclamation [m], declaring his detestation of sir Walter's conduct towards the Spaniards at Guiana; and charging such as were acquainted with the particulars to repair to any of his privy council, and certify their whole knowledge. This proclamation asserts, that his majesty had, by express limitation and caution, restrained and forbid Ralegh from attempting any act of hostility upon any territories or subjects of foreign princes with whom his majesty was in amity, and more particularly those of his dear brother the king of Spain. Yet it is evident, that the commission, to which this proclamation refers, contains no such limitation.

The proclamation however did not deter sir Walter, upon his arrival at Plymouth in the beginning of July, from landing, and resolving to surrender himself voluntarily into the king's hands, to whom he wrote an excellent letter in defence of himself. As he was upon the road to London, before he came to Ashburton, he was met by sir Lewis Stuckley, vice-admiral of Devonshire, and his own kinsman, who had orders from the court to arrest and bring him up prisoner. And this man, who had meanness enough to undertake an office so unsuitable to the relation between them, appears to have executed it with equal disingenuity.

Sir Walter returned with him to Plymouth; where being now apprehensive of the resentment of the king and his Hispaniolised ministers, he contrived to convey himself out of

[l] Oldys, p. 510. [m] Rymer, tom. 17. fol. 92.

the kingdom in a vessel hired for that purpose by captain Samuel King, an old officer of his. But changing his resolution in that respect, he proceeded on his journey towards London[n]; yet thinking it proper to gain time for the appeasing of his majesty, at Salisbury, by the assistance of one Manourie, a French quack, he counterfeited sickness for several days, during which he wrote his Apology. However, on the 7th of August he arrived at London, where he was permitted the confinement of his own house; but having still good reasons not to trust himself to the mercy of the court, he formed a design to escape into France, which sir Lewis Stuckley, who was privy to and encouraged it, discovered; and sir Walter being seized in a boat upon the river below Woolwich, was a second time, on the 10th of August, committed to the Tower. But though his death seemed absolutely determined, yet it was not easy to find a method to compass it, since his conduct in his late expedition could not be stretched in law to such a sentence. It was resolved therefore to sacrifice him to Spain, in a manner which has justly exposed the court to the abhorrence of all succeeding ages, by calling him down to judgment upon his former sentence, passed fifteen years before, which they were then ashamed or scrupled to execute: so that, by a strange contrariety of proceedings, he, who had been condemned for being a friend to the Spaniards, now lost his life for being their enemy. A privy seal was accordingly sent to the judges, to order immediate execution; upon which a conference was held on Friday the 23d of Oct. 1618, between all the judges of England, concerning the manner how prisoners, who have been attainted of treason, and set at liberty, should be brought to execution.

In consequence of their resolution, a privy seal came to the king's bench, commanding that court to proceed against sir Walter according to law[o]; who the next day received notice from the counsel to prepare himself for death[p]; and on

[n] Captain King's Narrative, MS. apud Oldys, p. 519.

[o] Sir Richard Hutton's Reports, p. 21. Judge Crooke's Reports, 2. fol. 495. Sergeant Rolles's Reports, 50. p. 7.

[p] Camdeni Annales Regis Jacobi, p. 37.

Wednesday the 28th of that month, at eight in the morning, was taken out of bed in the hot fit of an ague, and carried to the king's bench bar at Westminster. The chief justice, sir Henry Montagu, ordered the record of his conviction and judgment at Winchester in 1603 to be read, and then demanded, what he had to offer why execution should not be awarded? To this sir Walter pleaded the commission granted him by his majesty for his late voyage, which implied a restoring life to him, by giving him power, as marshal, on the life and death of others. He then began to justify his conduct in that voyage; but the court refused to hear him; and so execution was awarded against him. He desired them, that he might not be cut off so suddenly, since he had somewhat to do in discharge of his conscience, something to satisfy his majesty and the world in; calling upon God to be his judge, before whom he should shortly appear, that he was never disloyal to his majesty; "which I "will justify," said he, "where I shall not fear the face of "any king on earth." He was then lead to the Gatehouse near the Palace-yard; and the same day the warrant for his execution was produced, and signed at Westminster, though his majesty was then retired into the country, having rejected all petitions in his favour [q]. The next morning, Thursday the 29th of October, the day of the lord mayor's inauguration, a solemnity never perhaps attended before with a public execution, sir Walter Ralegh was conducted by the sheriffs of Middlesex to the Old Palace-yard in Westminster. He was assisted in his last moments by Dr. Robert Tolson, then dean of Westminster, and afterwards bishop of Salisbury, who has written an account of his death [r]; in which he observes, that being surprised at sir Walter Ralegh's contempt of death, and expostulating with him upon it, sir Walter told him plainly, that he never feared death, and much less then; for which

[q] Oldys, p. 554.

[r] In a letter to sir John Isham, of Lamport in Northamptonshire, dated at Westminster college, Nov. 9, 1618, still preserved in the family, and cited by Mr. Campbell, Lives of the Admirals, vol. 2. p. 84, 85.

he blessed God: that as to the manner of it, though to others it might seem grievous, yet, for himself, he had rather die so than in a burning fever. That this was the effect of Christian courage, he convinced the dean then, and, "I think," says he, "all the spectators at his death." He said nothing as to the old plot, but justified himself fully as to what had been lately objected to him. The dean having put him in mind of the earl of Essex, he said, that lord was taken off by a trick; which he told the dean privately, but it is not set down by him. Sir Walter eat his breakfast heartily that morning, smoked his pipe, and made no more of death than if he had been to take a journey [s]. On the scaffold he conversed freely with the lord Arundel and others of the nobility, and in his speech vindicated himself from two suspicions, which the king had conceived against him, and which he apprehended had hastened his death; one of which was, that he had been engaged in some plot or confederacy with France; and the other, that he had spoken disloyally of his majesty. He confessed his attempt to escape, and his pretending sickness at Salisbury, in order to gain time for pacifying his majesty. He forgave Manourie the Frenchman, and sir Lewis Stuckley, the injuries which they had done him. He denied that he was brought by force into England from his last voyage, and that he had no intentions to return thither; and vindicated himself from the imputation, that he did not design to go to Guiana at all, and that he knew of no mine there, but merely used it as a pretence to gain his liberty. He cleared himself likewise from another calumny, of having designed to leave his men at Guiana; as also from having been a persecutor of the earl of Essex, and insulting him at his death. He concluded with desiring the company to join with him in prayer to that great God of heaven, "whom," says he, "I "have grievously offended, being a man full of vanity, who "has lived a sinful life in such callings as have been most "inducing to it: for I have been a soldier, a sailor, and a "courtier; which are courses of wickedness and vice."

[s] Ibid.

Then proclamation being made, that all men should depart the scaffold, he prepared himself for death, giving away his hat and cap and money to some attendants who stood near him. When he took leave of the lords and other gentlemen, he entreated the lord Arundel to desire the king, that no scandalous writings to defame him might be published after his death; concluding, "I have a long journey to go, and "therefore will take my leave." Then having put off his gown and doublet, he called to the executioner to shew him the axe; which not being presently done, he said, "I "prithee, let me see it. Dost thou think that I am afraid "of it?" and having it in his hands, he felt along the edge of it, and smiling, said to the sheriff, "This is a sharp medi-"cine, but it is a physician for all diseases." Then going to and fro on every side of the scaffold, he desired the company to pray to God to assist him and strengthen him. The executioner kneeling down and asking him forgiveness, sir Walter, laying his hand upon his shoulder, granted it; and being asked which way he would lay himself on the block, he answered, "So the heart be right, it is no matter which "way the head lies." As he stooped to lay himself along, and reclined his head, his face being towards the east, the executioner spread his own cloak under him. After a little pause, he gave the sign that he was ready for the stroke by lifting up his hand, and his head was struck off at two blows, his body never shrinking nor moving. His head was shewn on each side of the scaffold, and then put into a red leather bag, and, with his velvet nightgown thrown over, was afterwards conveyed away in a mourning coach of his lady's. His body was interred in the chancel of St. Margaret's church in Westminster; but his head was long preserved in a case by his widow, who survived him twenty-nine years; and after her death, by his son Carew, with whom it is said to have been buried at West-Horsley in Surry, which had been a seat of sir Walter[t], who was sixty-six years of age at his death[u].

[t] Oldys, p. 564, note.

[u] Camdeni Annales Regis Jacobi, p. 38. Wood's Histor. Oxon. vol. 1. col. 440. and Prince's Worthies of Devonshire.

Thus fell this great man, the victim of a mean and corrupt court to a foreign power, whose influence had at that time an absolute ascendant in the councils of England over the true interests of the nation. And it is remarkable, that king James himself, soon after Ralegh's execution, condescended to plead that as a merit with the court of Spain, having directed one of his principal ministers to write to Mr. Cottington, his agent at Madrid [x], to press that court to act with sincerity towards him, since his majesty had given so many testimonies of his, especially in the causing sir Walter Ralegh to be put to death, chiefly for the giving them satisfaction; in which, as well as in other points, his majesty had strained upon the affections of his people, who were greatly affected by the courage and constancy shewn by him at his death, which they attributed to the desire his majesty had to satisfy Spain. Mr. Cottington was likewise instructed to let that court know, "how able a man sir "Walter was to have done his majesty service; and yet, to "content them, he had not spared him, when, by preserv-"ing him, he might have given great satisfaction to his "subjects, and had at command, upon all occasions, as use-"ful a man as served any prince in Christendom." And in fact, his death raised so universal a discontent through the nation, that the king thought proper to publish soon after "a Declaration of the demeanour and carriage of sir "Walter, as well in his voyage, as in and since his return;" in which were pretended to be the "true motives and in-"ducements which occasioned his majesty to proceed in "doing justice upon him." It begins with the assertion of that principle, of which himself was so fond, and which led him and his family into so many errors of pernicious consequence both to themselves and their subjects, that "kings "are not bound to give account of their actions to any but "God." However, he declares that he was willing to represent his proceedings in this case to the world; and accordingly urges several charges against sir Walter Ralegh, some

[x] Rushworth's Collections, vol. 1. p. 9, 10.

of which have been already taken notice of, endeavouring to shew, that the mine of Guiana was a mere fiction of Ralegh, and that his original and only design was to plunder the Spanish settlements, and to surprise their fleets; that he had formed a cruel purpose to leave the land soldiers on shore at Guiana; that after the defeat of his designs, he had no intention to return home, but to go to the East Indies, or to settle at Newfoundland; that after his arrival in England he contrived several stratagems to escape: by all which offences he had made himself unworthy of his majesty's mercy. But this Declaration had very little effect in satisfying the minds of the people, who likewise shewed the utmost contempt for the "humble petition and information "of sir Lewis Stuckley, touching his own behaviour in the "charge committed unto him for the bringing up of sir "Walter Ralegh, and the scandalous aspersions cast upon "him for the same;" which was printed the same year 1618. And indeed no regard was due to a man of his character, who, before the end of that very year, was surprised in Whitehall clipping the gold bestowed on him as a reward for his treachery; and being condemned for that crime, and reduced to the necessity of stripping himself to his shirt to raise money to purchase a pardon, withdrew himself from the odium of mankind to the island of Lundy in the Severn sea [y], where he died mad, on the 29th of August 1620 [z], in less than two years after sir Walter Ralegh.

[y] Aulicus Coquinariæ, p. 94. Frankland's Annals of King James, p. 32. and Howell's Letters, vol. 2. p. 372.

[z] Camdeni Annales Regis Jacobi, p. 60.

THE

TRIAL

OF

SIR WALTER RALEGH, KNIGHT,

FOR HIGH TREASON,

AT WINTON THE 17TH OF NOVEMBER, 1603, 1 JAC. I.

The commissioners were,

The right honourable Henry Howard, earl of Suffolk, lord chamberlain.
Charles Blunt, earl of Devon.
Lord Henry Howard, afterward earl of Northampton.
Robert Cecil, earl of Salisbury.
Edward lord Wotton, of Morley.
Sir John Stanhope, vice-chamberlain.
Lord chief justice of England, Popham.
Lord chief justice of the common-pleas, Anderson.
Mr. Justice Gawdie.
Mr. Justice Warburton, and
Sir William Wade.

FIRST, the commission of oyer and terminer was read by the clerk of the crown-office, and the prisoner bid hold up his hand:

And then presently the indictment, which was in effect as followeth:

THAT he did conspire, and go about to deprive the king of his government, to raise up sedition within the realm, to alter religion, to bring in the Roman superstition, and to procure foreign enemies to invade the kingdom. That the lord Cobham, the 9th of June last, did meet with the said sir Walter Ralegh in Durham-house,

in the parish of St. Martin's in the Fields, and then and there had conference with him how to advance Arabella Stuart to the crown and royal throne of this kingdom; and that then and there it was agreed, that Cobham should treat with Aremberg, ambassador from the archduke of Austria, to obtain of him 600,000 *crowns, to bring to pass their intended treasons. It was agreed, that Cobham should go to Albert the archduke, to procure him to advance the pretended title of Arabella: from thence, knowing that Albert had not sufficient means to maintain his own army in the Low Countries, Cobham should go to Spain to procure the king to assist, and further her pretended title.*

It was agreed, the better to effect all this conspiracy, that Arabella should write three letters, one to the archduke, another to the king of Spain, and a third to the duke of Savoy, and promise three things: first, To establish a firm peace between England and Spain. Secondly, To tolerate the popish and Roman superstition. Thirdly, To be ruled by them in contracting of her marriage.

And for the effecting these traitorous purposes, Cobham should return by the isle of Jersey, and should there find sir Walter Ralegh, captain of the said isle, and take counsel of Ralegh for the distributing of the aforesaid crowns, as the occasion or discontentment of the subjects should give cause and way.

And further, that Cobham and his brother Brook met on the 9*th of June last, and Cobham told Brook all these treasons: to the which treasons Brook gave his assent, and did join himself to all these; and after, on the Thursday following, Cobham and Brook did speak these words;* That there would never be a good world in England, till the king (*meaning our sovereign lord*) and his cubs (*meaning his royal issue*) were taken away.

And, the more to disable and deprive the king of his crown, and to confirm the said Cobham in his intents, Ralegh did publish a book, falsely written against the most just and royal title of the king, knowing the said book to

be written against the just title of the king; which book Cobham after that received of him. Further, for the better effecting these traitorous purposes, and to establish the said Brook in his intent, the said Cobham did deliver the said book unto him, the 14*th of June. And further, the said Cobham, on the* 16*th of June, for accomplishment of the said conference, and by the traitorous instigation of Ralegh, did move Brook to incite Arabella to write to the three forenamed princes to procure them to advance her title; and that she, after she had obtained the crown, should promise to perform three things; viz.* 1. *Peace between England and Spain.* 2. *To tolerate with impunity the popish and Roman superstitions.* 3. *To be ruled by them three in the contracting of her marriage.*

To these motions the said Brook gave his assent; and for the better effecting of the said treasons, Cobham, on the 17*th of June, by the instigation of Ralegh, did write letters to count Aremberg, and did deliver the said letters to one Matthew de Laurency, to be delivered to the said count, which he did deliver, for the obtaining of the* 600,000 *crowns; which money, by other letters, count Aremberg did promise to perform the payment of; and this letter Cobham received the* 18*th of June. And then did Cobham promise to Ralegh, that when he had received the said money, he would deliver* 8000 *crowns to him; to which motion he did consent; and afterwards Cobham offered Brook, that after he should receive the said crowns, he would give to him* 10,000 *thereof; to which motion Brook did assent.*

To the indictment, sir Walter Ralegh pleaded *Not guilty.*

The jury.

Sir Ralph Conisby, knt.	Thomas Walker, esq.
Sir Thomas Fowler, knt.	Thomas Whitby, esq.
Sir Edward Peacock, knt.	Thomas Highgate, gent.
Sir William Rowe, knt.	Robert Kempthon, gent.
Henry Goodyer, esq.	John Chawkey, gent.
Roger Wood, esq.	Robert Bromley, gent.

Sir Walter Ralegh was asked, whether he would take exceptions to any of the jury.

Ralegh. I know none of them; they are all Christians and honest gentlemen; I except against none.

Earl Suffolk. You, gentlemen of the king's learned counsel, follow the same course as you did the other day.

Ralegh. My lord, I pray you I may answer the points particularly as they are delivered, by reason of the weakness of my memory, and sickness.

Popham, chief justice. After the king's learned counsel have delivered all the evidence, sir Walter, you may answer particularly to what you will.

Heale, the king's sergeant at law. You have heard of Ralegh's bloody attempts to kill the king and his royal progeny, and, in place thereof, to advance one Arabella Stuart. The particulars of the indictment are these: first, That Ralegh met with Cobham the 9th of June, and had conference of an invasion, of a rebellion, and an insurrection, to be made by the king's subjects, to depose the king, and to kill his children, poor babes, that never gave offence: here is blood, here is a new king and governor. In our king consists all our happiness, and the true use of the gospel; a thing, which we all wished to be settled after the death of the queen. Here must be money to do this, for money is the sinew of war; where should that be had? Count Aremberg must procure it of Philip king of Spain, 5 or 600,000 crowns, and out of this sum Ralegh must have 8000; then there must be friends to effect this. Cobham must go to Albert, archduke of Austria, from whom Aremberg was ambassador at that time in England. And what then? he must persuade the duke to assist the pretended title of Arabella. From thence Cobham must go to the king of Spain, and persuade him to assist the said title. Since the conquest, there was never the like treason. But out of whose head came it? Out of Ralegh's, who must also advise Cobham to use his brother Brook to incite the lady Arabella to write three several letters, as aforesaid, in the indictment: all this was on the 9th of June. Then, three days after, Brook was acquainted with it: after this, Cobham said to Brook, "It will never be well in England,

"till the king and his cubs are taken away." Afterwards Ralegh delivered a book to Cobham, treacherously written against the title of the king. It appears, that Cobham took Ralegh to be either a god or an idol. Cobham endeavours to set up a new king or governor. God forbid mine eyes should ever see so unhappy a change! As for the lady Arabella, she, upon my conscience, hath no more title to the crown than I have; which, before God, I utterly renounce. Cobham, a man bred in England, hath no experience abroad. But Ralegh, a man of great wit, military, and a swordman. Now whether these things were bred in a hollow tree, I leave to them to speak of, who can speak far better than myself.

Sir Edward Coke, the king's attorney. I must first, my lords, before I come to the cause, give one caution; because we shall often mention persons of eminent places, some of them great monarchs: whatever we say of them, we shall but repeat what others have said of them; I mean the capital offenders in their confessions: we, professing law, must speak reverently of kings and potentates. I perceive these honourable lords, and the rest of this great assembly, are come to hear what hath been scattered upon the wreck of report. We carry a just mind, to condemn no man but upon plain evidence. Here is mischief, mischief *in summo gradu*, exorbitant mischief. My speech shall chiefly touch these three points; imitation, supportation, and defence.

The imitation of evil ever exceeds the precedent; as on the contrary, imitation of good ever comes short. Mischief cannot be supported but by mischief; yea, it will so multiply, that it will bring all to confusion. Mischief is ever underpropped by falsehood of foul practices. And because all these things did concur in these treasons, you shall understand the main, as before you did the bye.

The treason of the bye consisteth in these points: first, that the lord Grey, Brook, Markham, and the rest, intended, by force in the night, to surprise the king's court; which was a rebellion in the heart of the realm, yea, in the heart

of the heart, in the court. They intended to make him, that is a sovereign, subject to their power, purposing to open the doors with muskets and calivers, and to take also the prince and council. Then, under the king's authority, to carry the king to the Tower, and to make a *stale of the admiral:* when they had the king there, to extort three things from him. First, A pardon for all their treasons. Secondly, A toleration of the Roman superstition: which, their eyes shall sooner fall out, than they shall ever see; for the king hath spoken these words in the hearing of many, "I will lose the crown and my "life, before ever I will alter religion." And thirdly, To remove counsellors: in the room of the lord chancellor, they would have placed one Watson a priest, absurd in humanity, and ignorant in divinity; Brook, of whom I will speak nothing, lord treasurer; the great secretary must be Markham, *oculus patriæ.* A hole must be found in my lord chief justice's coat. Grey must be earl marshal, and master of the horse, because he would have a table in the court: marry, he would advance the earl of Worcester to a higher place. All this cannot be done without a multitude. Therefore Watson the priest telleth a resolute man, that the king was in danger of puritans and Jesuits; so to bring him in blindfold into the action; saying, that the king is no king till he be crowned, therefore every man might right his own wrongs: but he is *rex natus*, his dignity descends as well as yours, my lords. Then Watson imposeth a blasphemous oath, that they should swear to defend the king's person, to keep secret what was given them in charge, and seek all ways and means to advance the catholic religion. Then they intend to send for the lord mayor and the aldermen, in the king's name, to the Tower, lest they should make any resistance, and then to take hostages of them; and to enjoin them to provide for them victuals and munition. Grey, because the king removed before Midsummer, had a further reach, to get a company of swordmen to assist the action: therefore he would stay till he had obtained

a regiment from Ostend or Austria. So you see, these treasons were like Sampson's foxes, which were joined in their tails, though their heads were severed.

Ralegh. You, gentlemen of the jury, I pray, remember, I am not charged with the bye, being the treason of the priest.

Attorney. You are not. My lords, you shall observe three things in the treasons. First, They had a watchword, (the king's safety;) their pretence was *bonum in se*, their intent was *malum in se*. Secondly, They avouched scripture; both the priests had, *Scriptum est;* perverting and ignorantly mistaking the scriptures. Thirdly, They avouched the common law, to prove that he was no king till he was crowned, alleging a statute of 13 Eliz. This, by way of imitation, hath been the course of all traitors.

In the 20th of Edward II. Isabella the queen, and the lord Mortimer, gave out, that the king's person was not safe, for the good of the church and commonwealth.

The bishop of Carlisle did preach on this text, *My head is grieved;* meaning by *the head*, the king; that when the head began to be negligent, the people might reform what is amiss.

In the 3d of Henry IV. sir Roger Claringdon, accompanied with two priests, gave out, that Richard II. was alive, when he was dead.

Edward III. caused Mortimer's head to be cut off, for giving counsel to murder the king.

The 3d of Henry VII. sir Henry Stanley found the crown in the dust, and set it on the king's head. When Fitzwater and Garret told him, that Edward V. was alive, he said, "If he be alive, I will assist him:" but this cost him his head.

Edmund de la Pole, duke of Suffolk, killed a man in the reign of king Henry VII. for which the king would have him hold up his hand at the bar, and then pardoned him. Yet he took such offence thereat, that he sent to the noblemen, to help to reform the commonwealth; and then said, he would go to France, and get power there. Sir Roger

Compton knew all the treason, and discovered Windon and others, that were attainted.

He said, there was another thing that would be stood upon, namely, that they had but one witness; then he vouched one Appleyard's case, (*temp. Eliz.*) a traitor in Norfolk, who said a man must have two accusers. Helmes was the man that accused him; but Mr. Justice Catlin said, that that statute was not in force at that day; his words were, "Thrust her into the ditch."

Then he went on speaking of accusers, and made this difference: an accuser is a speaker by report; when a witness is he that upon his oath shall speak his knowledge of any man.

A third sort of evidence there is likewise, and this is held more forcible than either of the other two; and that is, when a man, by his accusation of another, shall, by the same accusation, also condemn himself, and make himself liable to the same fault and punishment: this is more forcible than many witnesses. So then, so much by way of imitation. Then he defined treason: there is treason in the heart, in the hand, in the mouth, in consummation; comparing that *in corde* to the root of a tree; *in ore*, to the bud; *in manu*, to the blossom; and that which is *in consummatione*, to the fruit.

Now I come to your charge, you of the jury: the greatness of treason is to be considered in these two things, *Determinatione finis*, and *electione mediorum*. This treason excelleth in both; for that it was to destroy the king and his progeny. These treasons are said to be *crimen læsæ majestatis*; this goeth further, and may be termed *crimen extirpandæ regiæ majestatis et totius progenici suæ*. I shall not need, my lords, to speak any thing concerning the king, nor of the bounty and sweetness of his nature, whose thoughts are innocent, whose words are full of wisdom and learning, and whose works are full of honour; although it be a true saying, *Nunquam nimis, quod nunquam satis*. But to whom do you bear malice? to the children?

Ralegh. To whom speak you this? You tell me news I never heard of.

Attorney. O sir, do I? I will prove you the notoriousest traitor that ever came to the bar. After you have taken away the king, you would alter religion: as you, sir Walter Ralegh, have followed them of the bye in imitation; for I will charge you with the words.

Ralegh. Your words cannot condemn me, my innocency is my defence: prove one of these things wherewith you have charged me, and I will confess the whole indictment; and that I am the horriblest traitor that ever lived, and worthy to be crucified with a thousand thousand torments.

Attorney. Nay, I will prove all: thou art a monster; thou hast an English face, but a Spanish heart. Now you must have money: Aremberg was no sooner in England, (I charge thee, Ralegh,) but thou incitedst Cobham to go unto him, and to deal with him for money to bestow on discontented persons, to raise rebellion in the kingdom.

Ralegh. Let me answer for myself.

Attorney. Thou shalt not.

Ralegh. It concerneth my life.

Lord chief justice Popham. Sir Walter Ralegh, Mr. Attorney is but yet in the general; but when the king's counsel have given the evidence wholly, you shall answer every particular.

Attorney. O! do I touch you?

Lord Cecil. Mr. Attorney, when you have done with this general charge, do you not mean to let him answer to every particular?

Attorney. Yes, when we deliver the proofs to be read. Ralegh procured Cobham to go to Aremberg; which he did by his instigation: Ralegh supped with Cobham before he went to Aremberg; after supper, Ralegh conducted him to Durham-house, from whence Cobham went with Lawrency, a servant of Aremberg's, unto him, and went in by a back way. Cobham could never be quiet until he had entertained this motion, for he had four letters from Ralegh. Aremberg answered, the money should be performed, but

knew not to whom it should be distributed. Then Cobham and Lawrency came back to Durham-house, where they found Ralegh. Cobham and Ralegh went up, and left Lawrency below, where they had secret conference in a gallery, and after, Cobham and Lawrency departed from Ralegh. Your jargon was peace! What is that? Spanish invasion, Scottish subversion. And again, you are not a fit man to take so much money for procuring of a lawful peace; for peace procured by money is dishonourable. Then Cobham must go to Spain, and return by Jersey, where you were captain: and then, because Cobham had not so much policy, or at least wickedness, as you, he must have your advice for the distribution of the money. Would you have deposed so good a king, lineally descended of Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Edward IV.? Why then must you set up another? I think you meant to make Arabella a titular queen, of whose title I will speak nothing; but sure you meant to make her a stale: ah, good lady! you could mean her no good.

Ralegh. You tell me news, Mr. Attorney.

Attorney. O sir! I am the more large, because I know with whom I deal: for we have to deal to-day with a man of wit.

Ralegh. Did I ever speak with this lady?

Attorney. I will track you out before I have done; Englishmen will not be led by persuasion of words, but they must have books to persuade.

Ralegh. The book [a] was written by a man of your profession, Mr. Attorney.

Attorney. I would not have you impatient.

Ralegh. Methinks you fall out with yourself; I say nothing.

Attorney. By this book, you would persuade men that he is not the lawful king. Now let us consider some cir-

[a] This book was entitled, A Defence of the Queen's Proceedings against Mary Queen of Scotland; written by one Robert Snag. See the Arraignment of sir Walter Ralegh, by sir Thomas Overbury, 4to. 1648.

cumstances: My lords, you know my lord Cobham (for whom we all lament, and rejoice; lament in that his house, which hath stood so long unspotted, is now ruinated; rejoice, in that his treasons are revealed) is neither politician nor swordman; Ralegh was both, united in the cause with him, and therefore cause of his destruction. Another circumstance is, the secret contriving of it. Humphrey Stafford claimed sanctuary for treason; Ralegh, in his Machiavelian policy, hath made a sanctuary for treason. He must talk with none but Cobham, "because," saith he, "one witness "can never condemn me." For Brook said unto sir Griffith Markham, "Take heed how you do make my lord "Cobham acquainted; for whatsoever he knoweth, Ralegh "the witch will get it out of him." As soon as Ralegh was examined on one point of treason concerning my lord Cobham, he wrote to him thus; "I have been examined of "you, and confessed nothing." Further, you sent to him by your trusty Francis Kemish, that one witness could not condemn; and therefore bade his lordship be of good courage. Came this out of Cobham's quiver? No: but out of Ralegh's Machiavelian and devilish policy. Yea, but Cobham did retract it: why then did you urge it? Now then see the most horrible practices that ever came out of the bottomless pit of the lowest hell. After that Ralegh had intelligence that Cobham had accused him, he endeavoured to have intelligence from Cobham, which he had gotten by young sir John Payton; but I think it was the error of his youth.

Ralegh. The lords told it me, or else I had not been sent to the Tower.

Attorney. Thus Cobham, by the instigation of Ralegh, entered into these actions; so that the question will be, Whether you are not the principal traitor, and he would nevertheless have entered into it? Why did Cobham retract all that same? First, Because Ralegh was so odious, he thought he should fare the worse for his sake. 2dly, He thought thus with himself, If he be free, I shall clear myself the better. After this, Cobham asked for a preacher

to confer with, pretending to have Dr. Andrews; but indeed he meant not to have him, but Mr. Galloway, a worthy and reverend preacher, who can do more with the king (as he said) than any other; that he, seeing his constant denial, might inform the king thereof. Here he plays with the preacher. If Ralegh could persuade the lords, that Cobham had no intent to travel, then he thought all should be well. Here is forgery. In the Tower, Cobham must write to sir Thomas Vane, a worthy man, that he meant not to go into Spain; which letter Ralegh devised in Cobham's name.

Ralegh. I will wash my hands of the indictment, and die a true man to the king.

Attorney. You are the absolutest traitor that ever was.

Ralegh. Your phrases will not prove it, Mr. Attorney.

Attorney. Cobham writeth a letter to my lord Cecil, and doth will Mellis, his man, to lay it in a Spanish Bible, and to make as though he found it by chance. This was after he had intelligence with this viper; then he was false.

Lord Cecil. You mean a letter intended to me; I never had it.

Attorney. No, my lord, you had it not. You, my masters of the jury, respect not the wickedness and hatred of the man, respect his cause; if he be guilty, I know you will have care of it, for the preservation of the king, the continuance of the gospel authorized, and the good of us all.

Ralegh. I do not hear yet, that you have spoken one word against me; here is no treason of mine done. If my lord Cobham be a traitor, what is that to me?

Attorney. All that he did was by thy instigation, thou viper; for I *thou* thee, thou traitor.

Ralegh. It becometh not a man of quality and virtue to call me so; but I take comfort in it, it is all you can do.

Attorney. Have I angered you?

Ralegh. I am in no case to be angry.

C. J. Popham. Sir Walter Ralegh, Mr. Attorney speaketh out of the zeal of his duty, for the service of the king, and you for your life; be valiant on both sides.

Now they proceed to the reading the proofs.

The lord Cobham's examination read.

" He confesseth he had a passport to go into Spain, in-
" tending to go to the archduke, to confer with him about
" these practices; and because he knew the archduke had
" not money to pay his own army, from thence he meant to
" go to Spain, to deal with the king for the 600,000 crowns,
" and to return by Jersey; and that nothing should be done,
" until he had spoken with sir Walter Ralegh, for distri-
" bution of the money to them which were discontented in
" England. At the first beginning, he breathed out oaths
" and exclamations against Ralegh, calling him villain and
" traitor, saying, he had never entered into these courses
" but by his instigation, and that he would never let him
" alone."

Here Mr. Attorney willed the clerk of the crown-office to read over these last words again, (he would never let him alone.)

The lord Cobham's examination.

" Besides, he spake of plots and invasions; of the par-
" ticulars whereof he could give no account, though Ralegh
" and he had conferred of them, because he was (as he said)
" confounded with them. Further, he said, he was afraid
" of Ralegh, that when he should return by Jersey, that he
" would have delivered him and the money to the king. Being
" examined of sir Arthur Gorge, he freed him, saying, they
" never durst trust him; but sir Arthur Savage they in-
" tended to use, because they thought him a fit man."

Ralegh. Let me see the examination: this is absolutely all the evidence can be brought against me; poor shifts! You, gentlemen of the jury, I pray you understand this: this is that which must either condemn or give me life; which must free me, or send my wife and children to beg their bread about the streets. This is what must prove me a notorious traitor, or a true subject to the king. Let me see my accusation, that I may make my answer.

Clerk of the council. I did read it, and shew you all the examinations.

Ralegh. At my first examination at Windsor, my lords asked me, What I knew of Cobham's practice with Aremberg; I answered negatively: and as concerning Arabella, I protest before God, I never heard one word of it. If that be proved, let me be guilty of a thousand treasons. It is a strange thing you will impute that to me, when I never heard so much as the name of Arabella Stuart, but only the name of Arabella.

After being examined, I told my lords, that I thought my lord Cobham had conference with Aremberg; I suspected his visiting of him: for after he departed from me at Durham-house, I saw him pass by his own stairs, and passed over to St. Mary Saviour's, where I knew Lawrency, a merchant and a follower of Aremberg, lay, and therefore likely to go unto him. My lord Cecil asked my opinion concerning Lawrency; I said, That if you do not apprehend Lawrency, it is dangerous, he will fly; if you do apprehend him, you shall give my lord Cobham notice thereof. I was asked likewise, Who was the greatest man with my lord Cobham? I answered, I knew no man so great with him as young Wyat of Kent.

As soon as Cobham saw my letter to have discovered his dealing with Aremberg, in his fury he accused me; but before he came to the stair-foot he repented him, and said, he had done me wrong. When he came to the end of his accusation, he added, that if he had brought this money to Jersey, he feared that I would have delivered him and the money to the king. Mr. Attorney, you said this never came out of Cobham's quiver, he is a simple man: is he so simple? No: he hath disposition of his own, he will not easily be guided by others; but when he has once taken head in a matter, he is not easily drawn from it; he is no babe. But it is strange for me to devise with Cobham, that he should go to Spain, to persuade the king to disburse so much money, he being a man of no love in England, and I having resigned my room of chiefest command, the wardenship of the stannaries: is it not strange for me, to make myself Robin Hood, or a Kett, or a Cade; I knowing England to

be in better estate to defend itself than ever it was? I knew Scotland united, Ireland quieted, Denmark assured, which before was suspected. I knew, that having lost a lady whom time had surprised, we had now an active king, a lawful successor. The state of Spain was not unknown to me. I had written a discourse, which I had intended to present unto the king, against peace with Spain. I knew the Spaniards had six repulses, three in Ireland and three at sea, and once in 1588 at Cales, by my lord admiral. I knew he was discouraged and dishonoured. I knew the king of Spain to be the proudest prince living; but now he cometh creeping to the king my master for peace. I knew, whereas before he had in his ports six or seven score sail of ships, he hath now but six or seven. I knew of twenty-five millions he had from his Indies, he hath scarce one left. I knew him so poor, that the Jesuits in Spain, who were wont to have such large allowance, were fain to beg at the church door. Was it ever read or heard, that any prince should disburse so much money without a sufficient pawn? I knew her own subjects, the citizens of London, would not lend her majesty money, without lands in mortgage. I knew the queen did not lend the States money, without Flushing, Brill, and other towns for a pawn. And can it be thought he would let Cobham have so great a sum?

I never came to the lord Cobham's but about matters of his profit; as, the ordering of his house, paying of his servants' board-wages, &c. I had of his, when I was examined, four thousand pounds worth of jewels for a purchase, a pearl of three thousand pounds, and a ring worth five hundred pounds; if he had had a fancy to run away, he would not have left so much to have purchased a lease in fee-farm. I saw him buy three hundred pounds worth of books to send to his library at Canterbury, and a cabinet of thirty pounds to give to Mr. Attorney, for drawing the conveyances; and God in heaven knoweth, not I, whether he intended to travel. But for that practice with Arabella, or letters to Aremberg, or any discourse with him, or in what language he spake unto him; if I knew any of these things, I would

absolutely confess the indictment, and acknowledge myself worthy a thousand deaths.

Cobham's second examination read.

"The lord Cobham being required to subscribe to an "examination, there was shewed a note under Ralegh's "hand, the which when he had perused, he paused, and "after brake forth into these speeches: O villain! O "traitor! I will now tell you all the truth: and then said, "his purpose was to go into Flanders and into Spain, for "the obtaining the aforesaid money, and that Ralegh had "appointed to meet him in Jersey as he returned home, to "be advised of him about the distribution of the money."

Popham, lord chief justice. When Cobham answered to the interrogatories, he made scruple to subscribe; and being urged to it, he said, If he might hear me affirm, that a person of his degree ought to set his hand, he would; I lying then at Richmond, for fear of the plague, was sent for, and I told he ought to subscribe, otherwise it were a contempt of a high nature; *then he subscribed* [b]. The lords questioned with him further, and he shewed them a letter, as I thought written to me, but it was indeed written to my lord Cecil: he desired to see the letter again, and then said, "O "wretch! O traitor!" whereby I perceived you had not performed that trust he had reposed in you.

Ralegh. He is as passionate a man as lives, for he hath not spared the best friends he hath in England in his passion. My lords, I take it, he that hath been examined, hath ever been asked at the time of his examination, if it be according to his meaning, and then to subscribe. Methinks, my lords, when he accuses a man, he should give some account and reason of it; it is not sufficient to say, we talked of it. If I had been the plotter, would not I have given Cobham some arguments, whereby to persuade the king of Spain, and answer his objections? I knew Westmoreland

[b] This assertion among others, in this account of the trial, shews the gross partiality and falsehood of the person who took and published it; for in all the narratives thereof, it appears, that Cobham would never subscribe the accusation of sir Walter Ralegh, which had been extorted from him by the lords, through his fear and other passions.

and Bothwell, men of other understandings than Cobham, were ready to beg their bread.

Sir Thoms Fowler, one of the jury. Did sir Walter Ralegh write a letter to my lord before he was examined concerning him, or not?

Attorney. Yes.

Lord Cecil. I am in great dispute with myself, to speak in the case of this gentleman; a former dearness between me and him tied so firm a knot of my conceit of his virtues, now broken by a discovery of his imperfections. I protest, did I serve a king that I knew would be displeased with me for speaking, in this case I would speak, whatever came of it: but seeing he is compacted of piety and justice, and one that will not mislike any man for speaking a truth, I will answer your question.

Sir Walter Ralegh was stayed by me at Windsor, upon the first news of Copley, that the king's person should be surprised by my lord Grey and Mr. George Brook; when I found Brook was in, I suspected Cobham, then I doubted Ralegh to be a partaker. I speak not this, that it should be thought I had greater judgment than the rest of my lords, in making this haste to have him examined. Ralegh following to Windsor, I met with him upon the terrace, and willed him, as from the king, to stay, saying, the lords had something to say to him: then he was examined, but not concerning my lord Cobham, but of the surprising treason. My lord Grey was apprehended, and likewise Brook. By Brook we found, that he had given notice to Cobham of the surprising treason as he delivered it to us, but with as much sparingness of a brother as he might. We sent for my lord Cobham to Richmond, where he stood upon his justification, and his quality; sometimes being froward, he said he was not bound to subscribe, wherewith we made the king acquainted. Cobham said, If my lord chief justice would say it were a contempt, he would subscribe; whereof being resolved, he subscribed. There was a light given to Aremberg, that Lawrency was examined; but that Ralegh knew that Cobham was examined, is more than I know.

Ralegh. If my lord Cobham had trusted me in the main, was not I as fit a man to be trusted in the bye?

Lord Cecil. Ralegh did by letters acquaint us, that my lord Cobham had sent Lawrency to Aremberg, when he knew not he had any dealings with him.

Lord H. Howard. It made for you, if Lawrency had been only acquainted with Cobham, and not with you. But you knew his whole estate, and were acquainted with Cobham's practice with Lawrency; and it was known to you before, that Lawrency depended on Aremberg.

Attorney. 1. Ralegh protesteth against the surprising treason. 2. That he knew not of the matter touching Arabella. I would not charge you, sir Walter, with a matter of falsehood: you say, you suspected the intelligence that Cobham had with Aremberg by Lawrency.

Ralegh. I thought it had been no other intelligence but such as might be warranted.

Attorney. Then it was but lawful suspicion. But to that whereas you said, that Cobham had accused you on passion, I answer three ways. 1. I observed when Cobham said, "Let "me see the letter again," he paused, and when he did see that count Aremberg was touched, he cried out, "O traitor! O "villain! now will I confess the whole truth." 2. The accusation of a man on hearsay is nothing; would he accuse himself on passion, and ruinate his cause and posterity out of malice to accuse you? 3. Could this be out of passion? Mark the manner of it: Cobham had told this at least two months before to his brother Brook, "You are fools, you are on "the bye, Ralegh and I are on the main; we mean to take "away the king and his cubs:" this he delivered two months before. So mark the manner and the matter; he would not turn the weapon against his own bosom, and accuse himself to accuse you.

Ralegh. Hath Cobham confessed that?

Lord chief justice. This is spoken by Mr. Attorney, to prove that Cobham's speech came not out of passion.

Ralegh. Let it be proved that Cobham said so.

Attorney. Cobham saith, he was a long time doubtful of

Ralegh, that he would send him and the money to the king. Did Cobham fear, lest you would betray him in Jersey? then of necessity there must be trust between you. No man can betray a man, but he that is trusted, in my understanding. This is the greatest argument to prove that he was acquainted with Cobham's proceedings. Ralegh has a deeper reach than to make himself, as he said, Robin Hood, a Kett, or Cade; yet I never heard that Robin Hood was a traitor; they say he was an outlaw. And whereas he saith, that our king is not only more wealthy and potent than his predecessors, but also more politic and wise, so that he could have no hope to prevail; I answer, There is no king so potent, wise, and active, but he may be overtaken through treason. Whereas you say, Spain is so poor, discoursing so largely thereof, it had been better for you to have kept in Guiana, than to have been so well acquainted with the state of Spain. Besides, if you could have brought Spain and Scotland to have joined, you might have had hope to prevail. For his six overthrows, I answer, he hath the more malice, because repulses breed desire of revenge. Then you say, you never talked with Cobham but about leases, and letting lands, and ordering his house; I never knew you clerk of the kitchen, &c. If you had fallen on your knees at first, and confessed the treason, it had been better for you. You say, He meant to have given me a cabinet of thirty pounds; perhaps he thought by those means to have anticipated me therewith. But you say, All these are circumstances. I answer, All this accusation in circumstance is true. Here now I might appeal to my lords, that you take hold of this, that he subscribed not to the accusation.

Lord H. Howard. Cobham was not then pressed to subscribe.

Attorney. His accusation being testified by the lords is of as great force as if he had subscribed. Ralegh saith again, If the accuser be alive, he must be brought face to face to speak, and alleges 25 Edw. III. that there must be

two sufficient witnesses that must be brought face to face before the accused, and allegeth 10 and 13 Eliz.

Ralegh. You try me by the Spanish inquisition, if you proceed only by the circumstances, without two witnesses.

Attorney. This is a treasonable speech.

Ralegh. *Evertere hominem justum in causa sua, injustum est:* good my lords, let it be proved, either by the laws of the land or by the laws of God, that there ought not to be two witnesses appointed; yet I will not stand to defend this point in law, if the king will have it so; it is no rare thing to be falsely accused. A judge condemned a woman in Sarum for killing her husband, on the testimony of one witness; afterwards his man confessed the murder, when she was executed. Who after, being touched in conscience for the judgment, was used to say, *Quod nunquam de hoc facto animam in vita sua purgaret.* It is also commanded by the scripture, Deut. xvii. *In ore duorum aut trium testium*, &c. and xix. *Non stabit unus testis contra aliquem*, &c.

If Christ requireth it, as it appeareth, Matt. xviii. if by the statute, civil law, and God's word, it be required, that there must be two witnesses at the least, bear with me, if I desire one.

I would not desire to live, if I were privy to Cobham's proceedings: I had been a slave, a villain, a fool, if I had endeavoured to set up Arabella, and refused so gracious a lord and sovereign. But urge your proofs.

Lord chief justice. You have offered questions on divers statutes, all which mention two accusers in case of indictments; you have deceived yourself; for the laws of 25 Ed. III. and 5 Ed. VI. are repealed. It sufficeth now, if there be proofs made either under hand, or by testimony of witnesses, or by oaths, it needs not the subscription of the party, so there be hands of credible men to testify the examination.

Ralegh. It may be an error in me; and if those laws be repealed, yet I hope the equity of those laws remains still; but if you affirm it, it must be a law to posterity; the proof of the common law is by witness and jury; let Cobham be

here, let him speak it: call my accuser before my face, and I have done.

Attorney. Scientia sceleris est mera ignorantia; "You "have read the letter of the law, but understand it not." Here was your anchor-hold; and your rendezvous you trust to Cobham; either Cobham must accuse you or not accuse you; if he did, then it would not hurt you, because he is but one witness; if he did not, then you are safe.

Ralegh. If ever I read a word of the law or statute before I was prisoner in the Tower, God confound me.

Attorney. Now I come to prove the circumstances of the accusation to be true. Cobham confessed he had a passport to travel, hereby intending to present overtures to the archduke, and from thence to go to Spain, and there to have conference with the king for money: you say, He promised to come home by Jersey, to make merry with you and your wife.

Ralegh. I said, in his return from France, not Spain.

Attorney. Further, in his examination, he saith, Nothing could be set down for the distribution of the money to the discontented, without conference with Ralegh. You said, It should have been for procurement of peace, but it was for raising rebellion. Further, Cobham saith, He would never have entered into these courses, but by your instigation, and that you would never let him alone. Your scholar was not apt enough to tell us all the plots; that is enough for you to do, that are his master: you intended to trust sir Arthur Savage, whom I take to be an honest and true gentleman, but not sir Arthur Gorge.

Ralegh. All this is but one accusation of Cobham's; I hear no other thing; to which accusation he never subscribed, nor avouched it. I beseech you, my lords, let Cobham be sent for; charge him on his soul, on his allegiance to the king; if he affirm it, I am guilty.

Lord Cecil. It is the accusation of my lord Cobham, it is the evidence against you; must it not be of force without his subscription? I desire to be resolved by the judges,

whether by the law it is not a forcible argument of evidence.

The judges. My lord, it is.

Ralegh. The king, at his coronation, is sworn *in omnibus judiciis suis æquitatem, non rigorem legis, observare:* by the rigour and cruelty of the law, it may be a forcible evidence.

Lord chief justice. That is not the rigour of the law, but the justice of the law; else when a man hath made a plain accusation, by practice, he might be brought to retract it again.

Ralegh. O, my lord! you may use equity.

Lord chief justice. That is from the king; you are to have justice from us.

Lord Anderson. The law is, if the matter be proved to the jury, they must find you guilty; for Cobham's accusation is not only against you, there are other things sufficient.

Lord Cecil. Now that sir Walter Ralegh is satisfied that Cobham's subscription is not necessary, I pray you, Mr. Attorney, go on.

Ralegh. Good Mr. Attorney, be patient, and give me leave.

Lord Cecil. An unnecessary patience is a hinderance; let him go on with his proofs, and then refel them.

Ralegh. I would answer particularly.

Lord Cecil. If you would have a table, and pen and ink, you shall.

Then paper and ink was given him.

Here the clerk of the crown read the letter which the lord Cobham did write in July, which was to the effect of his former examination, further saying, "I have disclosed "all; to accuse any falsely, were to burden my own con-"science."

Attorney. Read Copley's confession the 8th of June; he saith, "He was offered 1000 crowns to be in this action."

Here Watson's additions were read.

"The great mass of money from the count was impos-"sible," &c.

Brook's confession read.

"There have letters passed," saith he, "between Cobham "and Aremberg, for a great sum of money, to assist a se- "cond action, for the surprising of his majesty."

Attorney. It is not possible it was of passion, for it was in talk before three men being severally examined, who agreed in the sum to be bestowed on disaffected persons. That Grey should have 12,000 crowns, and Ralegh should have 8000 or 10,000 crowns.

Cobham's examination, July 18.

"If the money might be procured," saith he, "then a man "may give pensions." Being asked, If a pension should not be given to his brother Brook, he denied it not.

Lawrency's examination.

Within five days after Aremberg arrived, Cobham resorted unto him. That night that Cobham went to Aremberg with Lawrency, Ralegh supped with him.

Attorney. Ralegh must have his part of the money; therefore now he is a traitor. The crown shall never stand one year on the head of the king, (my master,) if a traitor may not be condemned by circumstances. For if *A* tells *B*, and *B* tells *C*, and *C*, *D*, &c. you shall never prove treason by two witnesses.

Ralegh's examination was read.

"He confesseth Cobham offered him 8000 crowns, which "he was to have for the furtherance of the peace between "England and Spain; and that he should have it within "three days. To which, he said, he gave this answer, "When I see the money, I will tell you more; for I had "thought it had been one of his ordinary idle conceits, and "therefore made no account thereof."

Ralegh. The attorney hath made a long narration of Copley and the priests, which concerns me nothing; neither know I how Cobham was altered. For he told me, If I would agree to further the peace, he would get me 8000 crowns. I asked him, Who shall have the rest of the money? He said, I will offer such a nobleman (who was not named) some of the money. I said, He will not be

persuaded by you, and will extremely hate you for such a motion. Let me be pinched to death with hot irons, if ever I knew there was any intention to bestow the money on discontented persons. I had made a discourse against the peace, and would have printed it: if Cobham changed his mind, if the priests, if Brook had any such intent, what is that to me? They must answer for it. He offered me the money before Aremberg came; that is difference of time.

Serg. Philips. Ralegh confesseth the matter, but avoideth it, by distinguishing of times. You said, It was offered you before the coming of Aremberg; which is false. For you being examined whether you should have such money of Cobham or not, you said, Yea; and that you should have it within two or three days. *Nemo moriturus præsumitur mentiri.*

Lord Henry Howard. Allege me any ground or cause wherefore you gave ear to my lord Cobham for receiving pensions, in matters you had not to deal with?

Ralegh. Could I stop my lord Cobham's mouth?

Lord Cecil. Sir Walter Ralegh presseth, that my lord Cobham should be brought face to face. If he asks things of favour and grace, they must come only from him that can give them. If we sit here as commissioners, how shall we be satisfied, whether he ought to be brought, unless we hear the judges speak?

Lord chief justice. This thing cannot be granted; for then a number of treasons should flourish: the accuser may be drawn by practice, whilst he is in person.

Judge Gaudy. The statute you speak of, concerning two witnesses in case of treason, is found to be inconvenient; therefore by another law it was taken away.

Ralegh. The common trial of England is by jury and witnesses.

Lord chief justice. No, by examination: if three conspire a treason, and they all confess it; here is never a witness, yet they are condemned.

Judge Warburton. I marvel, sir Walter, that you, being of such experience and wit, should stand on this

point; for so, many horsestealers may escape, if they may not be condemned without witnesses. If one should rush into the king's privy-chamber, whilst he is alone, and kill the king, (which God forbid,) and this man be met coming with his sword drawn all bloody, shall not he be condemned to death? My lord Cobham hath, perhaps, been laboured withal; and to save you, his old friend, it may be that he will deny all that which he hath said.

Ralegh. I know not how you conceive the law.

Lord chief justice. Nay, we do not conceive the law, but we know the law.

Ralegh. The wisdom of the law of God is absolute and perfect, *Hæc fac, et vives*, &c. But now, by the wisdom of the state, the wisdom of the law is uncertain. Indeed, where the accuser is not to be had conveniently, I agree with you; but here my accuser may; he is alive, and in the house. Susanna had been condemned if Daniel had not cried out, *Will you condemn an innocent Israelite, without examination or knowledge of the truth?* Remember it is absolutely the commandment of God; if a false witness rise up, you shall cause him to be brought before the judges; if he be found false, he shall have the punishment which the accused should have had. It is very sure for my lord to accuse me is my certain danger, and may be a means to excuse himself.

Lord chief justice. There must not such a gap be opened for the destruction of the king, as would be if we should grant this. You plead hard for yourself, but the laws plead as hard for the king. I did never hear that course to be taken in a case of treason, as to write to one another, or speak to one another, during the time of their imprisonment. There hath been intelligence between you, and what underhand practices there may be, I know not. If the circumstances agree not with the evidence, we will not condemn you.

Ralegh. The king desires nothing but the knowledge of the truth, and would have no advantage taken by severity of the law. If ever we had a gracious king, now we

have. I hope, as he is, such are his ministers. If there be but a trial of five marks at the common law, a witness must be deposed. Good my lords, let my accuser come face to face, and be deposed.

Lord chief justice. You have no law for it: God forbid any man should accuse himself upon his oath.

Attorney. The law presumes a man will not accuse himself to accuse another. You are an odious man; for Cobham thinks his cause the worse that you are in it. Now you shall hear of some stirs to be raised in Scotland.

Part of Copley's Examination.

"Also, Watson told me, that a special person told him, "that Aremberg offered to him a thousand crowns to be in "that action; and that Brook said, the stirs in Scotland "came out of Ralegh's head."

Ralegh. Brook hath been taught his lesson.

Lord H. Howard. This examination was taken before me; did I teach him his lesson?

Ralegh. I protest before God, I meant it not by any privy counsellor; but, because money is scant, he will juggle on both sides.

Ralegh's Examination.

"The way to invade England were to begin with stirs "in Scotland."

Ralegh. I think so still: I have spoken it to divers of the lords of the council, by way of discourse and opinion.

Attorney. Now let us come to those words of *destroying the king and his cubs.*

Ralegh. O barbarous! if they, like unnatural villains, should use those words, shall I be charged with them? I will not hear it; I was never false to the crown of England. I have spent 40,000 crowns of mine own, against the Spanish faction, for the good of my country. Do you bring the words of these hellish spiders, Clark, Watson, and others, against me?

Attorney. Thou hast a Spanish heart, and thyself art a spider of hell; for thou confessest the king to be a most sweet and gracious prince, and yet hast conspired against him.

Watson's Examination read.

"He said, that George Brook told him twice, that his "brother, the lord Cobham, said to him, That you are but "on the *bye*, but Ralegh and I are on the *main*."

Brook's Examination read.

"Being asked what was meant by this jargon, the *bye* "and the *main*, he said, that the lord Cobham told him "that Grey and others were in the *bye*, he and Ralegh "were on the *main*. Being asked what exposition his bro-"ther made of these words, he said, he is loath to repeat it. "And after saith, by the *main* was meant the taking away "of the king and his issue: and thinks on his conscience "it was infused into his brother's head by Ralegh."

Cobham's Examination read.

Being asked if ever he had said, It will never be well in England till the king and his cubs were taken away; he said he had answered before, and that he would answer no more to that point.

Ralegh. I am not named in all this: there is a law of two sorts of accusers, one of his own knowledge, another by hearsay.

Earl of Suffolk. See the case of Arnold.

Lord chief justice. It is the case of sir William Thomas and sir Nicholas Arnold.

Ralegh. If this may be, you will have any man's life in a week.

Attorney. Ralegh saith, that Cobham was in a passion when he said so. Would he tell his brother any thing of malice against Ralegh, whom he loved as his life?

Ralegh. Brook never loved me; until his brother had accused me he said nothing.

Lord Cecil. We have heard nothing that might lead us to think that Brook accused you, he was only in the surprising treason; for by accusing you he should accuse his brother.

Ralegh. He doth not care much for that.

Lord Cecil. I must judge the best. The accusation of

his brother was not voluntary; he pared every thing, as much as he could, to save his brother.

Cobham's Examination read.

"He saith, he had a book written against the title of the "king, which he had of Ralegh, and that he gave it to his "brother: Ralegh said it was foolishly written."

Attorney. After the king came within twelve miles of London, Cobham never came to see him, and intended to travel without seeing the queen and the prince. Now in this discontentment you gave him the book, and he gave it to his brother.

Ralegh. I never gave it him, he took it off my table. For I well remember a little before that time I received a challenge from sir Amias Preston, and for that I did intend to answer it, I resolved to leave my estate settled, therefore laid out all my loose papers, amongst which was this book.

Lord Howard. Where had you this book?

Ralegh. In the old lord treasurer's study, after his death.

Lord Cecil. Did you ever shew or make known the book to me?

Ralegh. No, my lord.

Lord Cecil. Was it one of the books which was left to me or my brother?

Ralegh. I took it out of the study in my lord treasurer's house in the Strand.

Lord Cecil. After my father's decease, sir Walter Ralegh desired to search for some cosmographical descriptions of the Indies, which he thought were in his study, and were not to be had in print; which I granted, and would have trusted sir Walter Ralegh as soon as any man; though since, for some infirmities, the bands of my affection to him have been broken; and yet, reserving my duty to the king my master, which I can by no means dispense with, by God I love him, and have a great conflict within myself: but I must needs say sir Walter used me a little unkindly, to take the book away without my knowledge; nevertheless

I need make no apology in behalf of my father, considering how useful and necessary it is for privy counsellors, and those in his place, to intercept and keep such kind of writings; for whosoever should then search his study, may in all likelihood find all the notorious libels that were writ against the late queen; and whosoever should rummage my study, or at least my cabinet, may find several against the king, our sovereign lord, since his accession to the throne.

Ralegh. This book was in manuscript, and the late lord treasurer had wrote in the beginning of it with his own hand these words, *This is the book of Robert Snagg.* And I do own, as my lord Cecil has said, that I believe they may also find in my house almost all the libels that have been writ against the late queen.

Attorney. You were no privy counsellor, and I hope never shall be.

Lord Cecil. He was not a sworn counsellor of state, but he has been called to consultations.

Ralegh. I think it a very severe interpretation of the law, to bring me within compass of treason for this book, writ so long ago, of which nobody had read any more than the heads of the chapters, and which was burnt by Brook without my privity; admitting I had delivered the same to my lord Cobham, without allowing or approving, but discommending it, according to Cobham's first accusation. And put the case I should come to my lord Cecil, as I have often done, and find a stranger with him with a packet of libels, and my lord should let me have one or two of them to peruse, this I hope is no treason.

Attorney. I observe there was intelligence between you and Cobham in the Tower; for after he said it was against the king's title, he denied it again.

Sir William Wade. First my lord Cobham confesseth it, and after he had subscribed it he revoketh it again. To me he always said, that the drift of it was against the king's title.

Ralegh. I protest before God, and all his works, I gave him not the book.

Nota. *Sir Robert Wroth speaketh or whispereth something secretly.*

Attorney. My lords, I must complain of sir Robert Wroth; he says this evidence is not material.

Sir Robert Wroth. I never spake the words.

Attorney. Let Mr. Sergeant Philips testify whether he heard them.

Lord Cecil. I will give my word for sir Robert Wroth.

Sir Robert Wroth. I will speak as truly as you, Mr. Attorney, for by God I never spake it.

Lord chief justice. Wherefore should this book be burnt?

Ralegh. I burned it not.

Serg. Philips. You presented your friend with it when he was discontented. If it had been before the queen's death, it had been a less matter; but you gave it him presently when he came from the king, which was the time of his discontentment.

Ralegh. Here is a book supposed to be treasonable; I never read it, commended it, or delivered it, nor urged it.

Attorney. This is cunning.

Ralegh. Every thing that doth make for me is cunning, and every thing that maketh against me is probable.

Attorney. Lord Cobham saith, that Kemish came to him with a letter torn, and did wish him not to be dismayed, for one witness could not hurt him.

Ralegh. This poor man hath been close prisoner these eighteen weeks; he was offered the rack to make him confess. I never sent any such message by him; I only writ to him, to tell him what I had done with Mr. Attorney; having of his at that time a great pearl and a diamond.

Lord. H. Howard. No circumstance moveth me more than this. Kemish was never on the rack; the king gave charge that no rigour should be used.

Commissioners. We protest before God there was no such matter intended to our knowledges.

Ralegh. Was not the keeper of the rack sent for, and he threatened with it?

Sir William Wade. When Mr. Solicitor and myself examined Kemish, we told him he deserved the rack, but did not threaten him with it.

Commissioners. It was more than we knew.

Cobham's Examination read.

"He said, Kemish brought him a letter from Ralegh, "and that part which was concerning the lords of the "council was rent out; that he was examined, and cleared "him of all; and that the lord H. Howard said, because "he was discontent he was fit to be in the action: and "further, that Kemish said to him from Ralegh, that he "should be of good comfort, for one witness could not con-"demn a man for treason."

Lord Cecil. Cobham was asked, whether and when he heard from you; he said, Every day.

Ralegh. Kemish added more, I never bade him speak these words.

Nota. *Mr. Attorney here offered to interrupt him.*

Lord Cecil. It is his last discourse. Give him leave, Mr. Attorney.

Ralegh. I am accused concerning Arabella, concerning money out of Spain. My lord chief justice saith, a man may be condemned with one witness, yea, without any witness. Cobham is guilty of many things, *conscientia mille testes.* He hath accused himself, what can he hope for but mercy? My lords, vouchsafe me this grace. Let him be brought, being alive and in the house; let him avouch any of these things, I will confess the whole indictment, and renounce the king's mercy.

Lord Cecil. Here hath been a touch of the lady Arabella Stuart, a near kinswoman of the king's. Let us not scandal the innocent by confusion of speech: she is as innocent of all these things as I or any man here; only she received a letter from Cobham to prepare her, which she laughed at, and immediately sent it to the king. So far was she from discontentment, that she laughed him to scorn. But you see how far the count of Aremberg did consent.

The Lord Admiral (Nottingham) being by in a standing, with the lady Arabella, spake to the court.

The lady doth here protest upon her salvation, that she never dealt in any of these things, and so she willed me to tell the court.

Lord Cecil. The lord Cobham wrote to my lady Arabella to know if he might come to speak with her, and gave her to understand that there were some about the king that laboured to disgrace her; she doubted it was but a trick. But Brook saith, his brother moved him to procure Arabella to write letters to the king of Spain: but he saith he never did.

Ralegh. The lord Cobham hath accused me, you see in what manner he hath forsworn it. Were it not for his accusation, all this were nothing. Let him be asked if I knew of the letter which Lawrency brought to him from Aremberg. Let me speak for my life, it can be no hurt for him to be brought; he dares not accuse me. If you grant me not this favour, I am strangely used. Campian was not denied to have his accusers face to face.

Lord chief justice. Since he must needs have justice, the acquitting of his old friend may move him to speak otherwise than the truth.

Ralegh. If I had been the infuser of all these treasons into him. You, gentlemen of the jury, mark this: he said I have been the cause of all his miseries, and the destruction of his house; and that all evil hath happened unto him by my wicked counsel; if this be true, whom hath he cause to accuse and be revenged on but on me? And I know him to be as revengeful as any man on earth.

Attorney. He is a party, and may not come; the law is against it.

Ralegh. It is a toy to tell me of law. I defy such law, I stand on the fact.

Lord Cecil. I am afraid my often speaking (who am inferior to my lords here present) will make the world think I delight to hear myself talk. My affection to you, sir Walter Ralegh, was not extinguished, but slaked, in re-

gard of your deserts. You know the law of the realm, (to the which your mind doth not contest,) that my lord Cobham cannot be brought.

Ralegh. He may be, my lord.

Lord Cecil. But dare you challenge it?

Ralegh. No.

Lord Cecil. You say, that my lord Cobham, your main accuser, must come to accuse you: you say, he hath retracted; I say, many particulars are not retracted. What the validity of all this is, is merely left to the jury. Let me ask you this: if my lord Cobham will say you were the only instigator of him to proceed in the treasons, dare you put yourself on this?

Ralegh. If he will speak it before God and the king, that ever I knew of Arabella's matter, or the money out of Spain, or of the surprising treason; I put myself on it, God's will and the king's be done with me.

Lord H. Howard. How! if he speak things equivalent to what you have said?

Ralegh. Yes, in a main point.

Lord Cecil. If he say you have been the instigator of him to deal with the Spanish king, had not the council cause to draw you hither?

Ralegh. I put myself on it.

Lord Cecil. Then, sir Walter Ralegh, call upon God, and prepare yourself; for I do verily believe my lords will prove this. Excepting your faults, (I call them no worse,) by God I am your friend. The heat and passion in you, and the attorney's zeal in the king's service, makes me speak this.

Ralegh. Whosoever is the workman, it is reason he should give account of his work to the work-master. But let it be proved that he acquainted me with any of his conferences with Aremberg: he would surely have given me some account.

Lord Cecil. That follows not. If I set you on work, and you give me no account, am I therefore innocent?

Attorney. For the lady Arabella, I said she was never acquainted with the matter. Now that Ralegh had con-

ference in all these treasons, it is manifest; the jury hath heard the matter. There is one Dyer, a pilot, that being in Lisbon, met with a Portugal gentleman, who asked him if the king of England was crowned yet: to whom he answered, I think not yet, but he shall be shortly. Nay, saith the Portugal gentleman, That shall he never be; for his throat will be cut by don Ralegh and don Cobham before he be crowned.

Dyer was called and sworn, and delivered this evidence.

Dyer. I came to a merchant's house in Lisbon to see a boy that I had there; there came in a gentleman into the house, and inquiring what countryman I was, I said an Englishman: whereupon he asked me if the king was crowned: and I answered that I hoped he should be so shortly. Nay, saith he, he shall never be crowned; for don Ralegh and don Cobham will cut his throat ere that day come.

Ralegh. What infer you upon this?

Attorney. That your treason hath wings.

Ralegh. If Cobham did practise with Aremberg, how could it not but be known in Spain? Why did they name the duke of Buckingham with Jack Straw's treason, and the duke of York with Jack Cade, but that it was to countenance his treason?

Consider, you gentlemen of the jury, there is no cause so doubtful, which the king's council cannot make good against the law. Consider my disability and their ability: they prove nothing against me, only they bring the accusation of my lord Cobham, which he hath lamented and repented as heartily as if it had been for a horrible murder: for he knew that all this sorrow which should come to me is by his means. Presumptions must proceed from precedent or subsequent facts: I have spent 40,000 crowns against the Spaniard: I had not purchased forty pounds a year. If I had died in Guiana, I had not left 300 marks a year to my wife and son. I that have always condemned the Spanish faction, methinks it is a strange thing that now I should affect it. Remember what St. Austin says, *Sic judicate tanquam ab alio mox judicandi; unus judex, unum tribunal.* If you would be contented, on presumptions, to be

delivered up to be slaughtered, to have your wives and children turned into the streets to beg their bread; if you would be contented to be so judged, judge so of me.

Serg. Philips. I hope to make this so clear, as that the wit of man shall have no colour to answer it. The matter is treason in the highest degree, the end to deprive the king of his crown. The particular treasons are these: first, to raise up rebellion; and, to effect that, to procure money: to raise up tumults in Scotland by divulging a treasonable book against the king's right to the crown; the purpose, to take the life of his majesty and his issue. My lord Cobham confesseth sir Walter Ralegh to be guilty of all these treasons. The question is, Whether he be guilty as joining with him, or instigating of him? The course to prove this was by my lord Cobham's accusation: if that be true, he is guilty; if not, he is clear. So whether Cobham say true or Ralegh, that is the question. Ralegh hath no answer, but the shadow of as much wit as the wit of man can devise. He useth his bare denial; the denial of a defendant must not move the jury. In the star-chamber or in the chancery, for matter of title, if the defendant be called in question, his denial on his oath is no evidence to the court to clear him, he doth it in *propria causa;* therefore much less in matters of treason. Cobham's testification against him before then, and since, hath been largely discoursed.

Ralegh. If truth be constant, and constancy be in truth, why hath he forsworn that that he hath said? You have not proved any one thing by direct proofs, but all by circumstances.

Attorney. Have you done? the king must have the last.

Ralegh. Nay, Mr. Attorney, he which speaketh for his life must speak last. False repetitions and mistakings must not mar my cause. You should speak *secundum allegata et probata.* I appeal to God and the king in this point, whether Cobham's accusation be sufficient to condemn me.

Attorney. The king's safety and your clearing cannot agree. I protest before God I never knew a clearer treason.

Ralegh. I never had intelligence with Cobham since I came to the Tower.

Attorney. Go to, I will lay thee upon thy back for the confidentest traitor that ever came at a bar. Why should you take 8000 crowns for a peace?

Lord Cecil. Be not so impatient, good Mr. Attorney, give him leave to speak.

Attorney. If I may not be patiently heard, you will encourage traitors and discourage us. I am the king's sworn servant, and must speak; if he be guilty, he is a traitor, if not deliver him.

Nota. *Here Mr. Attorney sat down, and would speak no more, until the commissioners urged and entreated him: after much ado he went on, and made a long repetition of all the evidence for the direction of the jury; and at the repeating of some things sir Walter Ralegh interrupted him, and said he did him wrong.*

Attorney. Thou art the most vile and execrable traitor that ever lived.

Ralegh. You speak indiscreetly, barbarously, and uncivilly.

Attorney. I want words sufficient to express thy viperous treasons.

Ralegh. I think you want words indeed, for you have spoken one thing half a dozen times.

Attorney. Thou art an odious fellow, thy name is hateful to all the realm of England for thy pride.

Ralegh. It will go near to prove a measuring cast between you and me, Mr. Attorney.

Attorney. Well, I will now make it appear to the world that there never lived a viler viper upon the face of the earth than thou; [and therewithal drew a letter out of his pocket, saying further,] my lords, you shall see this is an agent that hath writ a treatise against the Spaniard, and hath ever so detested him; this is he that hath spent so much money against him in service; and yet you shall all see whether his heart be not wholly Spanish. The lord Cobham, who of his own nature was a good and honourable gentleman, till overtaken by this wretch, now finding his conscience heavily burdened with some courses which the subtilty of this traitor had drawn him into, my lords, he

could not be at rest with himself nor quiet in his thoughts, until he was eased of that heavy weight; out of which passion of his mind, and discharge of his duty to his prince, and his conscience to God, taking it upon his salvation that he wrote nothing but the truth, with his own hands he wrote this letter. Now, sir, you shall see whether you had intelligence with Cobham within four days before he came to the Tower. If he be wholly Spanish, that desired a pension of 1500 pounds a year from Spain, that Spain by him might have intelligence, then Ralegh is a traitor. He hath taken an apple, and pinned a letter unto it, and threw it into my lord Cobham's window, the contents whereof were this; "It is doubtful whether we shall be proceeded with "or no, perhaps you shall not be tried." This was to get a retractation: oh! it was Adam's apple, whereby the Devil did deceive him. Further he wrote thus, "Do not "as my lord of Essex did, take heed of a preacher; for "by his persuasion he confessed, and made himself guilty." I doubt not, but this day God shall have as great a conquest by this traitor, and the Son of God shall be as much glorified, as when it was said, *Vicisti Galilæe;* you know my meaning. What though Cobham retracted, yet he could not rest nor sleep until he had confirmed it again. If this be not enough to prove him a traitor, the king my master shall not live three years to an end.

Nota. *Here Mr. Attorney produced the lord Cobham's letter, (writ to the commissioners the night before Ralegh's trial, viz. Nov.* 16.) *and as he read it inserted some speeches.*

"I have thought it fit to set down this to my lords, "wherein I profess on my soul to write nothing but the "truth. I am come now near to the period of my time, "therefore I confess the truth before God and his angels. "Ralegh, four days before I came from the Tower, caused an "apple (Eve's apple) to be thrown in at my chamber win-"dow; the effect of it was to entreat me to right the wrong "that I had done him in saying, that I should have come "home by Jersey; which, under my hand to him, I have re-

" tracted. His first letter I answered not, which was thrown " in the same manner, wherein he prayed me to write him a " letter, which I did. He sent me word that the judges were " at Mr. Attorney's house, and that there was good hope the " proceedings against us should be stayed; he sent me an- " other time a little tobacco. At Aremberg's coming, Ra- " legh dealt with me to procure him a pension of 1500 " pounds a year, for which he promised that no action " should be against Spain but he would give knowledge " beforehand. He told me the States had audience with the " king. (*Attorney*, Ah, is not this a Spanish heart in an English " body?) He hath been the original cause of my ruin; for " I had no dealing with Aremberg but by his instigation. " He hath been also the cause of my discontentment; he " advised me not to be overtaken with preachers, as Essex " was; and that the king would better allow of a constant " denial than to accuse any."

Attorney. O damnable atheist! he hath learned some text of scripture to serve his own purpose, but falsely alleged. He counsels him not to be counselled by preachers, as Essex was; he died the child of God, God honoured him at his death; thou wast by when he died, *Et lupus et turpes instant morientibus ursæ.* He died indeed for his offence: the king himself spake these words; " He that shall say " Essex died not for treason, is punishable."

Ralegh. You have heard a strange tale of a strange man; now he thinks he hath matter enough to destroy me; but the king, and all of you, shall witness by our deaths, which of us was the ruin of the other. I bid a poor fellow throw in the letter at his window, written to this purpose, " You know you have undone me, now write three lines to " justify me." In this I will die, that he hath done me wrong: why did not he acquaint me with his treasons, if I acquainted him with my dispositions?

Attorney. But what say you now of the letter, and the pension of 1500*l.* per annum?

Ralegh. I say, that Cobham is a base, dishonourable, poor soul.

Attorney. Is he base? I return it into thy throat on his behalf: but for thee, he had been a good subject.

Lord chief justice. I perceive thou art not so clear a man as you have protested all this while; for you should have discovered these matters to the king.

Nota. *Here Ralegh pulled a letter out of his pocket, which the lord Cobham had written to him, (but a few days before he wrote that above to the lords,) and desired my lord Cecil to read it, because he only knew his hand; the effect of it was as followeth.*

Cobham's letter of justification to Ralegh.

" Seeing myself so near my end, for the discharge of my " own conscience, and freeing myself from your blood, " which else will cry vengeance against me; I protest, upon " my salvation, I never practised with Spain by your pro- " curement; God so comfort me in this my affliction, as you " are a true subject for any thing that I know. I will say " as Daniel, *Purus sum a sanguine hujus.* So God have " mercy on my soul, as I know no treason by you."

Ralegh. Now I wonder how many souls this man hath; he damns one in this letter, and another in that.

Here was much ado; Mr. Attorney alleged, that his last letter was politicly and cunningly urged from the lord Cobham, and that the first was simply the truth; and that lest it should seem doubtful, that the first letter was drawn from my lord Cobham by promise of mercy, or hope of favour, the lord chief justice willed that the jury might herein be satisfied. Whereupon the earl of Devonshire delivered, that the same was merely voluntary, and not extracted from the lord Cobham upon any hopes or promise of pardon.

Nota. *This was the last evidence; whereupon a marshal was sworn to keep the jury private. The jury departed, and stayed not a quarter of an hour, but returned and gave their verdict,* Guilty.

Serg. Hele demanded judgment against the prisoner.

Clerk of the crown. Sir Walter Ralegh, thou hast been indicted, arraigned, and pleaded Not guilty, for all these se-

veral treasons; and, for trial thereof, hast put thyself upon thy country; which country are these who have found thee guilty. What canst thou say for thyself, why judgment and execution of death should not pass against thee?

Ralegh. My lords, the jury have found me guilty. They must do as they are directed. I can say nothing why judgment should not proceed. You see whereof Cobham hath accused me: you remember his protestations, that I was never guilty. I desire the king should know of the wrongs done unto me since I came hither.

Lord chief justice. You have had no wrong, sir Walter.

Ralegh. Yes, of Mr. Attorney. I desire, my lords, to remember three things to the king. 1. I was accused to be a practiser for Spain: I never knew that my lord Cobham meant to go thither; I will ask no mercy at the king's hands, if he will affirm it. 2. I never knew of the practice with Arabella. 3. I never knew of my lord Cobham's practice with Aremberg, nor of the surprising treason.

Lord chief justice. In my conscience I am persuaded that Cobham hath accused you truly. You cannot deny but that you were dealt with to have a pension to be a spy for Spain; therefore you are not so true to the king as you have protested yourself to be.

Ralegh. I submit myself to the king's mercy; I know his mercy is greater than my offence. I recommend my wife, and son of tender years, unbrought up, to his compassion.

Lord chief justice. I had thought I should never have seen this day, to have stood in this place to give sentence of death against you; because I thought it impossible that one of so great parts should have fallen so grievously. God hath bestowed on you many benefits. You had been a man fit and able to have served the king in good place. You had brought yourself into a good state of living: if you had entered into a good consideration of your estate, and not suffered your own wit to have entrapped yourself, you might have lived in good comfort. It is best for man not to seek to climb too high, lest he fall; nor yet to creep too low, lest he be trodden on. It was the posy of the wisest

and greatest counsellor of his time in England, *In medio spatio mediocria firma locantur*. You might have lived well with 8000*l.* a year; for so I have heard your revenues to be. I know nothing might move you to be discontented; but, if you had been down, you know fortune's wheel, when it is turned about, riseth again. I never heard that the king took away any thing from you, but the captainship of the guard, which he did with good reasons, to have one of his own knowledge, whom he might trust, in that place. You have been taken for a wise man, and so have shewed wit enough this day. Again; for monopolies for wine, &c. if the king had said, It is a matter that offends my people, should I burden them for your particular good? I think you could not well take it hardly that his subjects were eased, though by your private hinderance. Two vices have lodged chiefly in you; one is an eager ambition, the other corrupt covetousness. Ambition, in desiring to be advanced to equal grace and favour as you have been beforetime; that grace you had then, you got not in a day or year. For your covetousness, I am sorry to hear that a gentleman of your wealth should become a base spy for the enemy, which is the vilest of all other; wherein, on my conscience, Cobham hath said true: by it you would have increased your living 1500*l.* a year. This covetousness is like a canker, that eats the iron-place where it lives. Your case being thus, let it not grieve you, if I speak a little out of zeal, and love to your good. You have been taxed by the world with the defence of most heathenish and blasphemous opinions, which I list not to repeat, because Christian ears cannot endure to hear them, nor the authors and maintainers of them be suffered to live in any Christian commonwealth. You know what men said of Harpool. You shall do well before you go out of the world to give satisfaction therein, and not to die with these imputations on you. Let not any devil persuade you to think there is no eternity in heaven; if you think thus, you shall find eternity in hell-fire. In the first accusation of my lord Cobham, I observed his manner of speaking: I protest before the living God, I am per-

suaded he spoke nothing but the truth. You wrote, that he should not in any case confess any thing to a preacher, telling him an example of my lord of Essex, that noble earl that is gone; who, if he had not been carried away with others, had lived in honour to this day among us. He confessed his offences, and obtained mercy of the Lord; for I am verily persuaded in my heart he died a worthy servant of God. Your conceit of not confessing any thing is very inhuman and wicked. In this world is the time of confessing, that we may be absolved at the day of judgment. You have shewed a fearful sign of denying God, in advising a man not to confess. It now comes in my mind why you may not have your accuser face to face, for such a one is easily brought to retract, when he seeth there is no hope of his own life. It is dangerous that any traitors should have any access one to another, or conference; when they see themselves must die, they will think it best to see their fellow live, that he may commit the like treason again, and so in some sort seek revenge.

Now it resteth to pronounce the judgment, which I wish you had not been this day to have received of me: for, if the fear of God in you had been answerable to your other great parts, you might have lived to have been a singular good subject. I never saw the like trial, and I hope I shall never see the like again.

THE JUDGMENT.

But, since you have been found guilty of these horrible treasons, the judgment of the court is, That you shall be had from hence to the place whence you came, there to remain until the day of execution, and from thence you shall be drawn upon a hurdle, through the open streets, to the place of execution, there to be hanged and cut down alive, and your body shall be opened, your heart and bowels plucked out, and your privy-members cut off and thrown into the fire before your eyes; then your head to be strucken off from your body, which shall be divided into four quarters, to be disposed of at the king's pleasure: and God have mercy upon your soul.

THE

SPEECH AND BEHAVIOUR

OF

SIR WALTER RALEGH

ON THE SCAFFOLD.

I DESIRE to be borne withal, because this is the third day of my fever: and, if I shew any weakness, I beseech you to attribute it to my malady, for this is the hour I look for it.

Then pausing a while, directing himself towards a window, where the lord of Arundel and the lord of Doncaster, with some other lords and knights, sat, with a loud voice he said as followeth.

I thank God of his infinite goodness, that he hath sent me to die in the sight of so honourable an assembly, and not in darkness. *But by reason the place where they sat was some distance from the scaffold, that they could not easily hear him, he said:* I will strain myself, for I would willingly have your honours hear me. *The lord of Arundel answered,* We will come upon the scaffold: *where, after he had saluted every one of them severally, he began as followeth.*

As I said, I thank my God heartily, that he hath brought me into the light to die, and hath not suffered me to die in the dark prison of the Tower, where I have suffered a great deal of adversity and a long sickness; and I thank God that my fever hath not taken me at this time, as I prayed God it might not.

There are two main points of suspicion that his ma-

jesty hath conceived against me, and wherein his majesty cannot be satisfied, which I desire to clear and resolve you of.

One is, that his majesty hath been informed, that I have had some plot with France, and his majesty had some reason to induce him thereunto. One reason that his majesty had to conjecture so, was, that when I came back from Guiana, being come to Plymouth, I endeavoured to go to Rochel; which was because I would fain have made my peace before I came to England. Another reason was, that, upon my flight, I did intend to fly to France for saving of my life, having had some terror from above. A third reason was, the French agent's coming to me, and it was reported that I had commission from the king of France.

But this I say, for a man to call God to witness to a falsehood at any time is a grievous sin; and what shall he hope for at the tribunal day of judgment? But to call God to witness to a falsehood at the time of death, is far more grievous and impious, and there is no hope for such an one. And what should I expect, that am now going to render an account of my faith? I do therefore call the Lord to witness, as I hope to be saved, and as I hope to see him in his kingdom, which I hope will be within this quarter of this hour, I never had any commission from the king of France, nor any treaty with the French agent, nor with any from the French king; neither knew I that there was an agent, or what he was, till I met him in my gallery at my lodging unlooked-for. If I speak not true, O Lord, let me never come into thy kingdom.

The second suspicion was, that his majesty hath been informed that I should speak dishonourably and disloyally of him. But my accuser was a base Frenchman, a kind of a chymical fellow, one whom I knew to be perfidious; for being drawn into this action at Winchester, in which my hand was touched, and he being sworn to secrecy over-night, revealed it in the morning.

But in this I speak now, what have I to do with kings? I have nothing to do with them, neither do I fear them: I

have now to do with God; therefore to tell a lie now, to get the favour of the king were in vain. Therefore, as I hope to be saved at the last day, I never spake dishonourably, disloyally, or dishonestly of the king, neither to this Frenchman nor to any other; neither had I ever, in all my life, a thought of ill of his majesty. Therefore I cannot but think it strange, that this Frenchman, being so base, so mean a fellow, should be so far credited: and so much for this point. I have dealt truly, and I hope I shall be believed. I confess, I did attempt to escape; and I did dissemble, and feign myself sick at Salisbury; but I hope it was no sin. The prophet David did make himself a fool, and did suffer spittle to fall upon his beard, to escape the hands of his enemies, and it was not imputed to him as sin; and I did it to prolong time till his majesty came, hoping for some commiseration from him.

I forgive this Frenchman and sir Lewis Stuckley, and have received the sacrament this morning of Mr. Dean, and I do also forgive all the world. But thus much I am bound in charity to speak of this man, that all men may take good heed of him: sir Lewis Stuckley, my kinsman and keeper, hath affirmed that I should tell him, that I did tell my lord Carew and my lord Doncaster of my present escape; but I protest before God, I never told Stuckley any such thing, neither did I tell my lord Carew or my lord Doncaster of my pretended escape. It was not likely that I should acquaint two privy counsellors of my purpose; neither would I tell him, for he left me six, seven, eight, nine, or ten days, to go where I listed, while he rode about the country.

Again he accused me, that I should tell him, that my lord Carew and my lord Doncaster would meet me in France, which was never my speech or thought.

Thirdly, he accused me, that I shewed him a letter, and that I should give him ten thousand pounds for my escape; but cast my soul into everlasting fire, if I ever made him offer of ten thousand pounds or one thousand pounds; but merely I shewed him a letter, that, if he would go with me, his debts should be paid when I was gone; neither had I

one thousand pounds, for, if I had had so much, I could have done better with it, and made my peace otherwise.

Fourthly, when I came to sir Edward Pelham, who had been sometimes a follower of mine, who gave me good entertainment, he gave out, that I had received some dram of poison in sir Edward Pelham's house; when I answered, that I feared no such thing, for I was well assured of them in the house. Now God forgive him, for I do; and I desire God to forgive him: I will not only say, God is the God of revenge, but I desire God to forgive him, as I hope to be forgiven.

Then he looked over his note of remembrance; Well, *saith he*, thus far have I gone; now a little more, and I will have done by and by.

It was told the king I was brought per force into England, and that I did not intend to come again; whereas captain Charles Parker, Mr. Tresham, Mr. Leak, and divers others, that knew how I was dealt withal, shall witness for me: for the common soldiers, which were an hundred and fifty, mutinied, and sent for me to come into the gun-room to them, for at that time they would not come to me; and there was I forced to take an oath, that I would not come into England till they would have me, or else they would cast me into the sea and drown me; afterwards they entered my cabin, and set themselves against me. After I had taken this oath, with wine and other things I drew the chiefest of them to desist, and at length I persuaded them to go into Ireland: then would they have gone into the north parts of Ireland; but I told them they were redshanks: but at last with much ado I persuaded them to go into the south parts; promising to get their pardons, but was forced to give them an hundred and twenty-five pounds at Kingsale to bring them home, otherwise I had never got from them.

There was a report that I meant not to go to Guiana at all, and that I knew not of any mine, nor intended any such matter, but only to get my liberty, which I had not the wit to keep. But it was my full intent to go for gold, for the benefit of his majesty and those that went with me, with

the rest of my countrymen: but he, that knew the head of the mine, would not discover it, when he saw that my son was slain, but made himself away. *And then he turned to my lord of Arundel, and said,* Being in the gallery in my ship at my departure, your honour took me by the hand, and said you would request me one thing, that was, *that whether I made a good voyage or bad, yet I should return again into England,* when I made you a promise, and gave you my faith, that I would. *And so you did,* (answered my lord;) *it is true, they were the last words I spake unto you.* Another opinion was, that I carried to sea with me a thousand six hundred pieces, and that was all the voyage intended, only to get money into my hands, and that I had weighed my voyage before; whereas, I protest, I had but an hundred pounds in all the world, whereof I gave twenty-five pounds to my wife. The reason of this speech was this: there was entered twenty thousand pounds, and yet but four thousand pounds in the surveyor's book: now I gave my bill for the other sixteen thousand pounds for divers adventurers; but I protest, I had not a penny of money more than one hundred pounds, as I hope to be saved.

Another slander was raised, that I would have gone away from them, and left them at Guiana: but there were a great many worthy men, who accompanied me always, as my sergeant major George Ralegh, and divers others, (which he then named,) that knew my intent was nothing so. And these be the material points I thought good to speak of. I am now at this instant to render my account to God; and I protest, as I shall appear before Him, this that I have spoken is true.

I will speak but a word or two more, because I will not trouble Mr. Sheriff too long.

There was a report spread, that I should rejoice at the death of my lord of Essex, and that I should take tobacco in his presence; when, as I protest, I shed tears at his death, though I was one of the contrary faction; and at the time of his death I was all the while in the armoury at the further end, where I could but see him. I was sorry that

I was not with him, for I heard he had a desire to see me, and be reconciled to me. So that I protest I lamented his death; and good cause had I; for it was the worse for me, as it proved; for after he was gone, I was little beloved.

And now I entreat you all to join with me in prayer, that the great God of heaven, whom I have grievously offended, being a man full of all vanity, and have lived a sinful life in all sinful callings, having been a soldier, a captain, a sea-captain, and a courtier, which are all places of wickedness and vice; that God, I say, would forgive me, and cast away my sins from me, and that he would receive me into everlasting life. So I take my leave of you all, making my peace with God.

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